The Northern School of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism

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ABSTRACT

THE NORTHERN SCHOOL OF CHINESE CH'AN BUDDHISM

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Traditionally, the Northern School has been considered a splinter group of little significance because of an inferior gradualistic doctrine of spiritual discipline. This reputation is shown to be unfounded, and examination reveals that the Northern School played an important role within the development of early Ch'an and that its doctrines emphasized the constancy of religious practice rather than either gradual or sudden attainment.

The first of three major sections is devoted to the background of the Northern School within the Chinese Buddhist meditation tradition. Topics covered include the life of Seng-ch'ou (480-560) and meditation theory in the T'ien-t'ai School.

Section Two is devoted to the historical evolution of early Ch'an. This begins with reviews of the information available concerning Bodhidharma and his immediate successors and the East Mountain community of Tao-hsin (580-651) and Hung-jen (600-74). There is a detailed study of the masters active in Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang during the early eighth century, with special attention paid to Shen-hsiu (606?-706), whose name is most closely associated with the Northern School. The last chapter of this section considers the Northern School's "transmission of the lamp" texts that established the sectarian identity of Ch'an as a whole.

The final section is devoted to religious doctrine. Translations, summaries, and analyses are included for works attributed

to Bodhidharma, Hung-jen, Shen-hsiu, and others. The study of these works reveals the existence of two basic themes of Ch'an doctrine, the passive construct of the Buddha Nature immanent within all sentient beings and the image of the mirror as an active model for the enlightened mind. These themes may be found in Bodhidharma's treatise and were carried on in the texts of the East Mountain Teaching and the Northern School, respectively.

A translation of one text and editions of two others are included in appendixes.

PREFACE

The original idea for this dissertation was conceived under the guidance of Professor Stanley Weinstein, who also offered useful advice and constructive criticism during the course of writing. Research was undertaken in Kyoto with the assistance of Professor Yanagida Seizan, who took time from a very busy schedule to provide individual tutoring and instruction. Professor Yanagida also gave me permission to use his own transcriptions in the preparation of the texts included in the Appendix to Section Three. I would like to express my sincere gratitude and deepest appreciation to both these men at this time.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS OF USAGE

ABBREVIATIONS

CFPC: *Ch'üan fa-pao chi*

CTL: *Ching-te ch'üan-teng lu*

CTW: *Ch'ing-ting ch'üan T'ang-wen*

EJSHL: *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun*

HKSC: *Hsü kao-seng chuan*

JTAHY: *Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien fa-men*

KSC: *Kao-seng chuan*

LCFJC: *Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih*

LCSTC: *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tz'u chi*

LTFPC: *Li-tai fa-pao chi*

SKSC: *Sung kao-seng chuan*

T: *Taishō shinshū dai-zōkyō*

TCL: *Tsung-ching lu*

TTC: *Tsu-t'ang chi*

Z: *Dai Nippon zoku-zōkyō*

CONVENTIONS OF USAGE

1. Ages of individuals are given in the Chinese style.

2. Terms such as "Buddha Nature" have been rendered capitalized and without hyphenization in order to accomodate occasional abbreviated references to "Nature" alone.

3. Interlineal glosses in translated passages are indicated by the conjoint use of parenthese and underlining, i.e., *(Another text says...)*.

4. Chapter and part headings of the exposition below are indicated by capitalized Roman numerals and Arabic numerals, respectively, while Roman numerals and capitalized English letters have been used for the chapter and part headings of translated works.

5. Citations of material in Tun-huang manuscripts are given in the following form: manuscript line number, slash, plate number, colon, plate line number, e.g., 607/26:2. The annotation for the composite version of the *Wu fang-pien* included is explained in note 224 to Section Three.

INTRODUCTION

1. The Transmission of Ch'an According to the Platform Sūtra

For both ancient and modern readers alike, the most common source of information about the Northern School of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism is the Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch (Liu-tsu t'an ching).[1] According to the narrative found at the beginning of this text, the Fifth Patriarch, Hung-jen (601-74), instructed each of his disciples to compose a "mind-verse" (hsin-chieh) demonstrating the level of his enlightenment. If one of these verses manifested a true understanding of Buddhism, its author would receive the Fifth Patriarch's robe and the status of Sixth Patriarch. All but one of the disciples simply ignored Hung-jen's instructions, deferring instead to the man they felt would be the next leader of the Ch'an community. This man was Shen-hsiu (606?-706), the most important figure associated with the Northern School. Shen-hsiu's reaction to Hung-jen's supposed request is recorded in the Platform Sūtra as follows:

> The others won't present mind-verses because I am their teacher. If I don't offer a mind-verse, how can the Fifth Patriarch estimate the degree of understanding within my mind? If I offer my mind to the Fifth Patriarch with the intention of gaining the Dharma, it is justifiable; however, if I am seeking the patriarchship, then it cannot be justified. Then it would be like a common man usurping the saintly position. But if I don't offer my mind then I cannot learn the Dharma.[2]

In the end, Shen-hsiu did compose a verse, but he was so uncertain about its worth and the propriety of seeking the patriarchship that he inscribed it on a wall in one of the monastery's corridors. He did

this late at night so that no one would see him. Shen-hsiu's verse read:

> The body is the Bodhi Tree.
> The mind is like a bright mirror's stand.
> At all times we must strive to polish it
> and must not let dust collect.[3]

Upon seeing this verse the following morning, the Fifth Patriarch cancelled a previously-made commission to have illustrations from the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* painted on the wall, praised the verse highly, and ordered his students to recite it so that they might not suffer unfavorable rebirths in the future. To Shen-hsiu, however, he pointed out in private that the verse did not display true understanding. He counselled Shen-hsiu to write another verse in order to gain the *Dharma*, but in the end the future leader of the Northern School was unable to do so.

In the meantime, an uneducated layman from the far South of China named Hui-neng (638-713)[4] was at work threshing rice, completely unaware of the Fifth Patriarch's instructions about the future succession. When one day an acolyte passed by the threshing room reciting Shen-hsiu's verse, Hui-neng realized immediately that its author did not understand the "cardinal meaning" of Buddhism. The boy explained the entire matter to Hui-neng, who asked to be led to the corridor wall on which Shen-hsiu's verse was inscribed. There he dictated his own poetic statement:

> *Bodhi* originally has no tree.
> The mirror also has no stand.
> The Buddha Nature is alway clear and pure.
> Where is there room for dust?[5]

In public, the Fifth Patriarch denegrated Hui-neng's verse, but late that night he called the illiterate but inspired layman into the lecture hall and expounded the *Diamond Sūtra* to him. Hui-neng was immediately awakened to its profound meaning, received the transmission

of the Dharma of Sudden Enlightenment and the Fifth Patriarch's robe, and left the monastery in secrecy that very night.

2. The Platform Sūtra as Historical Allegory

The Platform Sūtra is one of the most imaginative and dramatically effective pieces of early Ch'an literature. Not only is it entertaining and instructive to read, but it builds upon and resolves numerous issues of eighth century Ch'an Buddhism in a manner that is ingenious without appearing to be forced or contrived. It takes the image of the unschooled religious genius first developed in connection with Hung-jen[6] and expands it into the character of Hui-neng, who is both illiterate and inspired, déclassé but fundamentally superior. Its depiction of Shen-hsiu's status as the head monk or teacher of Hung-jen's students and the popularity of practice according to the verse attributed to him is thus a reflection of the phenomenal success of Shen-hsiu and the "Northern School" at the beginning of the eighth century.

Similarly, Hung-jen's public rejection of Hui-neng's verse and the period of time the new Sixth Patriarch is supposed to have spent in hiding are admissions of the initial obscurity of the "Southern School." Finally, the references to the Laṅkāvatāra and Diamond Sūtras and to the teaching of Sudden Enlightenment that was supposedly transmitted to Hui-neng correspond to the doctrines traditionally associated with the Northern and Southern Schools.[7] In these senses, the Platform Sūtra narrative can be read as an historical allegory.

There is one critically important omission, however, which indicates that the Platform Sūtra was not merely echoing history, but

rewriting it. This is the complete absence of any reference to the role played by Shen-hui (670-762), who carried the banner of Hui-neng during an extended, energetic campaign against Shen-hsiu's disciples and the Northern School in general.[8] The whole point of the narrative, in fact, is to validate Shen-hui's claims about Hui-neng without reference to Shen-hui himself. That is, the Plaform Sūtra wished to adopt and build upon Shen-hui's teachings at the same time as it avoided any hint of identification with his sometimes acrimonious and self-serving campaign. Thus the story of the verse competition and transmission to Hui-neng was a means of simultaneously capitalizing on Shen-hui's propaganda efforts and pre-empting from him the fruits of victory.[9]

Although the verses and anecdote introduced above were evidently written after Shen-hui's death — his extant writings include no mention of them[10] -- they are designed to expand on positions first stated by him. Shen-hui attacked the Northern School, a term that he was apparently the first to apply to Shen-hsiu's followers,[11] for teaching an inferior, gradualistic doctrine of meditation and enlightenment. According to Shen-hui, the adherents of the Northern School taught that one should approach Buddhism as a means to progressively purify oneself, to propel oneself further and further along the path to perfect enlightenment.

Shen-hui was particularly critical of the meditation practices of the Northern School masters, claiming that they taught their students "to concentrate the mind to enter dhyāna, to settle the mind to view purity, to cultivate the mind to illuminate the external, and to control the mind to demonstrate the internal."[12] In other words, the members of the Northern School supposedly manipulated their minds in order to

achieve certain specific effects which, through a long regimen of sustained practice, eventually led to enlightenment. Shen-hui's "Southern School" disdained such practices because it was interested in a realm that was beyond all notions of duality, i.e., of imperfection and perfection, etc., and in an approach to religious training that yielded attainment of the ultimate goal instantaneously or all at once, rather than gradually.

3. The Traditional Interpretation of the *Platform Sūtra*'s "Mind-Verses"

It is in the writings of Tsung-mi (780-841), a noted Ch'an and Hua-yen School theoretician who is supposed to have been a fifth-generation successor to Shen-hui, that we find the first explicit reference to and explanation of the *Platform Sūtra* verses. Although Tsung-mi never mentions the *Platform Sūtra* by name,[13] he quotes "Shen-hsiu's" verse and adds his own interpretation. The following passage from Tsung-mi's *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan chi tu-hsü* or *General Preface to a Collection of the Interpretations of Ch'an* does not refer directly to the verse in question itself, but it is his most concise statement of his understanding of Northern School doctrine:

> The first [interpretation of Ch'an] is the School of Stopping the False and Cultivating the Mind, which teaches that although sentient beings are in fundamental possession of the Buddha Nature, it is obscured and invisible because of their beginningless ignorance. Therefore, they [suffer the] births and deaths of *saṃsāra*. Because the Buddhas have eradicated false thoughts [from their own persons] they have a comprehensive perception of the [Buddha] Nature, have transcended birth and death, and have attained a perfect fluency (*tzu-tsai*) in the super-normal powers. One should know that the abilities and functions of ordinary persons and sages are not the same and that there are distinctions between their [apprehension of] the external realms of sensory perception and the internal mind. Therefore, one must depend on the oral instructions of one's teacher, reject the realms of perception and contemplate the mind, putting an end to false thoughts. When these thoughts are exhausted this

constitutes enlightenment, there being nothing one does not know.

> It is like a mirror darkened by dust -- one must strive to polish it. When the dust is gone the brightness [of the mirror] appears, so that there is nothing that it does not illuminate. One must also clearly understand the expedient means of entering into the realms of dhyāna, keeping oneself far from any disturbance and residing in a peaceful location, harmonizing body and breath, sitting silently in the lotus position with the tongue touching the upper gums and the mind concentrated on a single object (ching, a "realm" of sensory perception).
>
> [Chih]-hsien of the South, [Shen]-hsiu of the North, Pao-t'ang Wu-chu, Hsüan-shih, and their disciples all belong in this category. The technical details (? chi, "traces") of the expedient means of spiritual progress [taught by] the Ox-head and T'ien-t'ai [Schools], Hui-ch'ou (i.e., Seng-ch'ou), and Guṇa-[bhadra] are also largely similar, although their doctrinal interpretations differ.[14]

Tsung-mi's works contain a comprehensive systematization of the various interpretations of Ch'an, within which context the teachings of the Northern School are relegated to the very lowest position.[15] According to Tsung-mi, "Shen-hsiu's" verse and the supposed teachings of the Northern School fail to recognize the ultimate identity of enlightenment and the afflictions and illusions by which it is apparently obscured. As a result, the long years or even lifetimes of religious cultivation required to clean away those illusions were all in vain. The only achievement of any real benefit, and all that was really necessary, was the complete cessation of dualistic thinking.

According to this interpretation, the "Northern School" teaching was inferior in that it posited enlightenment as a specific goal that could be described, sought, and attained, and in that it restricted the achievement of that enlightenment to those who had the energy and opportunity to engage in long years of practice. The metaphor of the mirror was thus used in the Platform Sūtra to describe the Gradual Teaching: just as cumulative effort would result in the mirror's becoming ever

more bright, so would sustained spiritual practice result in higher and higher levels of individual purification, until at last complete perfection was attained.

The "Southern School's" Sudden Teaching, on the other hand, was superior in that it could be achieved by anyone -- even the illiterate barbarian Hui-neng -- in a sudden, instantaneous, and complete transformation. After an initial period of popularity, the Northern School was supposedly overwhelmed and driven into extinction by the Southern School, which was innately superior because of the transmission from Hung-jen to Hui-neng rather than to Shen-hsiu.

With minor variations, this is the interpretation of early Ch'an history that has been accepted for over a thousand years. Modern scholarship has examined much of the background to the Platform Sūtra, focussing chiefly on the very crucial role played by Shen-hui. Great strides have also been made in the study of the Northern School, which is now understood to have taught something other than the simple gradualism ascribed to it by Shen-hui and Tsung-mi. Even so, the treatment of the Northern School in modern works on Ch'an is problematic: The "mind-verses" of the Platform Sūtra are widely quoted and the superiority of the sudden over the gradual teaching is often discussed, but there is no unanimity on the validity or implications of the verses themselves.[16] The absence of any comprehensive study of the Northern School and the sometimes obscure and stylistically unusual writings of the Northern School have led most scholars to fall back on the traditional image of the School as gradualist in doctrine and secondary in historical importance to its "Southern" counterpart.

Clearly, the demands of scholarly accuracy require that such

inconsistencies be avoided. Citation of the Platform Sūtra verses is acceptable only if one distinguishes clearly between the history and legend of early Ch'an and is very precise about the verses' legitimate frame of reference. That is, while the Platform Sūtra verses and anecdote do not in any way resemble the history of seventh century Ch'an, they are an accurate reflection of how that early period was depicted in the late eighth century, when the text was compiled.[17]

4. Implications for This Study

It should go without saying that the Platform Sūtra narrative is completely inaccurate. First of all, if we follow the earliest accounts, Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng were never at Hung-jen's side at the same time, and neither of them was there during the last few years of the master's life, when a transmission might have taken place.[18] Second, the very concept of a verse competition and the selection of a single successor seems more appropriate as literary flourish than historical fact. A single successor might have been selected as the spiritual leader of the community of ordained and lay trainees at Hung-jen's monastery, rather than as the head of the Ch'an School per se, but the Platform Sūtra is oblivious to such a possibility. (Hung-jen's monastery lapsed into almost complete obscurity after his death.) The notion that only one line of transmission, i.e., that from Hung-jen to Hui-neng rather than those from Hung-jen to Shen-hsiu, Hui-neng, et al., could be considered legitimate could have developed only after Shen-hui's campaign.

This being the case, we are left with the following question: should the Platform Sūtra's references to Shen-hsiu's teachings simply be ignored, or do they have some basis in fact, however distorted or

incompletely presented? The answer is that the testimony of this text must be considered -- not as a guide to the seventh or even the early eighth century teachings of the Northern School, but as an indication of the status of that School at the end of the eighth century.

In the first place, there is reason to suspect that "Shen-hsiu's" verse is not an entirely groundless invention. Nothing like the verse itself occurs in Northern School literature, but there are a small number of passages and some general considerations that may explain part of the Platform Sūtra's mis-interpretation. Even more intriguing is a passage that suggests Shen-hsiu actually could have used the metaphor of the mirror exactly as it occurs in the verse attributed to him -- but in a manner that is completely different from that verse's traditional interpretation. In the second place, certain other details of the verses -- the reference to the Bodhi Tree and the famous third line of "Hui-neng's" verse in later texts, which reads "Originally, there is not a single thing," for example -- are reminiscent of specific references in Northern School literature. The implication is that the teachings of the Northern School played some part in the formulation of the ideas attributed to Hui-neng.

5. Ch'an's Pseudo-historical Doctrine and the Historical Study of Ch'an

The subjects just mentioned will be considered in the Conclusion to this paper; at this point, the most important observation to be made is that the Platform Sūtra paints far too simple a picture of the development of early Ch'an. The problem is not only that the story told in this text is inaccurate, nor even that the putative teachings of Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng as given here cannot be accepted as accurate.

These are both matters of historical fact, which can be understood with a greater or lesser clarity to the extent that one examines the documents at hand. True, one legacy of the Platform Sūtra's popularity has been the misapprehension of the Northern and Southern Schools as teaching distinctly different doctrines of gradual and sudden enlightenment, but the specific details of this misapprehension are less important than the extremely pervasive and seldom questioned tendency to view the history of Ch'an solely in terms of a succession of individual masters and disciples.

In Ch'an texts enlightenment is often described as a special communication of the Dharma from master to disciple. This special communication is described as a "separate transmission outside the teaching" (chiao-wai pieh ch'ūan, or kyōge betsuden in Japanese) and a "transmission of the mind with the mind" (i hsin ch'ūan hsin, or ishin denshin).[19] The historical texts of Ch'an -- that is, those which most resemble historical compendia -- are referred to as "records of the transmission of the lamp" (ch'ūan-teng lu) because they are dedicated to the demonstration of this special type of religious transmission across several generations.

By referring to these "transmission of the lamp" texts or transmission histories,[20] we can learn about many enlightened masters of the past: their places of birth, training, and residence; extracts of their doctrinal pronouncements and dialogues with other masters and students; and, in many cases, poems, essays, and more formal statements on Buddhist themes. Modern scholars have naturally used these texts to great advantage in the analysis of the historical and doctrinal development of Ch'an.

Unfortunately, the dependence on these and other types of primary texts has resulted in a noticeable coloration of modern works on Ch'an. Not only have scholars used the "transmission of the lamp" texts, they have effectively adopted much of the religious ideology of Ch'an as fact. They have attempted to analyze the biographies and teachings of different individual masters or groups of masters, but all too often the history of Ch'an is presented as a series of individual vignettes, i.e., the biography and teachings of master A followed by those of master B, master C, and master D, etc. This is especially true of the earliest period of Chinese Ch'an, which is traditionally approached as a unilinear succession from Bodhidharma to Hui-k'o and thence to Seng-ts'an, Tao-hsin, Hung-jen, and Hui-neng.

It is my contention that such a passive acceptance of the Ch'an religious position concerning the transmission from master to disciple does a disservice to our understanding of the School as a legitimate segment of human religious history. Due to gaps in the extant body of evidence it is not always possible to develop a comprehensive understanding of the cultural forces that influenced the growth of Ch'an. Nevertheless, it should always be our goal to strive for such understanding. The first step in the achievement of this goal is to foster and maintain an awareness of the difference between the legendary and historical aspects of our primary texts.

Simply put, the texts of Ch'an relate the legends of the School, while the task of modern scholarship is to determine its history. This distinction should be remembered even when the contents of a given text happen to be historically accurate -- since the text's original purpose was not to function as history in the modern sense, but to aid in the

religious training of future devotees and function as propaganda on behalf of the author's own School. The Platform Sūtra is a perfect example of this: what appears at first glance to be a narration of historical events is actually a very successful attempt to make the Ch'an School's conception of its own identity substantially more sophisticated.

We will return to the problem of the Platform Sūtra verses in the Conclusion to this paper and to the more general topic of early Ch'an's conception of itself in Section Two. It should be obvious from even the brief discussion above that the first topic to be considered here will not be the career of Bodhidharma, who is generally considered the first patriarch of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism. Rather, we will begin with a discussion of the background of the Buddhist meditation tradition[21] in India and China, to be followed by a summary of the historical facts of the development of Ch'an (as far as they can be known from the existing records), an analysis of the development of early Ch'an's conception of its own identity as shown in the "transmission of the lamp" texts of the Northern School, and, finally, a presentation of the major religious doctrines of the Northern School.

SECTION ONE

BACKGROUND

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION OF THE BUDDHIST MEDITATION TRADITION IN CHINA

1. Meditation in Indian Buddhism

The practice of meditation was an integral part, perhaps the single most crucial part, of religious practice during the earliest period of Indian Buddhism. The Buddha himself achieved his great enlightenment through the practice of meditation and even after that experience is said to have devoted periods of from two weeks to three months to its intensive practice. In fact, he was said to be constantly in a state of meditation during all his daily activities. Although his disciples were known individually as especially gifted in different areas, i.e., Śāriputra in wisdom, Maudgalyāyana in supernormal powers, Mahākāśyapa in ascetic practices, etc., all of them were dedicated to the practice of meditation. Other than time spent in sleeping, eating, and the daily functions of life -- all of which were supposed to be undertaken in an attitude of composed mindfulness — the Buddha's followers were to occupy themselves with only two activites: study of the Buddhist teachings and meditation.[1]

With the transition from primitive to sectarian Buddhism (i.e., about a century after the Buddha's death),[2] individual monks began to specialize in certain areas of Buddhist studies to the exclusion of others. Thus, a monk might become particularly versed in a certain

classification of the Buddha's sermons (the Sūtras), the religious rules and monastic regulations (the Vinaya), or the philosophical analysis of Buddhist doctrine (the Abhidharma). At this time the general practice of meditation was not so widespread as during the earlier period, and there developed specialists in meditation just as there were specialists in other fields. Eventually these meditation specialists wrote their own instructional manuals. Many of these manuals derive from the reign of King Kaniṣka (probably late second century A.D.) in Kashmir, a powerful ruler and strong supporter of Buddhism. Saṃgharakṣa's Yogācārabhūmi (Stages of the Practice of Spiritual Discipline) is the most important of these, but a number of other texts are also known, primarily from Chinese sources. In addition, detailed analyses of the techniques and stages of meditation are also found in such doctrinal compendia as the Abhidharma-kośa.[3]

2. Concentration and Insight

The Hīnayāna system of meditation (for the present purpose, we need not attempt to distinguish between the primitive and sectarian period approaches) is based on two separate but complementary components: development of the ability to concentrate the mind on certain chosen subjects (śamatha, or chih in Chinese) and the application of such concentrated awareness toward understanding of or insight into the realities of human existence and the religious truths of Buddhism (vipaśyanā or kuan).[4] We will see below that these two systems or principles of meditation are very closely inter-related, but there are some important differences between the two.

Concentration or "absorptive" meditation is a progressive system of the refinement of consciousness, success in which leads to the

extraordinary abilities of telekinesis, clairvoyance, etc., and ultimately to the complete cessation of conscious mental activity. Generally speaking, it is not sufficient in itself for the achievement of enlightenment, but is rather a means of preparation for insight or "mindfulness" meditation. Success in concentration is accomplished by a combination of (1) positive effort in the application of mental energy and (2) a negative or exclusionary process of rejecting or dispelling from the mind a succession of progressively more abstruse impediments.

The techniques of concentration meditation, which are thought to have been largely inherited from pre-Buddhist schools, include a variety of subjects: the activity of breathing; the impurities of the body; physical devices such as disks of earth or water; concepts such as compassion and equanimity; and the recollection of the Buddha's titles and attributes, etc. Each one of these techniques was to be performed according to minutely described, specific instructions, so that the practitioner would conquer any tendencies he might have to over-thoughtfulness, attachment to the body, inability to concentrate, lack of the nobler attitudes and aspirations, or lack of intensity of faith, etc., respectively. In other words, each technique was the appropriate remedy for the student's personal obstacles to spiritual advancement — as perceived by and prescribed for the student by his instructor, who was of course someone thoroughly versed in such practices.

Once achieved, the basic ability to concentrate was developed through a set of eight different stages of <u>dhyāna</u> ("meditation" or "concentrated thinking") in which the student (i) purified his concentrated mind of all ratiocination and emotion (feelings of joy and bliss, said to be natural results of the student's first success in

concentration, were themselves to be completely extirpated as hindrances to further advancement) and (2) directed his concentrated mind at progressively more and more abstruse objects, so that ultimately he could not be described as either perceiving or not perceiving anything at all. Each of these two steps is described in terms of four stages called the Four _Dhyānas_ and Four Formless Attainments (_arūpya-samāpatti_), or collectively the Eight _Dhyānas_.

Generally, it was not considered possible to simply climb one more rung up the ladder, as it were, and proceed directly into _nirvāṇa_ as the ultimate state of mental quiescence. No degree of mental concentration, refinement, or inactivity could ever constitute the ultimate goal, which was the development of the direct, intuitive insight of non-discriminating wisdom (_prajñā_). If the eight stages of _dhyāna_ are conceived of as a vertical progression, then the attainment of enlightenment can be understood as a lateral shift to another dimension of understanding. This lateral shift was accomplished by the system of _vipaśyanā_ or insight meditation, which is thought of as being uniquely Buddhist.

Insight meditation involves directing the concentrated mind at a given subject and analyzing it in an emotionally detached manner so that the innate ability of the mind to understand its object is fully exercised. This basic cognitive ability (_prajñā_, as mentioned just above) is defined so as to exist independently of the mind's normal discriminative, active processes.[5]

Although insight meditation depends on the mind's ability to concentrate on a predetermined object to the exclusion of all others, this is only done to make the process simpler and more manageable. In

insight meditation the practitioner's attitude is one of quiet inquisitiveness into the phenomena that impinge upon his consciousness. The super-human powers are irrelevent here; if manifested, they are treated as additional objects of meditation. The fact that understanding, rather than concentration, is the goal of insight meditation makes this a more open, all-accepting type of endeavor. In addition, since this understanding is both expressed and molded in terms of Buddhist doctrine, it is insight meditation that is more likely to vary from school to school.

The exercise of insight or mindfulness meditation could be undertaken in either of two ways. The practitioner could choose to be mindful of every single object, thought, and feeling that impinged upon his consciousness, observing each and every one without becoming emotionally or intellectually involved. In this way his entire spectrum of human experience becomes the object of his meditation. The locus classicus for this method of meditation reads as follows:

> And again, monks, a monk in going forward and in going back, applies clear comprehension; in looking straight on and in looking elsewhere, he applies clear comprehension; in bending and stretching [his limbs], he applies clear comprehension; in wearing the robes and carrying the almsbowl, he applies clear comprehension; in eating, drinking, chewing, and savouring, he applies clear comprehension; in walking, standing, sitting, falling asleep, waking, speaking, and being silent, he applies clear comprehension.[6]

The more common practice, however, involves the choice of a given topic of meditation and concentration upon it to the exclusion of all other subjects. The most common topics include such doctrinal formulae as the Four Noble Truths or the Four Foundations of Mindfulness (<u>smṛty-upasthāna</u>, or <u>sati-paṭṭhāna</u> in Pāli)[7] and basic truths of Buddhism such as impermanence or dependent origination. Once again, there exist

specific, detailed instructions for the performance of each of these meditations.

Ultimately, the experience of enlightenment was the summum bonum of insight meditation and an achievement of a fundamentally different dimension than the successive stages of concentration meditation. Ability in the stages of dhyāna was technically not even required, and there existed persons known as "wisdom-released" (paññā-vimutti in Pali) who achieved liberation without becoming accomplished in the higher phases of concentration.[8] The reader will no doubt recall that the Buddha achieved the seventh and eighth stages of dhyāna under two non-Buddhist teachers, but attained true enlightenment only with his self-directed realization of the truths of suffering, impermanence, and dependent origination, etc., under the Bodhi Tree.

On the other hand, although concentration and insight meditation may be distinguished in this way, from another perspective they are closely inter-related: the very catalyst of progress from one stage of dhyāna to another is in fact a moment of prajñā or insight into the limitations of the lower stage and the decision to remove those limitations.[9] In addition, although it might be possible to specialize or achieve success in insight meditation without preparation in concentration, practically speaking this was virtually never done. In fact, one of the most popular forms of meditation throughout the entire history of Buddhism, ānāpāna-smṛti or the "mindfulness of breathing," was favored precisely because it naturally lent itself to a reasonable and efficacious synthesis of both concentration and insight. In this practice, one began with concentration and moved on to insight as soon as one's disposition and ability would permit.[10]

3. Meditation in the Mahāyāna

The system of concentration and insight adumbrated above was adopted essentially in toto by Mahāyāna Buddhism, with modifications of emphasis and outlook to suit the new doctrines of the Bodhisattva ideal, compassion (karuṇā), and the perfection of wisdom (prajñā-pāramitā). The stages of the Bodhisattva's progress were super-imposed on the Hīnayāna stages, effectively reducing the significance of the latter. In addition, the fundamental motivation in the Mahāyāna system was not the desire for individual emancipation, but the intense determination to achieve complete enlightenment in order to effect the liberation of all living beings (bodhicitta). Accordingly, the subject of compassion is much more in evidence here, the Bodhisattva meditating upon this often and in various different ways, so as to constantly maintain his lofty level of spiritual ambition. Finally, while evoking these feelings of compassion, the Bodhisattva is made to view reality, himself, his actions, and the objects of his compassion included, as fundamentally "empty" or non-substantial, ultimately devoid of any inherent reality. In the Mahayana this doctrine of śūnyatā or non-substantiality generally replaces those of the Four Noble Truths, dependent origination, etc., as the "content" of the Bodhisattva's enlightenment experience.[11]

Although the classical formulations of Mahāyāna meditation technique and spiritual progress are heavily indebted to earlier Hīnayāna concepts and systems, there is one aspect of Mahāyāna Buddhist literature which defines a conception of meditative attainment that was intrinsically and thoroughly Mahāyānist. This is the veritable profusion of different samādhis or states of concentration that are either described or named in the Mahāyāna scriptures. Such samādhis figure

prominently in both the titles and subject matter of a number of such scriptures, while a number of texts include lists of names of different samādhis, often with little or no description of the samādhi themselves. The number of these is truly prodigious: Mochizuki's encyclopedia on Buddhism contains fully eleven pages of such names![12] Even allowing for substantial redundancy, there must be several thousand distinct names of Mahāyāna samādhis.

At the heart of this great profusion of names and descriptions is a definition of samādhi that is fundamentally different from that of the Hīnayāna, where the word refers to a state of complete mental concentration on a single object. Accomplishment in meditation in the Hīnayāna makes it possible for one to read minds, levitate, and perform extraordinary feats. Usually this achievement is described in purely inward-directed terms, although on occasion the Hīnayāna texts do describe samādhi as having expansive outward manifestations, such as the production of visions of that are apparent both to the practitioner and other persons. Nevertheless, in the Mahāyāna these visionary and supernatural aspects of meditation receive much greater emphasis. Here the abilities gained through the medium of samādhi are described on a much larger scale: emanations of light from the body that illuminate various sectors of the universe; the manifestation of entire world-systems, each with its incumbent Buddha and celestial retinue; the transfer of entire assemblies of listeners to other worlds without any apparent movement; six types of physical vibrations or earthquakes; the creation of fictional Bodhisattvas; etc.[13]

This is by no means merely a manifestation of any supposed banalization or mystification of Mahāyāna Buddhism, but the result of the

fundamentally increased significance of the idea of compassion, a change in emphasis that has already been mentioned above. Étienne Lamotte points out that, whereas the Hīnayāna practitioner was dedicated solely to the purification of his own mind and his individual liberation from saṃsāra, the Mahāyānist entered samādhi both as a means of self-improvement but also -- and more importantly -- in order to effect the salvation of all living beings. To paraphrase Lamotte: "The emphasis of the Bodhisattva's samādhi is placed, not on the technique of concentration, but on the magical force (ṛddi-bāla) that issues from that samādhi for the greater good of living beings."[14] Samādhi was thus the source from which derived the Bodhisattva's limitless repertoire of didactic and salvific device.

In conjunction with the doctrine of śūnyatā, which denied the ultimate reality of all phenomena, the Bodhisattva was granted the ability to manipulate phenomenal reality -- matter, space, time, light, etc. -- with complete autonomy.[15] These supernormal powers, as well as the extraordinary literary flourishes that accompany the Buddha's preaching in the Mahāyāna scriptures, were used as graphic, attention-getting, and spiritually efficacious methods of demonstrating the truths of Buddhism. Thus it is possible to view samādhi as both the source of wisdom and the basis of the enactment of compassion, the two most important facets of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

4. Meditation in Early Chinese Buddhism

There is very little evidence pertaining to the practice and understanding of Buddhist meditation in the earliest period of the religion's history in China. There exists a small number of texts related to this subject deriving from this period, as well as references to just over a dozen early practitioners. Unfortunately, however, the texts are difficult to use because of their vintage and the information about the practitioners too scanty to be of any real value.

Although it may be valid to accept the existence of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna meditation traditions in China prior to the beginning of the fifth century,[16] it is also the case that there is no record of any of the major figures of the day actually devoting time to the instruction of native students in meditation.[17] Presumably, such instruction did in fact occur, but a much greater emphasis was placed on activities which were considered to be more essential to the propagation of the faith: scriptural translation and study, training in the monastic discipline, etc. Such activities, at any rate, are those treated at greatest length in the primary sources.[18]

Kumārajīva

The real foundation of the Chinese Buddhist meditation tradition was laid in the fifth century through the activities of men such as Kumārajīva, Buddhabhadra, and Dharmamitra. Just six days after his arrival in Ch'ang-an, Kumārajīva (active 401-409) was asked by Seng-jui (352-436) to provide a suitable manual of meditation. The result, which reached its final form in 407, was the *Tso-ch'an san-mei ching* or *Sūtra of Seated Meditation and Samādhi*, a compilation by Kumārajīva of the teachings of a number of Kashmirian masters (Kumāralāta, Vasumitra,

Saṁgharakṣa, Upagupta, Saṁghasena, and Pārśva [?]) and a final section of Mahāyāna considerations based on other translations of Kumārajīva's.[19] Due to Kumārajīva's fluent style (which, as Zürcher suggests, may be due to his large staff of Chinese assistants[20]) and editorial skills, this is the most well-organized, comprehensive, and readable of all the Chinese meditation sūtras. Excluding its opening and closing verses (the latter being attributed to the well-known Mahāyāna author Aśvaghoṣa), it is devoted to the explanation of the following:

1. The need for intimate communication between teacher and student.

2. Five types of meditation for students of various dispositions:

A. For those disposed to lust or desire, the contemplation of physical impurity, i.e., on the impermanence and loathesomeness of the body, both during life and after death

B. For those given to anger, the generation of compassion

C. For those inclined to stupidity, contemplation of the laws of dependent origination

D. For those prone to excessive mental activity, concentration on breathing

E. For those with equal parts of the above problems, the single-minded "remembrance" or mindfulness of the Buddha

3. The Hīnayāna stages of progress through the Path of Vision (darśana-mārga) and the Path of Cultivation (bhāvana-mārga), the Four Fruits of the Hīnayāna (from Stream-winner to Arhat), and the definition of a pratyeka-buddha.

4. Three types of meditation relevant to the Bodhisattva's progress (equivalent to numbers 2-A, 2-B, and 2-C above) and the Ten Stages of the Bodhisattva.[21]

The traditional form of the Mahāyāna meditation manual is readily apparent here in the emphasis on Hīnayāna practices and a short supplementary section on Mahāyāna considerations. The list of five practices that forms the core of the above outline (2-A through 2-E) was, with

occasional modifications, a standard formulation known within Chinese Buddhism as the Five Types of Inhibitory Contemplation (wu t'ing-hsin kuan).[22]

Other contributions by Kumārajīva discuss a large number of additional practices: the Ch'an-mi yao-fa ching or Sūtra of the Essential Teaching of the Secrets of Meditation discusses some thirty techniques of Hīnayāna origin, while the Ch'an-fa yao-chüeh or Essential Teachings of Meditation contains discussions of some of the most basic Hīnayāna techniques taken from the Ta chih-tu lun, Kumārajīva's hundred-fascicle translation of the Mahā-prajñā-pāramito-'padeśa, the Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom.[23] Kumārajīva also translated many important sūtras and other texts that contain much that is relevent to the study of meditation and which formed the nucleus of the standard Chinese Buddhist canon. The impact of Kumārajīva's total ouevre on the development of Chinese Buddhism can hardly be over-estimated, but his influence was entirely through the agency of the written word and its exegetical analysis -- there is no record that Kumārajīva himself either practiced or taught meditation, nor were any of his students known as meditation specialists.[24]

Buddhabhadra

The second figure of major importance active at the beginning of the fifth century was Buddhabhadra (358-429), a North Indian monk and student of the Kashmirian master Buddhasena.[25] After travelling to China by the maritime route, Buddhabhadra arrived in Ch'ang-an in 406, stayed at Hui-yüan's (334-416) monastery on Mount Lu for a short while, then moved to the southern capital of Chien-k'ang in 412. Although his original motive for travelling to China was to teach meditation,

Buddhabhadra is remembered more as an active translator and the teacher of Hui-kuan (354-424), a gifted exegete and p'an-chiao ("dividing the doctrine") specialist.[26]

While on Mount Lu Buddhabhadra translated at least one important text on meditation. This text is known variously as the Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching (The Meditation Sūtra of Dharmatrâta), the Hsiu-hsing tao-ti ching (Sūtra on the Stages of Spiritual Cultivation), or the Hsiu-hsing fang-pien ch'an ching (Meditation Sūtra on the Expedient Means of Spiritual Practice). The latter two titles reflect the original Sanskrit, Yogācāra-bhūmi. The first title, though the most popular historically, is distinctly not apropos — since it is a curious fact that the text in question does not contain an exposition of Dharmatrata's Mahāyāna teaching, but rather the Hīnayāna doctrine of Buddhabhadra's own teacher, Buddhasena.[27]

The content of this manual is similar to that of Kumārajīva's introduced in this Chapter (mindfulness of breathing, impurity of the body, dependent origination, etc.), but the emphasis is somewhat different — probably because of his identity as an actual instructor of meditation, Buddhabhadra includes discussion of common pitfalls and stumbling blocks of meditation, such as confusion in counting breaths or the failure to maintain one's concentration.[28] A few lines of the text and one of its prefaces figure prominently in the later Ch'an School's development of the theory of the transmission of the teachings from Sakyamuni Buddha to Bodhidharma, but there is no indication that the balance of the text or its teachings had any impact in later years.

Dharmamitra

The third major figure to be discussed here is Dharmamitra (356-442), a native of Kashmir and former resident of Kucha and Tun-huang.[29] A wanderer by nature, Dharmamitra arrived in Szechwan in 424 at the age of nearly 70, then moved to Ching-chou, where he built a meditation hall at Ch'ang-sha ssu. (Ch'ang-sha, the administrative center of Ching-chou, was to the south of present-day Hsiang-yin hsien in Hunan.) Eventually, he ended up at Chien-k'ang. After brief periods of residence in several locations in what is now Chekiang Province, in 433 Dharmamitra took up residence at Ting-lin (hsia) ssu just outside Chien-k'ang, and two years later founded Ting-lin shang ssu further up the slopes of Mount Chung. Both Ch'ang-sha ssu in Ching-chou and Ting-lin ssu on Mount Chung continued to be important centers of meditation practice long after Dharmamitra's demise.

Dharmamitra's contributions were not limited to this, however: while at Chien-k'ang he translated Buddhamitra's *Wu-men ch'an-ching yao yung-fa* (*Essential Method of the Meditation Sūtra of the Five Teachings*), which elaborates the same Five Types of Inhibitory Contemplation enumerated above (the order is slightly different from that in Kumārajīva's text). Dharmamitra also translated two Mahāyāna works of repentance and visualization and a three-fascicle work on meditation called the *Ch'an mi-yao* or *Secret Essentials of Meditation*, the last of which is unfortunately no longer extant.[30]

Other Early Figures

In addition to the three figures discussed above, we know the names and some biographical information regarding a number of fifth-century meditation masters. Several of these functioned in South China, and the coincidence of dates and activities implies that they functioned as a loosely organized team of missionaries. These include Dharmamitra, already discussed above, Kālayaśas, Saṁghadatta, and Saṁghalāta.[31] Kālayaśas was an Abhidharma and meditation specialist who often spent seven days at a time in samādhi. He arrived in Chien-k'ang in 424 and took up residence on Mount Chung, where he translated the Kuan wu-liang-shou ching or Sūtra of the Contemplation of [the Buddha] of Limitless Life, a very important Pure Land scripture, and another text devoted to two Bodhisattvas of healing.[32] Saṁghadatta and Saṁghalāta lived as forest hermits for at least a time, begging for their meals or surviving on food brought by birds.[33] Two other foreign monks known to have been active in the South do not seem to have been associated with those just mentioned.[34]

The most well-known meditation practitioner from this period, however, is the native Chinese monk Pao-chih (418?-514?), who amazed his contemporaries with unorthodox yet inspired behavior.[35] His biography only mentions one meditation instructor, an obscure figure, and Pao-chih's admiration for the meditation teachings of Kālayaśas. For reasons that are now unknown, in the year 465 Pao-chih began to manifest distinctly unusual behavior. He ceased all regularity of dwelling and eating, let his hair grown long, and travelled barefoot, carrying a staff from which dangled a length or two of silk, or scissors and a mirror. He made apparently incoherent statements that were later

understood to have been accurate predictions and advice. On occasion he appeared in several places at once. Pao-chih is remembered in numerous Ch'an texts of several centuries later as a personification of the spontaneous freedom of enlightenment. A similar figure, Wan-hui, appears in connection with the Northern School of Ch'an.[36]

While most of our information for this period concerns Buddhism and meditation practitioners in the South, it is probable that there was a greater amount of relevant activity in the North.[37] This is due to the closer proximity of North China, in both geographical and cultural terms, to the Buddhist homelands to the west. The official history of the Chin Dynasty includes the claim that one thousand of the more than five thousand monks in Ch'ang-an were regular practitioners of meditation.[38] (Due allowance should be made for exaggeration in these figures.) Those teachers who are known to have taught meditation in the North, both Chinese and non-Chinese masters included, were nevertheless relatively few in number.

Meditation specialists known to have been active in the North include Dharmapriya, Dharmayaśas, Hsüan-kao, and Ching-sheng. The first of these spent only a very short time in China, never venturing further than the Liang territory in the far Northwest.[39] Dharmayasas, who arrived in Ch'ang-an sometime between 405 and 418, was a Kashmirian student of the Sarvāstivādin meditation master Puṇyatāra. His only known activity while in North China was the translation of an Abhidharma text, but he did teach meditation to over three hundred students in Chiang-ling (Chiang-ling hsien, Hupeh) in the South. A died-in-the-wool Hīnayānist, Dharmayaśas was well-known for his view that the Mahāyāna was not Buddhism.[40]

Hsüan-kao (402-44) was a native of P'ing-i (Hsi-an fu, Shensi) who studied briefly under both Buddhabhadra and Dharmapriya. Hsüan-kao's biography is a poignant collage of success and tragedy, since he attracted over three hundred students but was the victim of two false accusations of political treachery. He eventually died while under arrest. The accounts of his students' practices imply that Hsüan-kao used the _Hua-yen ching_ (_Avataṃsaka Sutra_) and the _samādhis_ described therein as the basis of his meditation teaching.[41]

Finally, Chü-chü Ching-sheng (d. 464) was the younger brother of a Northern Liang ruler who travelled to Khotan to study under Buddhasena. After a sojourn in Kao-ch'ang, Ching-sheng returned to the Northern Liang to translate the texts he had received. He fled to the South in 439, where he lived out his life as a celibate and highly respected layman. Sixteen of his translations are still extant, but nothing is known of any students or followers.[42]

The names and brief snippets of information are known for several other meditation specialists, enough for us to infer that the practice of Buddhist meditation in fifth century China was eclectic, sophisticated, and geographically widespread.[43]

CHAPTER II

SENG-CH'OU AND MEDITATION PRACTICE IN NORTH CHINA DURING THE SIXTH CENTURY

1. Buddhism in Sixth Century China

The fifth century had been a period of substantial growth for Chinese Buddhism. Kumārajīva's translations gave the Chinese a firm foundation for the understanding of their adoptive faith. Not only did some of his works deal directly with meditation, but accomplished meditation masters such as Buddhabhadra and Dharmamitra arrived to both produce instructional manuals in the Chinese language and personally guide Chinese practitioners through the rigors of spiritual cultivation. The number of such native practitioners increased markedly.

The next hundred years or so, from just before the beginning of the sixth century until a few years after its end, were likewise an important period of growth. In spite of the often chaotic conditions of a disunited China, the work of translation continued apace. In Bodhiruci, Guṇabhadra, and Paramārtha, the sixth century witnessed the efforts of some of the best translators in the history of Chinese Buddhism.[44] Considering the difficult conditions under which they had to work -- of which Paramārtha's tribulations are the most poignant expression[45] -- their productivity was remarkable. Although Kumārajīva had established the real foundation of Buddhist learning in China, these men provided texts that broadened the scope of that newly-established

tradition considerably. In particular, where Kumārajīva's main concern had been the Mādhyamika dialectic of non-substantiality or emptiness (*śūnyatā*), these men introduced the "idealist" doctrines of the Yogācāra and the concept of the *tathāgata-garbha* or "matrix of Buddha-hood." Buddhist scholarship continued to grow, and the contents of different texts were analyzed, debated, and commented upon in detail.

In the midst of all this activity, the tradition of Buddhist meditation in China entered a new phase which differed from that of the previous century in several respects. First, there was a great change in the type of meditation manuals that were translated into Chinese. The only conventional manual to be produced during this period was Saṃghavarman's (460-524) translation of the *Vimutti-magga* or *The Path of Emancipation*, done in South China in 515. This work is notable as one of the very few to have been translated into Chinese from Pāli, but it had no known influence in China.[46] Another Hīnayāna meditation manual was apparently translated in 516 by Prajñāruci (there is some reason to doubt the date and translator's name), but this text is far more interesting for its cosmological explications than anything else.[47]

In contrast to the dearth of conventional meditation manuals, there continued to appear a variety of Mahāyāna *samādhi sūtras*. Such texts were by no means non-existent before this period, but they would appear to have been produced with greater frequency in the second half of the sixth century.[48] Also, the Gandharan monk Jñānagupta translated a large number of early Esoteric texts from the time of his arrival in Ch'ang-an in 560 to his exile from that city in 604. These Mahāyāna *samādhi sūtras* and Esoteric texts are markedly different from the more straightforward meditation manuals of previous centuries.[49]

Second, not only did the translation of conventional meditation manuals cease, but also the influx of living masters of the spiritual craft. In fact, Bodhidharma and Dhyāna Master Bhadra (who will be mentioned below in connection with Seng-ch'ou), both of whom arrived in China during the last quarter of the fifth century, were the last known foreign missionaries in the history of Chinese Buddhism to be identified primarily as meditation specialists. There were, of course, numerous adepts of dhāraṇī and various other esoteric practices that involved meditation, but no one who was known as a traditional meditation specialist per se.

The next meditation manual, incidentally, is the Hsiu-ch'an yao-chüeh (Essential Instructions on the Cultivation of Meditation), transcribed from Buddhapāli's oral presentation in 677 -- more than two centuries later than its immediate predecessor -- and here one even gets the impression that a firmly established Chinese tradition is merely inquiring politely about developments in India.[50] As far as its influence on Chinese Buddhism is concerned, the flow of Buddhist meditation expertise from India and Kashmir had ceased -- or had become irrevocably colored by the rise of Esoteric Buddhism.[51]

What is most surprising about this development is not that Buddhist meditation lost popularity in China -- but that it flourished as never before. This trend continued throughout the T'ang Dynasty, as is shown by the percentage of meditation specialists in successive "Biographies of Eminent Monks" texts, i.e., the KSC of 518, the HKSC of 645/667, and the Sung kao-seng chuan ("Biographies of Eminent Monks" [Compiled during the] Sung [Dynasty], hereafter SKSC) of 967. As compiled by Mizuno, only 16+% of the subjects were listed as meditators

or thaumaturges (the power for whose feats came through meditation) in the first of these texts, whereas successive versions had 45+% and 36+%. The last figure may actually be adjusted to some 60-70% due to the suffusion of meditation specialists throughout the other categories. Mizuno points out that the ultimate prevalence of meditation in Chinese Buddhism resembled that in primitive Indian Buddhism, where only certain monks were listed as especially proficient in meditation but all of them were well-versed in it.[52] Therefore, even though the direct contributions of the Indian and Kashmirian meditation traditions had ended, by the sixth century the Chinese tradition had achieved enough momentum to continue and even grow on its own.

2. The Relevence of Seng-ch'ou to This Study

There were many meditation specialists active in China — predominantly North China -- during the sixth century. Hui-ssu and Chih-i of the T'ien-t'ai School are two of the best-known such figures, but discussion of their lives and contributions will be deferred until the next Chapter. In many ways the most prominent of the sixth-century Northern meditation masters was Seng-ch'ou.

Seng-ch'ou's life is important to this study for several reasons. In the first place, he operated within virtually the same geographical and temporal setting as Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, so that his life offers many interesting possibilities for comparison. Tao-hsüan, the author of the HKSC, treats Bodhidharma and Seng-ch'ou as two of the most important meditation masters of the era, two men whose teachings were distinctively different.[53] Not only did their religious philosophies differ, but also their positions within the contemporary religious world. In contrast to the traditionally anti-establishmentarian cast of the earliest

Ch'an patriarchs (this image will of course have to be re-evaluated in the discussion below), Seng-ch'ou had close relations with many of the most important lay figures of his day and eventually came to be a major figure in the state-supported church. This establishmentarian cast to Seng-ch'ou's career is present at the very beginning of his training, when he was associated with early Ti-lun School figures as a student of Dhyāna Master Bhadra, who was probably identical to Buddhaśānta, one of the translators of the Shih ti ching lun.[54]

Although he may have been the fellow-student of exegetes and proselytizers of the doctrines of the Ti-lun School, Seng-ch'ou himself was neither an exegete nor a propagandist. On the contrary, he was devoted solely to the practice of meditation. His biography is the most complete description available in any early source of the idealized archetype of the native Chinese meditation master. Not only does it contain all the necessary hagiographical elements — vigorous training in alpine isolation, mysterious monks and spirits who either aid or inhibit his practice, long years of wandering from this place to that, stories of marvelous feats such as the separation of fighting tigers — but it climaxes in his success at the imperial court and his appointment as head of a national system of meditation centers.

In the immediate context of this Chapter, knowledge of Seng-ch'ou's example will aid in the understanding of the religious atmosphere in which the earliest Ch'an patriarchs operated. Later on in this study, it will be helpful to recall certain aspects of Seng-ch'ou's biography in order to better understand that of Shen-hsiu of the Northern School, another meditation specialist with a similar record of success at court but a markedly different attitude toward the

distinction between scholastic and contemplative activities.

3. Seng-ch'ou's Early Life and Training

Seng-ch'ou's (480-560) lay surname was Sun, his family's original home Ch'ang-li (Ling-yuan hsien, Jehol), and his birthplace Ying-t'ao (Ning-chin hsien, Hopeh) in Ch'u-lu.[55] As a youth he studied the Confucian classics, became a member of the national academy (t'ai-hsüeh po-shih), and was known at court for his incisive lectures on Confucian topics. Inherently disinclined to the complications of lay life, when he first encountered the Buddhist scriptures his spirit was liberated as if it were "melting away." This occurred at his age 28 (by the Chinese reckoning) in the year 507.

Seng-ch'ou became ordained under Dharma Master Seng-shih of Ching-ming ssu in Ch'ü-lu, who might be identical to Ratnamati's student of the same name. (The second characters of the two names are homographs.) After his ordination and an unspecified amount of time studying the scriptures, Seng-ch'ou studied meditation (chih-kuan) under Dhyāna Master Tao-fang, a disciple of Bhadra and probably also Ratnamati, one of the co-translators of the Shih ti ching lun.[56] In Bhadra's HKSC biography it is claimed that the foreign meditation master had Tao-fang ordain and teach Seng-ch'ou.[57] This instruction may have occurred in Lo-yang, but there is no mention of Seng-ch'ou's meeting Bhadra or visiting his residence at Shao-lin ssu[58] on Mount Sung at this time. For some reason — perhaps only the desires to avoid the commotion of the capital and to be closer to his own birthplace — Seng-ch'ou did not go to or stay in Lo-yang to practice according to Tao-fang's instructions, but travelled north to Mount Chia-yü in Ting-chou (Ting hsien, Hopeh).

Seng-ch'ou's first efforts at the intensive practice of meditation were unsuccessful, so much so that he made up his mind to switch to the recitation of the Nirvāṇa Sūtra. On the way down the mountain from his secluded retreat, however, Seng-ch'ou met a monk who exhorted him to continue his practice of meditation, saying that "all sentient beings (can ?) have a taste of the First Stage of Dhyāna."[59] After resuming meditation, Seng-ch'ou achieved samādhi within only ten days. He stayed at the same retreat for five years, practicing on the basis of the Nirvāṇa Sūtra's explanation of the Four Foundations of Mindfulness — about which more later.[60]

Next Seng-ch'ou moved to Moung Chang-kung in Chao-chou (Chao hsien, Hopeh; about equidistant between Ting-chou and Ch'ü-lu), where he studied the Sixteen Excellent Dharmas (shih-liu t'e-sheng fa) of the mindfulness of breathing (see the discussion below) under an otherwise unknown Dhyāna Master named Tao-ming. Seng-ch'ou's asceticism at this time was remarkable: He regularly spent several days at a time in samādhi, so long that his sitting mat became permanently adhered to his skin. He ate phenomenally small amounts of food, sometimes entering samādhi part-way through his meal-preparation, only to have his food eaten by the birds and animals. We are told he was a regular practitioner of the contemplation of death (ssu-hsiang), through the strength of which he taught bandits who threatened him about the laws of karma and inspired them to destroy their weapons and accept the precepts.

On one occasion Seng-ch'ou entered a very profound state of samādhi, from which he did not arise for nine days. At the end of this experience his mind was left completely clear, and he no longer took any pleasure at all in worldly matters. On the basis of this experience, he

at last paid a visit to Bhadra, who remarked: "You are the acme of meditation practice east of the Pamir Mountains." Bhadra then conferred on him the profound essentials of his own teachings, and had him take up residence at Sung-yüeh ssu on Mount Sung. We do not know exactly when this meeting with Bhadra occurred, but it was probably in or after 514.[61] Nor do we know the length of Seng-ch'ou's residence on Mount Sung. It was presumably while there that he was asked to write a text on meditation by an individual named Li Chiang and others, a request probably made before 526 or so. The resultant text, a two fascicle work known only as the Chih-kuan fa or The Teaching of Concentration and Insight, was supposedly highly treasured by meditation adepts of the day. Unfortunately, it is no longer extant.[62]

Next follows a series of formulaic stories intended to illustrate Seng-ch'ou's spiritual charisma as an accomplished yogin. At Sung-yüeh ssu he mollified a female spirit, on Mount Wang-shih (Hsin-yang hsien, Honan) he separated fighting tigers with his staff, and at Mount Ch'ing-lo (location unknown) he accepted offerings from lepers. The details of these and the other stories in Seng-ch'ou's biography are not relevent here, but the very existence of those stories is. It would seem that Seng-ch'ou wandered a great deal during his early life, his personal charisma being mentioned in a collection of legends that developed all over northern China, from which derived the hagiography of the HKSC. Whether from a direct continuation of the oral tradition of stories about him or through the medium of the HKSC and other texts, such stories about Seng-ch'ou continued to be repeated long after his death.

4. Seng-ch'ou's Career at Court

Seng-ch'ou's first invitation to court came from Emperor Hsiao-ming of the Wei Dynasty (r. 515-28). Emperor Hsiao-wu made a similar invitation around the end of 532, even building a meditation hall for Seng-ch'ou within the administrative headquarters of the capital. This action may have been modelled on the treatment once proffered Bhadra, but in this case it only drove the intended recipient further away.[63] Eventually, Seng-ch'ou took up residence at Mount Ta-ming in Yu-mo, was probably near Ting-chou.[64] He was invited to Mount Ta-ming by two very prominent individuals: Lou Jui, the then-current governor of Ting-chou (and the son of a former governor), and Kao Yu, the fifth son of the de facto founder of the Northern Ch'i Dynasty and himself a one-time governor of Ting-chou. Judging solely by the tenures of these men in Ting-chou and their other titles, I would infer that Seng-ch'ou's invitation occurred about the year 550.[65] At this time the Kao family had been in effective control of northeast China for over two decades and was on the verge of establishing their own dynasty, the Northern Ch'i.

The success of the Northern Ch'i was timed well for Seng-ch'ou's career at court. His credentials as a meditation specialist were impeccable, since his achievements had been verified by Bhadra. In spite of the role played by the Indian monk, Seng-ch'ou was essentially a product of native Chinese instructors and, more important, his own dedication to rigorous practice. During his long years of mendicancy, he had established his reputation over a large area of North China and, at 72 years of age, was at the very peak of his charisma and prestige. One would think that Seng-ch'ou might have accepted one of the invitations from Emperors Hsiao-ming or Hsiao-wu, but his relationship with the Wei

rulers may never have been as close as that to the power-holders of the Northern Ch'i. In addition, if Hui-k'o's HKSC biography is to be taken seriously, there was a certain amount of factional rivalry among meditation teachers in Yeh just after it was made the Wei capital in 534.[66] Seng-ch'ou may have felt it wise to avoid the fractious atmosphere of the new capital. His grand entrance in 551 would have occurred after these rivalries had had a chance to play themselves out, so that Seng-ch'ou could easily assume the role of the great unifier.

In any case, the final invitation came in 551 from Kao Yu's elder brother, the newly enthroned Emperor Wen-hsüan. When Seng-ch'ou, who ever since his ordination had lived in various alpine retreats, left for the capital at Yeh, the very mountains are said to have registered their anguish at his departure. For three days the peaks shook with a deafening and pitiful roar, throwing both men and animals into a state of chaotic frenzy. Upon Seng-ch'ou's arrival at Yeh, the Emperor proceeded outside the city walls to greet him personally.

Throughout his ensuing relationship with the Emperor, which is depicted in the HKSC as being very close, Seng-ch'ou consistently maintained his role as one who had transcended the everyday world. His very first lecture and the Emperor's response are described as follows:

> The Emperor escorted [Seng-ch'ou] into the Palace [where the master] discussed the true principles [of Buddhism] for [the Emperor. Seng-ch'ou] preached: "The triple realm is fundamentally non-substantial, this country included. The worldly phenomena of grandeur and success cannot be maintained forever." [He also] expounded at length upon the Four Foundations of Mindfulness. When the emperor heard this his hair stood on end and perspiration flowed. He accepted the Path of Meditation (ch'an-tao) and, after practicing for not very long, realized profound samādhi.[67]

However skeptical we may be of a monarch's ability to devote enough time to meditation to achieve any real success, the HKSC depicts

Emperor Wen-hsüan as a fervent Buddhist. After taking the Bodhisattva precepts -- presumably from Seng-ch'ou -- he abstained from liquor and meat, had his stable of falcons and hawks released, and converted the official hunting and fishing grounds into wildlife sanctuaries. He established six monthly and three annual fast days for the entire populace and prohibited all butchering of animals (presumably on those fast days only) and the cultivations of onions, etc., in both official and private fields.[68] On one occasion, when Wen-hsüan sought Seng-ch'ou's advice on the deportment of a pro-Buddhist sovereign, the monk suggested that the emperor had to act on the basis of an undistorted understanding of Buddhism in order to rule correctly. As a result, Wen-hsüan cancelled all court appearances and spent more than forty days listening to Seng-ch'ou's lectures on the Dharma.

Seng-ch'ou apparently tired quickly of life at court, for next we read that he wished to return to his original mountain residence (probably in Ting-chou). This request inspired the emperor to compromise and build a monastery for him on the southern slope of Mount Lung, about thirty-five kilometers from the capital at Yeh. (Ting-chou was about 175 kilometers from Yeh.) In addition to the monastery, which was named Yün-men ssu, Seng-ch'ou was given control of a large complex of cave-temples, probably meditation cells, etc.[69] A congregation of nearly a thousand monks and laymen was selected and supported lavishly by the emperor. In addition, an imperial edict established meditation centers in all the nation's prefectures staffed by specially selected "liberated and wise" monks as teachers. At least one meditation specialist was unwilling to submit to this attempt to unify and centralize meditation practice -- Hui-ssu, the well-known teacher of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i.

Hui-ssu departed North China when the emperor issued a summons for all meditation teachers to come to court in 552. Nevertheless, this national system was successful enough to be imitated some half-century later during the Sui Dynasty, as shall be discussed briefly below.[70]

5. The Dichotomy between Meditation and Scriptural Study

The Ch'i emperor's dedication to the practice of meditation made him poignantly aware of the uselessness of other forms of Buddhist endeavor. In addition to showing how easily Buddhist piety could become the justification for the persecution of the faith in North China, the following story is an interesting manifestation of the fundamental distinction between doctrinal study and meditation practice that existed in the minds of sixth-century Chinese Buddhists:

> At the time the propagation of lecturing and recitation [of the scriptures] was being done most lavishly. The emperor said: "The Great Truth of Buddhism is based on meditation (ching-hsin). The Dharma Masters (i.e., those devoted to doctrinal study, etc.) pointlessly transmit the teaching. [Listening to them] is like encountering something vexatious. This cannot be called explanation [of the Dharma]. All [such activities] should be prohibited."
>
> [Seng]-ch'ou admonished him: "The Dharma Masters also transmit the Fourfold Dependence and disseminate the Threefold Collection [of the scriptures] (san-tsang or tripiṭaka). They cause many people to discern the false and the true and attain the sublime. If it were not for them, how could one teach [sentient beings]? All [their activities] are the preliminaries to meditation. In the propagation of the truth, each individual is made to understand the progressive development of his faith.[71]

The emperor was all too happy to be so restrained, but responded in a way that would once again elicit Seng-ch'ou's criticism. He declared that the people's income would be divided into three parts, one of which would be for their own sustenance and the other two to go to the state and the Buddhist saṃgha. The construction of temple store-

houses was ordered to hold these offerings. Seng-ch'ou, however, objected in writing that material benefit and secularization only hindered the cultivation of the mind, which was the essential business of Buddhism. The emperor thus ordered a reversion to the old system of taxation, but he did establish a separate storehouse into which he could make donations directly, without having to go through official channels. All the rest of the stories in the HKSC depict Seng-ch'ou in the same light as the above, i.e., as remaining true to his principles of detachment from the world in his dealings with the emperor.

At this time it should be interesting to introduce an anecdote in which Seng-ch'ou plays a minor role and that illustrates the fundamental dichotomy that existed in Chinese Buddhism between the activities of doctrinal study and lecturing, on the one hand, and meditation, on the other. The protagonist of this story is the great exegete Ching-ying Hui-yüan (523-92), a second-generation disciple of Hui-kuang (through Fa-shang) and author of the Ta-sheng i-chang (Essays on the Doctrines of the Mahāyāna).

When lecturing in Yeh, Hui-yüan became ill after vigorously defending his positions in a particularly tumultuous debate. He was in such a state of continuous anxiety that for fifteen days he could not sleep, his heart in pain like it was being cut by a knife, his appetite non-existent. (This is a most graphic description of a heart attack brought on by an intensively productive, perhaps even compulsive, personality.) Finally, Hui-yüan remembered having travelled about to various mountain retreats to learn meditation and commenced to concentrate his mind by the practice of counting his breaths. After half a month of this his insomnia disappeared, so he continued for an entire

summer, after which both body and mind were happily purified and at peace.

When Hui-yüan described his experience to Seng-ch'ou, the latter encouraged him to continue on so that he might advance to the practice of insight meditation. Hui-yüan's response, however, was equivocal. On the one hand, after this experience he never failed to praise the practice of *dhyāna* in his lectures, but he did not continue its practice himself, lamenting that his many duties left him no time for it. Professor Yanagida, who introduces this anecdote in an article on Bodhidharma's identity within Northern Wei Buddhism, points out that it shows how the distinction between scriptural study or lecturing and meditation was firmly, if unconsciously, entrenched in the Chinese Buddhist mind.[72]

6. Seng-ch'ou's Death

To return to Seng-ch'ou's biography, he died in the spring of 560, only a few months after the death of his patron, Emperor Wen-hsüan. The *HKSC* chronicles the supernatural responses to the master's death, the obligatory imperial donations, and the erection of a *stūpa*. The inscription for this *stūpa* was composed by none other than Wei Shou (d. 570-76), compiler of the *Wei shu* or *The Chronicles of the Wei* and a native of the same birthplace as Seng-ch'ou.

The *HKSC*'s description of the memorial services for Seng-ch'ou, probably quoted from Wei Shou's epitaph, contains a very striking image of several hundred white cranes circling about in the sky, their mournful cries piercing through the billowing clouds of incense to be heard by the humans below. The conclusion of Seng-ch'ou's biography is even more poignant. After recounting the decline and eventual desolation of Yün-men ssu after Seng-ch'ou's demise, Tao-hsüan finishes by pointing

out the extent of his personal regard for the departed master's lofty example:

> I, [Tao-hsüan], visited this beautiful location in the first year of the Chen-kuan [period, or 627]. The mountain and forests are old, but the reality [of what occurred there] is still new. There was a dreary barrenness everywhere, which caused me to sigh frequently at the impermanence [of it all]. As I gazed around at the charred remains, I was quite choked with emotion at the wrongs that had resulted in such desolation.[73]

7. Seng-ch'ou's Teaching of Meditation

What was the nature of Seng-ch'ou's meditation practice? In his general essay on meditation specialists in the HKSC, Tao-hsüan characterizes his teachings as basically Hīnayānist in nature, easily understood, and conducive to high levels of individual moral achievement.[74] Included in Seng-ch'ou's HKSC biography is a reference to him as a srota-āpanna or "stream-winner," the first of the four Hīnayāna stages of sage-hood.[75] These references seem to suggest that Seng-ch'ou's practice was predominately Hīnayānist in orientation.

This impression is bolstered at first glance by the fact that Seng-ch'ou's favorite meditation technique was clearly the Four Foundations of Mindfulness. In this practice, which Seng-ch'ou used himself and eventually taught to Emperor Hsiao-wen, the practitioner's (1) body, (2) feelings, (3) mind, and (4) objects of mentation are to be contemplated in order to perceive their inherent qualities of impurity, suffering, impermanence, and the lack of a self. There are various methods of undertaking the practice of the Four Foundations, each specified in detail in the literature. One of these methods — and one that Seng-ch'ou is known to have practiced -- is known the Sixteen Excellent Dharmas. This method, which is based on one of the oldest passages of the Hīnayāna canon, correlates the Four Foundations of Mindfulness with

the practice of ānāpāna-smṛti or the Mindfulness of Breathing.[76]

Although the core of Seng-ch'ou's meditation practice was Hīnayānist, a certain amount of Mahāyāna influence is also apparent. Indirect indications of his religious inclinations exist in the probability that he administered the Bodhisattva precepts to the emperor and others and his temporary inclination to practice the recitation of the Nirvāṇa Sūtra. Much more significant is Seng-ch'ou's recommendation that the Four Foundations of Mindfulness be practiced according to the Sheng-hsing p'in or Chapter on Sagely Practice of the Nirvāṇa Sūtra. Here the mindfulness of the body is transformed from a standard Hīnayāna technique into a unique form of Mahayana samādhi that leads the practitioner to a realization of the fundamental non-substantiality of all things.[77]

Although the Nirvāṇa Sūtra's re-interpretation of the Four Foundations of Mindfulness is very interesting in its own right, it is done in a way that may have greater literary merit than practical value. Ultimately, it is impossible to determine the extent to which this recommendation accurately reflects Seng-ch'ou's actual meditation practices. It seems safest to assume that the meditation practices that Seng-ch'ou used and taught were basically Hīnayānist in nature, but were used to induce enlightenment to the teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

8. The Nation-wide System of Meditation Centers

That Seng-ch'ou's funeral was made into a grand affair was no doubt a fitting tribute to his life. An even greater memorial, though, is apparent in the fact that he was remembered after death not only in popular anecdotes, but as the figurehead of a national system of meditation centers. I mentioned above that Emperor Hsiao-wen established meditation centers in all the nation's prefectures concurrent with the

founding of Yün-men ssu. It is not difficult to imagine Yun-men ssu being the central hub of this system and Seng-ch'ou and/or his disciples playing an important role in the staffing of these local centers with qualified teachers. Indeed, the ideal of such a nation-wide system of meditation centers was maintained in association with Seng-ch'ou's name well into the Sui Dynasty.

In 602 or shortly thereafter Emperor Wen of the Sui established Ch'an-ting ssu or "Meditation Monastery" in the southwest corner of the capital at Ch'ang-an and made T'an-ch'ien (542-607) its chief abbot. T'an-ch'ien was a second-generation disciple of Hui-kuang, the exegete par excellence of the Ti-lun School, and thus closely related to Seng-ch'ou in terms of religious genealogy.[78] By the end of the sixth century, however, Paramārtha's translation of the Mahāyāna-saṃgraha, the She ta-sheng lun or simply the She-lun (Compendium of the Mahāyāna)[79] had generated the formation of a new exegetical "School," the She-lun School. T'an-ch'ien is remembered primarily as a member of this rather than the Ti-lun School. He was extremely prominent in the Sui, being instrumental in various imperial actions toward the benefit of Buddhism. (In comparison with Seng-ch'ou, his biography makes him appear a dreadful sycophant.)

With the establishment of Ch'an-ting ssu in the memory of a deceased empress, Emperor Wen promulgated the following edict:

> Ever since Master [Seng]-ch'ou's demise [the practice of] meditation has not flourished. Although morality and wisdom are propagated, the rituals [of meditation] are lacking. The monastery We are now establishing is to be called "Meditation [Monastery]." Wishing for a succession from former examples, it will be appropriate to summon from throughout the nation one hundred and twenty famous and virtuous Dhyāna Masters, each with two attendants. Their selection is deputed to Dhyāna Master [T'an]-ch'ien.[80]

Presumably the 120 Dhyāna Masters were to receive special training and official certification at Ch'an-ting ssu and then be returned to imperially-supported positions throughout the nation. Although it is unknown whether this edict was ever carried out, the envisioned system of meditation centers should be considered along with the other, more well-known national temple systems of the Sui and T'ang Dynasties. In this case, however, there is no question of any new temple construction or the conferring of official status on local establishments. Ch'an-ting ssu did itself become a prominent center, as is evidenced by the number of important monks who lived there in the early seventh century, but it is unclear whether any significant number of the Dhyāna Masters recruited under Emperor Wen's edict were ever returned to local situations. If that were in fact the intent of the edict, the appeal of life in the capital may have been too strong, even for supposedly detached and unworldly meditators.[81]

9. Final Comments

Near the beginning of this Chapter I described Seng-ch'ou's life as an archetypal biography of a Chinese meditation master. He was the personification of the Chinese meditation tradition, a man whose life demonstrates both the religious significance and the personal rewards of arduous practice. Seen in this light, Seng-ch'ou must be recognized as a most impressive individual, one of the premier examples of the fertility of the Chinese Buddhist tradition. Nevertheless, it is also possible to view his biography from another perspective, one that is not necessarily negative but certainly less flattering.

One of the most interesting developments of the sixth century was that the Chinese began to develop their own interpretations of Buddhist

meditation. Due to a lack of sufficient evidence, these interpretations are not always comprehensible, but their existence is beyond question. For example, the _Mo-ho chih kuan_ or _The Great [System of] Concentration and Insight_, Chih-i's longest and most important work on meditation, contains a list of meditation doctrines taught by different masters. The following is a composite of Chih-i's list and a similar but more explicit passage found in the commentary of Ching-ch'i Chan-jan (711-82):

1. Ming, who "emphasized the seven expedient means (_fang-pien_), these probably being the seven expedient means of the Hīnayāna." (Chih-i: no equivalent)

2. Tsui, who "emphasized melding the mind (_jung-hsin_), essence melding and characteristic melding, all the _dharmas_ being unhindered." (Chih-i: "pacifying and melding," _ho-jung_)

3. Sung, who "emphasized the fundamental mind (_pen-hsin_), the three periods of time being fundamentally without coming or going, the True Nature immoveable." (Chih-i: "essential mind," _t'i-hsin_)

4. Chiu, who "emphasized the tranquil mind (_chi-hsin_)." (Chih-i: "annihilation")

5. Chien, who "emphasized comprehending the mind (_liao-hsin_), the ability to contemplate the unitary Suchness (_neng-kuan i-ju_)." (Chih-i: "comprehension," _liao_)

6. Hui, who "emphasized 'walking on the mind' (? _t'a-hsin_, perhaps to be understood as "acting in accordance with the mind"), the mind being 'unobtainable' (i.e., imperceptible) either within, without, or in between" (Chih-i: "walking on the mind")[82]

Both the historical identities and religious philosophies of the six figures listed above are far from certain,[83] but for our purposes it is only necessary to accept the fact that there did exist such individuals with specific and distinctive approaches to religious practice.

The same cannot be said for Seng-ch'ou. The historical record includes no indication that Seng-ch'ou taught anything but the most conventional form of Buddhism, taken with as little distortion as

possible from the translations of Indian texts. For this, Seng-ch'ou may be commended by some readers -- but I cannot escape the impression that he lacked the individuality of character and doctrinal creativity that is readily apparent in the biographies of other masters such as Hui-ssu and Hui-k'o. Although it would be difficult to specify which were the cause and which the effect, Seng-ch'ou's orthodoxy and lack of individuality may be correlated with his strong support from the political establishment in North China.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDITATION THEORY IN THE T'IEN-T'AI SCHOOL

1. The Confluence of Northern and Southern Chinese Buddhism in the T'ien-t'ai School

In the pages above we discussed a tradition of Buddhist meditation practice that was exemplified in the career of Seng-ch'ou of the Northern Ch'i and continued to be influential at least until the Sui Dynasty. Our next subject is another such tradition that originated in North China and climaxed in the Sui: the succession from Hui-wen (fl. ca. 540) to Nan-yüeh Hui-ssu (515-77) to T'ien-t'ai Chih-i (538-97).

There are several factors that distinguish this T'ien-t'ai tradition from that discussed above: First, it was not a strictly Northern tradition. Although the relatively obscure Hui-wen is not known to have been active outside the North, Hui-ssu was a Southerner who trained in the North and made a conscious decision to return to the South, where he gained his greatest disciple, the Southerner Chih-i. In fact, both Hui-ssu and Chih-i had markedly negative impressions of the one-sided excesses of "Northern Dhyāna Masters," as we shall see below.[84]

Second, where it is impossible to determine whether or not Seng-ch'ou's teachings departed in any way from the conventional parameters of translated Indian texts, the contributions of Hui-ssu and Chih-i to the development of Buddhist meditation theory is of major significance. Indeed, where Seng-ch'ou is only associated with one short work, now

lost, the combined ouevre of the T'ien-t'ai masters occupy hundreds of pages of closely-printed Chinese text. Thus, paradoxically, the most important obstacle to the study of early T'ien-t'ai is not the paucity of information, as with Seng-ch'ou and other masters, but the great mass of source material that must be examined.

Third, where Seng-ch'ou identified himself strictly as a devotee of meditation and avoided any engagement in scriptural study, one of the most important characteristics of Chih-i's career was his unification of the Northern tradition of dhyāna practice with the Southern tradition of prajñā or Buddhist exegetics. Because of his incredible productivity and the fact that his own personal religious development was reflected in significant theoretical innovations, Chih-i's works constitute both the culmination of all that had gone before and the introduction to a new age in the practice of Buddhist meditation in China. For obvious reasons, our focus here will be on the application of Chih-i's exegetical methodology to meditation theory.

2. Hui-wen

Traditionally, the first teacher of the T'ien-t'ai lineage — excluding such legendary patriarchs as Śākyamuni Buddha and Nāgārjuna — was Hui-wen. Unfortunately, his teachings are almost completely obscure and his biography essentially unknown. The opening of the Mo-ho chih-kuan, which was written by Chih-i's chief recorder, Chang-an Kuan-ting (561-632), says only that Hui-wen was active in the Yellow and Huai River areas of North and East China and that his teaching, which was not understood by his contemporaries, was based on the Ta chih-tu lun.[85] Other passages in the Mo-ho chih-kuan and Chan-jan's commentary suggest that Hui-wen's meditation focussed on some concept of chüeh-hsin, "the

enlightened mind" or "awakening to the mind," or chüeh-mi, "enlightened seeking (?)." These terms occur without explication and must be approached in the same manner as those of the six obscure teachers listed at the end of the previous Chapter. Chan-jan adds that Hui-wen also used "the samādhi of sucessive contemplations and the samādhi of non-interruption, [in which] the mind is without discrimination with respect to all dharmas."[86]

In weighing this small body of evidence, Ando Toshio makes the plausible suggestion that Hui-wen was part of a recent development in northern Chinese Buddhism, the "Four Treatises School" (ssu-lun tsung). Ando describes this as a Mādhyamika school that engineered a rediscovery of the Ta chih-tu lun, which had been largely ignored since its translation by Kumārajīva, and that was characterized by a strong interest in the practice of meditation. The orthodox T'ien-t'ai School assertions that Hui-wen originated the theory of i-hsin san-kuan or "three contemplations in a moment of consciousness" and the practice of the fa-hua san-mei or Lotus Samādhi cannot be disproven, but must be regarded as questionable.[87] Finally, it is also possible to argue that Hui-wen's day-to-day instruction in meditation included the subtantial use of originally Hīnayāna techniques.[88]

3. Hui-ssu

Hui-ssu was an interesting and important individual, a vigorous practitioner of concentrative exercises and a veritable firebrand as a lecturer. Since his life and teachings have already been studied in detail by other scholars,[89] I will limit myself to a brief résumé of his biography and the consideration of his religious practice, enlightenment experience, and certain factors relating to his approach to meditation.

Hui-ssu was born in the Southern part of the Northern Wei regime, an area that was frequently ravaged by the civil disturbances of the age. According to his own account, Hui-ssu left home at age fifteen (529), recited the Lotus and other Mahāyāna scriptures and engaged in ascetic practices until age twenty (534), and then "visited all the Great Dhyāna Masters of North China in order to study the Mahāyāna, residing all the while in the forests engaged in walking and seated meditation."[90] According to the Mo-ho chih-kuan, Hui-ssu spent his first ten years as a mendicant reciting the scriptures and the next seven practicing the Vaipulya Repentence or Samādhi.[91] The HKSC asserts that the catalyst for his conversion from the practice of recitation and repentance rituals to that of meditation was his contact with the Miao-sheng ting ching or Sūtra of the Wonderful and Excellent Meditation. After encountering this text, Hui-ssu supposedly went to take refuge under Hui-wen.[92] Although one Sung Dynasty source assigns the date 534 (Hui-ssu's age 19) to the encounter with the Miao-sheng ting ching, it is possible that the encounter and ensuing transformation did not occur until the mid-540's, when Hui-ssu was about thirty years old.[93]

Before progressing further in Hui-ssu's biography, let us stop to consider the implications of the encounter which inspired him to switch from the practice of sūtra recitation and the rituals of the repentance of past transgressions to the single-minded practice of meditation. The supposed merits of sūtra recitation are well-known: the accumulation of merit leading to direct spiritual benefit, this often being accomplished through visions of the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas appearing in the given scripture and the revelation of the ultimate doctrines preached therein. Rituals of repentance or expiation, on the other hand, were aimed at the

dissolution of obstacles to spiritual progress engendered by transgressions in this and, more often, in previous lives. Such practice might be aimed at the negation of the karmic residue of a certain specific crime, or inspired by a general desire for the cultivation of positive qualities that would hasten the practitioner's spiritual progress. The *Vaipulya* Repentence that Hui-ssu practiced was particularly popular: it specified a twenty-one day regimen of *sūtra* and *dhāraṇī* recitation and the visionary invocation of Avalokiteśvara and all the Buddhas of the ten directions.[94]

The *Miao-sheng ting ching*, which has become known through its discovery among the Tun-huang manuscripts still remaining in China, was an appropriate catalyst of Hui-ssu's change in religious practice. That is, it:

1. compares the merit of one day and night of meditation favorably with infinite amounts of conventional activities, such as temple construction, the making of images, recitation and teaching of scriptures, etc.;

2. proclaims the "inconceivable power of meditation" to perform super-natural acts, which exceeds by a hundred, thousand, or ten-thousand times the efficacy of conventional knowledge of the *sūtras*;

3. as part of this power, claims that a short period of time spent in meditation (forty-nine days at the most) was sufficient to eradicate the most extreme burden of bad karma;

4. specifies that the technique of meditation was appropriate for the period long after the lifetime of the Buddha when the *Dharma* would be in a state of degeneration -- which it describes in most vivid terms; and

5. concludes with a promise from Indra to maintain the text and make it accessible to forest practitioners (of that later age).

The *Miao-sheng ting ching* is very pointed in its caricature of the learned exegetes of the day, who were "worshipped like Buddhas" but had no wisdom behind their great knowledge of the scriptures.

Nevertheless, the Buddha prevents them from rejecting that knowledge, without which they would be as able to achieve enlightenment as a fly's wing might be able to block the sun. Although this aspect of the text may remind us of Seng-ch'ou's defense of the *Dharma* Masters before the over-zealous Emperor Hsiao-wen of the Northern Ch'i, the most striking and well-known anecdote contained here is that of Śākyamuni and Mañjuśrī falling into hell during their previous lives because of their argument about whether the *dharmas* were existent or non-existent. As a devout Buddhist, Hui-ssu was no doubt shocked by the notion of the Buddha being cast into hell in a former life. In addition, he was must have been impressed by the fact that Śākyamuni achieved the realization of the ultimate truth of *śūnyatā* or non-substantiality through only seven days of meditation.[95]

4. Hui-ssu's Enlightenment

The *HKSC* contains an interesting account of Hui-ssu's training and enlightenment, describing him as a dedicated practitioner who by nature enjoyed the rigors of ascetic endeavor. After a year of meditation under Hui-wen, Hui-ssu encountered certain impediments — his body became weak and he could not walk, etc. — which he ascribed to the influence of his own karma. In contemplating the origins of that karma and his own physical existence, Hui-ssu's "deluded thoughts disappeared, his mind (*hsin-hsing*) became pure, and his suffering (i.e., his physical problems) dissipated. He also developed the *Samādhi* of Non-substantiality (*k'ung-ting*), his mind becoming suddenly expansive."[96]

This was not to be his final achievement, however. At the end of that summer retreat, Hui-ssu became depressed over his inability to attain the ultimate level of enlightenment. The following

transformation occurred when at last he was at the very bottom of his despair:

> In a single instant (nien) he penetrated the Mahāyāna Teaching [of the] Lotus Samādhi. [Through practice of the] Sixteen Excellent [Dharmas] he achieved the [Eight] Liberations [associated with the Eight Stages of Dhyāna]. Thus he [achieved his] own penetration [into the Truth], and no longer needed to depend on anyone else's enlightenment.[97]

Ōchō Enichi has noticed that the series of practices through which Hui-ssu progressed resembles the Four Types of Meditation (ssu-chung ch'an) later formulated by Chih-i. That is, prior to his tenure under Hui-wen, Hui-ssu practised Worldly Meditation, or scriptural recitation aimed at the acquisition of spiritual benefit. During his first year under Hui-wen he practised Hīnayāna meditation, including the Four Dhyānas and the Sixteen Excellent Dharmas, in which he put aside whatever worldly or limited aims he may have had and managed to shake off the limitations of his past karma. This period of Unworldly Meditation was capped by a realization of the non-substantiality of all things, which was presumably the highest teaching of Hui-wen, a devotee of the Ta chih-tu lun. This realization would correspond to the later category of Both Worldly and Unworldly Meditation. The final stage of Hui-ssu's enlightenment was the attainment of the Lotus Samādhi, the Neither Worldly nor Unworldly Meditation.[98]

5. Hui-ssu's Career as a Teacher

Leaving the subject of Hui-ssu's understanding of the Lotus Samādhi aside for the moment, let us now turn to his career as a lecturer and meditation instructor. The next period in his life was one of frequent movement, lectures on the Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra and the "meaning of the Mahāyāna" (Mo-ho-yen i), and repeated attempts on

his life by jealous monks. At this point Hui-ssu had already achieved a certain measure of prominence, but he left North China in 552 when the Ch'i Emperor Wen-hsüan issued an edict inviting all Dhyāna Masters in the country to court. (See the previous Chapter, Part 4.)

Hui-ssu rationalizes his flight by dint of his own humble abilities, but from the rest of his biography we may infer that, first, he was too opinionated and sharp-tongued to hobnob with vain aristocrats and sycophantic clerics; second, his views on the decline of the Dharma (mo-fa) were not conducive to court life, especially in the North;[99] and third, he did not wish to subordinate himself to Seng-ch'ou, whose personal relationship with Emperor Wen-hsüan and position as at least the titular head of a national system of meditation centers were already established facts. In addition, it is reasonable to infer that Hui-ssu's contact with monks from the South had led him to feel that that region represented not only a haven from civil unrest, but also a more fertile ground for his theories of the Mahāyāna and the practice and teaching of meditation.

From 552 to 558 (Hui-ssu's age thirty-eight to forty-four), Hui-ssu lived and/or lectured at six different locations in what are now Hupeh and Honan Provinces. On at least four occasions his presentations inspired bitter enmity from "evil monks" in his audiences and at least three separate attempts on his life. Hui-ssu recounts both the invitations by local officials and his persecution by those who disagreed with him in some detail, with the apparent goal of representing himself as the standard-bearer of Truth in an age of the disintegration of the Dharma. One manifestation of Hui-ssu's perhaps inflated perception of his own self-importance is the fact that in 558 he commissioned the

copying the *Perfection of Wisdom* and other Mahāyāna *sūtras* in gold characters and vowed to "manifest innumerable bodies in [all] the countries of the ten directions expounding upon these *sūtras* in order to make all the evil Treatise Masters achieve and not regress from the Stage of Faith."[100]

From 554 or 555 to 568 Hui-ssu resided at Mount Ta-su (Shang-ch'eng hsien, Honan), where he was soon joined by Chih-i, his most famous disciple. In 568 Hui-ssu moved to Nan-yüeh in the Southwest, which he felt would be further removed from any civil disturbance and thus more conducive to his own religious activities. With the exception of a visit to the southern capital at Chien-k'ang, Hui-ssu remained at Nan-yüeh until his death.

Better than any incident, it is the atmosphere surrounding Hui-ssu's death that best demonstrate his religious beliefs, grandiose self-conception, and acerbic personality. When he realized that his life was coming to an end, he assembled his students and lectured to them for several days. Hui-ssu's verbal onslaught was no doubt intended as the last injunctions of a concerned teacher, but it may have seemed more the ranting of a frustrated martinet:

> [Hui-ssu] scolded and shouted so severely that his listeners' hearts turned cold. He told the assembly: "If there are ten persons who will unstintingly and constantly practice the Lotus, Direct Visualization, and Mindfulness of the Buddha *Samādhis*, the *Vaipulya* Repentence, and the asceticism of constant sitting, then I myself will make offering to them such that there will necessarily be mutual benefit. If there is no one such as this, then I will go far away."
>
> Such asceticism is difficult, so ultimately no one answered him. [Hui-ssu] then dismissed the assembly and concentrated his mind in order to end his life in utter quiescence. When the young monk Yün-pien saw that [the master] was about to expire he cried and wailed aloud. [Hui]-ssu opened his eyes and said: "You demon! I am about to depart, and an extremely large number of sages have arrived, with incisive perspicacity, to

discuss my next rebirth. Why do you wish to alarm and disturb me?"

The imbecile left, so [Hui-ssu] once again concentrated his mind and sat in clarity until his extinction. A strange fragrance filled the room. [After death Hui-ssu's] body remained pliable and the crown of his head was warm, but his expression was unchanged.[101]

6. Chih-i's Life

Although Hui-ssu was an interesting and significant figure in his own right, he was clearly overshadowed by the achievements of his disciple, T'ien-t'ai Chih-i. For the purposes of this study it will not be necessary to discuss Hui-ssu's individual contributions separately. Rather, it will be simpler to outline Chih-i's career and then discuss certain aspects of T'ien-t'ai meditation theory apparent in his works. Because of the existence of an in-depth study of Chih-i's life by Leon Hurvitz, the following will be limited to the briefest of summaries.[102]

Chih-i was born to very prominent parents in Ching-chou in 538. In his youth he is supposed to have recited a scripture devoted to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.[103] His parents died in the civil turmoil of 554, after which Chih-i became a monk. Under his early teachers Chih-i learned the regulations of the *Vinaya*, recited the *Lotus Sūtra* and two related scriptures, and practiced the *Vaipulya* Repentence, through which he achieved an ecstatic vision. In 560, at the age of twenty-three, Chih-i went to Mount Ta-su to study meditation under Hui-ssu.

Hui-ssu set Chih-i to work on the Four Comfortable Practices (*ssu an-lo hsing*), which Hui-ssu "had devised for realizing the spirit of the *Lotus* by contemplative methods."[104] After only fourteen days Chih-i achieved his first moment of insight. According to one source, Hui-ssu told his student that the *samādhi* Chih-i had entered was the "expedient

means antecedent to the Lotus Samādhi and the basis for his achievement of the "dhāraṇī of transformation."[105]

Eventually, Chih-i's understanding progressed to the point where he was asked to lecture in place of Hui-ssu. The master allowed him to cover all subjects except the Three Samādhis and the Three Contemplative Wisdoms (san san-mei san kuan-chih), but Chih-i still required assistance when he came to a line that said that the "one mind encompasses the myriad practices." At this point Hui-ssu explained that Chih-i's doubts involved the "gradual doctrine of the Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra, not the Lotus' doctrine of perfection and suddenness."[106] The comprehension of this latter, more advanced doctrine was not to occur until later in Chih-i's life.

From 567 to 575 Chih-i was a prominent lecturer in the Ch'en Dynasty capital of Chin-ling. During this period he was perceived in part as the teacher of new theories about meditation, with one prominent monk remarking: "'No prajñā without dhyāna' -- is this the accepted wisdom now?"[107] Although others may have treated him as a teacher, it is apparent from his works from this period that Chih-i himself was still continuing the course of training begun under Hui-ssu. In 575 Chih-i realized that his sojourn in the capital was impeding his own spiritual progress, so he left the city and ascended Mount T'ien-t'ai (T'ien-t'ai hsien, Chekiang).

Shortly after ascending Mount T'ien-t'ai, Chih-i had a visionary experience in which a "divine monk" (shen-seng) preached the Dharma for him.[108] This was the final and most important transcendental experience of his life, one in which he is considered to have achieved an intimate experience of the Lotus Samādhi itself and the transition from mere

knowing to immediate personal realization of his own religious truth.[109] The balance of his life was devoted to the explication of this experience in a series of major writings, conscious efforts to establish a firm basis of support for his own religious school,[110] and the cultivation of supportive relationships with first the Ch'en and then the Sui Dynasty rulers.[111]

7. The Rationalization of Earlier Meditation Techniques

The first and most basic achievement of Hui-ssu and Chih-i in the field of meditation theory was the organization of an extensive variety of Buddhist meditation techniques into rationalized systems. I have already mentioned above that Hui-ssu's own curriculum of training seems to have paralleled a later T'ien-t'ai scheme of Four Types of Meditation. (See Part 4 above.) It is probable that Hui-ssu also initiated the process of rationalization that culminated in Chih-i's system of the Graduated Meditation (*chien-tz'u chih-kuan*). This inference is based on Chih-i's heavy dependence upon the *Ta chih-tu lun* in explicating this Graduated Meditation, the *Ta chih-tu lun* being a text that he studied under Hui-ssu. Unfortunately, there is very little direct evidence with which to gauge the extent of Hui-ssu's contribution. For the purposes of this study we may limit ourselves to discussing only the most relevent themes of T'ien-t'ai meditation theory, which become manifest in Chih-i's writings.

Chih-i's basic formulation of the Graduated Meditation occurs in a work known as the *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men*, *The Graduated Teaching of Meditation*. This work was transcribed from lectures probably given around the year 571 at Wa-kuan ssu in Chin-ling. This is Chih-i's most important

early work; there are a number of abstracts or commentaries based on it compiled by Chih-i and/or Kuan-ting.[112] Here occurs Chih-i's first formulation of what came to be called the Twenty-five Expedient Means (erh-shih-wu fang-pien), which define the pre-requisites of meditation practice. Even more important, this work contains the sequential explanation of the following list of techniques:

The Four Dhyānas (ssu-ch'an)
The Four Unlimited States of Mind (ssu wu-liang hsin) or Pure Abodes (brahma-vihāra in Sanskrit)
The Four Formless Dhyānas (ssu wu-se ting)
The Six Wondrous Teachings (liu miao-men)
The Sixteen Excellent Dharmas (shih-liu t'e-sheng fa)
The Three Penetrative Illuminations (san t'ung-ming)
Nine Contemplations (chiu hsiang) of physical impurity
Eight Remembrances (pa nien) of the Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha, breathing, etc.
Ten Contemplations (shih hsiang) of impermanence, suffering, the lack of a self, etc.
Eight Renunciations (pa pei-sha), more often known as the Eight Emancipations (pa chieh-t'o)
Eight Excellences (pa sheng-ch'u) or distinctions in the treatment of craving by contemplating various aspects of form in this world
Ten Totality-spheres (shih i-ch'ieh ch'u) of earth, water, fire, wind, etc.
Nine Successive Dhyānas (chiu tz'u-ti ting), the ability to pass through each stage of dhyāna without any extraneous intervening thoughts
The Samādhi of the Lion's Charge (shih-tzu fen-hsün san-mei), which allows one to enter rapidly into an uninterrupted state of concentration
The Samādhi of Transcendence (chao-yüeh san-mei), the ability to proceed directly from normal consciousness to nirodha-samāpatti and back again without any intervening stages[113]

The order of the practices listed in the Tz'u-ti ch'an-men is derived in part from passages in the Ta chih-tu lun and, ultimately, the Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra, but the overall achievement is Chih-i's. The comprehensive approach taken by Chih-i in this work went beyond a simple ranking of individual techniques, however. As Andō writes:

> [The *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men*] took a variety of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna meditation techniques that had been given nothing more than a sequential ranking ever since the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* and distinguished them on the basis of their being tainted or untainted, worldly in purpose or conducive to emancipation, and whether they emphasized phenomena or absolute principles, etc. [Chih-i] grasped the essential character of each practice and validated the existence of every variety of meditation technique on the basis of research into a great number of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna scriptures. On the basis of this, Hīnayāna meditation techniques were positively correlated with the Mahāyāna techniques... Such a systematic classification of the graduated practice was truly unprecedented.[114]

8. The Perfect and Sudden Meditation

Chih-i's greatest work on meditation, the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*, was recorded from lectures given at Yü-ch'üan ssu in Ching-chou in 594, just two and one-half years before Chih-i's death. Whereas the *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men* may be thought of as a self-study project undertaken after departing from Hui-ssu's side, the *Mo-ho chih-kuan* is much more intimately based on Chih-i's own religious experience. Practice of the Perfect and Sudden Meditation (*yüan-tun chih-kuan*) explained within this work is organized into three stages:

> 1. The Twenty-five Expedient Means, preparatory moral and procedural considerations drawn essentially in toto from the *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men*
>
> 2. The Four Types of *Samādhi*, from which the practitioner was to select the one most appropriate to his own needs and interests as a more advanced but still preliminary stage
>
> 3. The Ten Realms and Ten Modes of Contemplation (*shih ching* and *shih-sheng kuan-fa*), which alone constituted true contemplation[115]

Since the basic description of these three phases of practice is given in very convenient form by Hurvitz, it will only be necessary to make a few general observations here. First, with regard to the Four Types of *Samādhi*, Andō has shown that the *samādhis* included in Chih-i's treatment were not drawn from earlier texts at random, or even on the

basis of some logical principle, but were those actually practiced by him earlier in his career.[116] Several of these samādhis are discussed in earlier works by Hui-ssu and Chih-i, works to which the Mo-ho chih-kuan occasionally defers in matters of specific ritual procedure. Not only does the Mo-ho chih-kuan fail to repeat the liturgical details of the earlier texts, but it interprets the samādhis in question in a noticeably more abstract fashion.

The Lotus Samādhi is a good example of the Mo-ho chih-kuan's tendency to abstraction. The goal of this samādhi, according to one interpretation by Hui-ssu, was to achieve a vision of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. He would appear seated on a white elephant and touch the practitioner's eyes with a vajra-mortar, thereby eradicating all karmic obstacles and enabling him to see all the Buddhas in the universe. Those Buddhas would then supply the practitioner with three dhāraṇīs, by which he could achieve complete liberation in no more than three lifetimes.[117] In the Mo-ho chih-kuan, however, Chih-i interprets the same vision as follows:

> The six-tusked white elephant refers to the Bodhisattva's untainted six super-normal powers. Tusks have a capability that is like the speed of these powers. The great strength of the elephant represents the responsibility of the dharma-kāya. This being untainted and without defilements, it is called white. The three persons on top of [the elephant's head], one with a vajra-mortar, one with a vajra-disk, and one with a wish-bestowing gem, indicate that the Three Wisdoms reside at the summit of [the state of being] without defilements...[118]

The same process of abstraction is also apparent in Chih-i's treatment of practices devoted to Avalokiteśvara. Nominally the invocation of this Bodhisattva was aimed at salvation from worldly tragedies such as illness, meteorological disasters, etc., but Chih-i makes the six personalities of Avalokiteśvara described in the sūtra devoted to

him the abstract equivalents of a list of twenty-five different _samādhis_. By this strategem Chih-i not only elevates faith in Avalokiteśvara tc the highest spiritual level, but he also manifests his understanding of the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva as the personification of human religious ideals rather than a mere superhuman deity.[119]

The second relevant aspect of the _Mo-ho chih-kuan_'s system of Perfect and Sudden Meditation is the allowance made for spontaneous, even instantaneous, freedom in the application of different meditation techniques. Even in the _Tz'u-ti ch'an-men_ Chih-i did not insist that practitioners master each of the listed techniques in serial order, but the emphasis of that text was unmistakably placed on the overall contour of the spiritual agenda. In a text written slightly after this one known as the _Liu miao-men_ or _Six Wondrous Teachings_, Chih-i defines what is generally called the Indeterminate Meditation (_pu-ting chih-kuan_).[120] According to Chih-i, the practitioner was allowed to choose any technique at any given moment on the basis of one's individual needs and circumstances. Traditional meditation theory always posited that certain techniques were appropriate responses to different problems, but never before -- as far as I am aware -- were the techniques to be chosen and applied in such an immediate, short-term framework. In addition, traditional meditation theory required that the student perform techniques chosen for him by an accomplished master, whereas in Chih-i's system this responsibility was shifted to the student.

In the _Mo-ho chih-kuan_'s explication of the Perfect and Sudden Meditation, this allowance for momentary, instantaneous spontaneity in the application of different meditation techniques is incorporated into the very heart of the system. The beginning point of that system is

contemplation of the first of the Ten Realms, the Realm of Cognitive Reality or, more literally, the Realm of the Skandhas, Āyatanas, and Dhātus (yin-ju-chieh ching). This is nothing less than one's complete personal system of physical form, sensory capabilities, mental activities, and realms of sensory perception. This Realm is always present during every moment of contemplation -- indeed, during every moment of sentient existence. Although the entire human cognitive apparatus is included in this category, Chih-i indicates that one's meditation should begin with concentration on the mind itself: "If you wish to practice contemplative investigation [of reality] you must cut off the source [of your illusions], just as in moxabustion therapy you must find the [appropriate physical] point."[121] The goal of this inspection of the mind, in turn, is the comprehension of the first Mode of Contemplation, the Contemplation of the Inconceivable Realm (kuan pu-k'o-ssu-i ching).

Chih-i's elaborate explanation of the Inconceivable Realm is summarized by Hurvitz; there is no need to expand upon that summary here. What is significant at present is not Chih-i's description of the ultimate realization, but the substantial allowances he makes for those who do not achieve that realization immediately. Although the first of the Ten Realms is present in every moment of consciousness, the others occur adventitiously, based on the karmic propensities of the individual. That is, the very effort of intense contemplation may cause agitation by the kleśas, the afflictions or illusions, including the generation of various feelings and desires that would not occur during normal consciousness. Such agitation might lead to physical illness or to the awareness of former events of karmic implications, both of which occurred during Hui-ssu's course of practice, or even cause the

appearance of apparitions, both fearful and enticing, tempting the practitioner away from his practice, as supposedly happened to Chih-i. Due to the practice of different states of dhyāna in previous lives, the practitioner may now experience any number of the concomittants of those states, etc.

In other words, the latter nine Realms are all manifestations of the impediments associated with meditation. They may occur in any order or combination and continue for any length of time. As they occur they are to be made objects of contemplation. Their non-arising would indicate the relative aptitude of the practitioner for the ultimate goal.

The Ten Modes of Contemplation, on the other hand, are a preconceived sequence of practices aimed at ensuring achievement of ultimate enlightenment. The goal of the entire system is success in the first Mode, that of the Contemplation of the Inconceivable Realm, but failing this at the outset, the practitioner is to avail himself of each successive mode until he achieves success. Thus he renews his dedication to the Bodhisattva ideal, reposes his mind in the dharmatā, frees himself of attachments, distinguishes between that which hinders and that which aids his progress, etc., (these are a few of the Ten Modes) to the extent that is necessary and in the appropriate order.

The fundamental stance of the practitioner in this type of endeavor is one of autonomy and spontaneity: fixing his aspirations firmly on the highest goal, he draws from his broad knowledge of meditation techniques whatever means are appropriate to bring him nearer to success. As Kuan-ting writes in his introduction to the Mo-ho chih-kuan:

> In the Perfect and Sudden [Meditation], from the first one focusses (yüan) on the True Characteristic, the realms [all being] the Middle, there being nothing that is not True. One fixes one's focus on the dharmadhātu; one is completely mindful

of the dharmadhātu. Of all the forms and fragrances (i.e., all reality) there is not a single bit that is not the Middle Path. One's own realm, the realms of the Buddhas, and the realms of sentient beings are also similarly [the Middle Path]. The skandhas and āyatanas are all "such-like" and without suffering that can be rejected. The illusions of ignorance are enlightenment and without any accumulation that can be eradicated...Saṁsāra is nirvāṇa, with no extinction that can be realized...The serenity of the dharmatā (fa-hsing) is called concentration (chih, śamatha). Serene yet permanently reflecting is called insight (kuan, vipaśyanā). Although the terms "beginning" and "later" are used there are no dualities, no distinctions. This is called the Perfect and Sudden Meditation (yüan-tun chih-kuan).[122]

There is an undeniably gradualistic cast to the design of the Perfect and Sudden Meditation, in the self-evident sense that achievement of the goal requires the expenditure of effort in a prescribed set of contemplations. Nevertheless, the distinction between this and manifestly gradualistic systems such as the Tz'u-ti ch'an-men is clear: here one is not eradicating attachments and illusions, etc., in order to gain greater and greater individual perfection, but seeking for the one moment of realization that will obviate the entire framework of one's conceptualized ignorance. Hallucinations, recurrent swells of feeling, mental agitation, and the like are obstacles to success -- but not in the sense that they must be eliminated or forcibly suppressed. Since one's illusions are fundamentally no different from enlightenment, they become objects of one's contemplation; one seeks to understand and not be unduly moved by them rather than to annihilate them.

(Final comments on Hui-ssu, Chih-i, and their contributions will be deferred to the next Chapter.)

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLIER MEDITATION TRADITION AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE CH'AN SCHOOL

1. The Legacy of Sixth Century Chinese Buddhism

The purpose of this Section has been to describe the Buddhist meditation tradition in China to the extent that it functioned as the background for the development of early Ch'an and, in particular, the Northern School. Since early Ch'an developed over a period of more than two centuries (from the very end of the fifth century to the beginning of the eighth), it would not be valid to describe the impact of the earlier meditation tradition as one unified set of factors. Rather, we must first consider the religious climate in North China at the time when Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, and their disciples were active, then the corresponding state of affairs in China as a whole during the lifetimes of Hung-jen, Shen-hsiu, and those associated with them.

The first step in this process is to characterize the differing moods of Buddhism in the northern and southern portions of sixth century China. According to Ōchō Enichi,[123] the South developed a strong tradition of the comprehensive analysis of Buddhists because of its long tradition of intellectual speculation and repartee known as "pure conversation" (<u>ch'ing-t'an</u>) and the "mysterious learning" (<u>hsüan-hsüeh</u>). Another factor was that extensive contact with foreign Buddhist masters was precluded in the South because of geographical reasons. As a

result, Buddhists in the South had to determine their own guidelines for the understanding of their own scriptures. The series of p'an-chiao or "dividing the doctrine" formulations, which attempted to rationalize and systematize the vast panoply of texts and doctrines transmitted through the translations of Indian texts, was a natural expression of the southern tradition. An additional outgrowth of this tradition was the development of a self-conscious arrogance that led those in positions of power in the South to block the entrance of Paramārtha into the capital at Chin-ling: they did not want any new foreign authority to come teach them, much less challenge their finely-wrought theoretical systems.

In the North non-Chinese masters were a more integral and respected part of the Buddhist community. Lacking the strong "pure disussion" and "mysterious learning" tradition of the South, Buddhists in the North operated with a strong compulsion to understand the authentic message of Buddhism exactly as expressed in the Indian texts. Their tendency was not to examine many texts together in order to divine the underlying principles relevent to all Buddhist doctrine, but to study one particular text at a time, learning the exact positions taken by that text on the various key problems of Buddhism.

One of the most important scriptural authorities in the North was of course the Shih-ti lun, the translation of Vasubandhu's commentary on the Sūtra of the Ten Stages. Ōchō cites the following reasons for the popularity of this text: First, it was based on a sūtra that preaches the training and progress of a Bodhisattva, which matched the northern predilection to practical matters. The sūtra in question explains its subject very clearly and in a straightforward, well-organized manner, each of the Ten Stages being correlated with one of the Ten Perfections

of the Bodhisattva. Second, the *Shih-ti lun* was itself a clearly organized, line-by-line commentary to the *sūtra*, not an essay on its general topics as was another of Vasubandhu's works translated at about the same time. Such an essay would have been more open to different individual interpretations. Third, the *Shih-ti lun* explained a *sūtra* of established popularity and authority with a theory that was new in China, that of the Yogācāra. This new theory offered a comprehensive explanation of virtually all the basic issues of Buddhism, including several lines in the *sūtra* that had previously been troublesome to the Chinese.[124]

Ōchō represents the *Shih-ti lun* tradition (i.e., the Ti-lun School) of the North as exactly the sort of conservative doctrinal orthodoxy so vehemently inveighed against in the writings of Ch'an. The devotion to dogmatic orthodoxy and scriptural authority is precisely the target of the later Ch'an maxim "Don't rely on words!" (*pu li wen-tzu*). This would be even more the case since the Ti-lun School orthodoxy was based on a supposedly practical theme: the progress of the Bodhisattva. If the biographies of Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, which will be examined at the beginning of the next Section, manifest a spirit of reaction against the mainstream of the Northern religious tradition, it is fitting that that tradition should be so thoroughly conservative and doctrinaire.

Although it may be possible to typify Northern Chinese Buddhism in this fashion, it would not be fair to define the spirit of the earliest Ch'an figures solely in terms of a reaction against one particular orthodoxy. In the first place, the *Shih-ti lun* was not the only text studied in the North during this period, and it would be unwise to suggest that all other scriptural study in that region was subordinated

to that of this one text.[125] Second, we must not overlook the attitude toward exegesis held by such an obviously establishment figure as Seng-ch'ou. To Seng-ch'ou, scriptural studies were important to the extent that they prepared one for the practice of meditation. Hence the activities of public lecturing and scriptural recitation were not to be suppressed, even if they were not to be personally embraced by the truly dedicated Buddhist. Clearly, the positions of Seng-ch'ou and the Ch'an School on scriptural study are not completely unrelated, but should be considered two points on a continuum of positions operant within the meditation tradition as a whole. Hui-ssu, who practiced in the North at roughly the same time as Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, and Seng-ch'ou, had yet a different attitude toward scriptural study and "false Treatise Masters."

2. Chih-i's Contributions and the Developments of the Seventh Century

Although Chih-i's career obviously had no impact on the earlier Bodhidharma and his earliest successors, it was of major importance for the subsequent history of the Ch'an School. In the first place, Chih-i's works contain a grand synthesis of virtually the entire catalogue of meditation techniques known to the Chinese at the time. Thus later authors in other schools, including Ch'an, often depended on his writings in their specification of meditation techniques.[126] Second, after achieving this grand synthesis Chih-i then proceeded to transcend it in his own formulation of the Perfect and Sudden Meditation found in the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*. That is, Chih-i devised an approach to meditation practice that allowed for the possibility of both graduated progress, when necessary, and immediate insight, when possible. His system of the Ten Realms and the Ten Modes of Contemplation, however cumbersome it may

appear from this vantage-point, was actually an epoch-making attempt to provide for both orderly improvement and sudden breakthrough.

The subsequent fate of the T'ien-t'ai School and the scholasticism of Chih-i's efforts had a curious effect on the reputation of his doctrine of meditation. As is well-known, the downfall of the Sui Dynasty led to a temporary eclipse of the T'ien-t'ai School. With no one to publicly defend and expand upon his teachings, the "Sudden and Perfect Meditation" came to be thought of as essentially gradualistic in nature — at least, this is the reputation Chih-i's ideas had within the Ch'an School.[127] Although the incredible detail in which Chih-i expounded his ideas makes this characterization not completely unjustified, it does mask the true nature of his contribution.

The seventh century was an unusual period in the history of the Chinese Buddhist meditation tradition. To be sure, we know the biographies of a number of prominent meditation specialists.[128] The foreign master Buddhapāli lectured on the subject of meditation, as already mentioned above, and even Tao-hsüan wrote a manual on the subject.[129] (As one might expect, Tao-hsüan's emphasis on moral purity and maintainence of the Vinaya regulations threatens to overwhelm the coverage of his stated topic.) The San-lun School center at Mount She (Chiang-ning hsien, Kiangsu) continued to nurture contemplative pursuits, and similar centers arose at Mount Niu-t'ou (Chiang-ning hsien, Kiangsu) and elsewhere. Although there seems to have been a great deal of activity in the meditation tradition as a whole, this acitivity was severely decentralized, even atomized through-out the many local centers and doctrinal sub-traditions. In comparison to the eighth century, the seventh was a period of quiet growth and preparation.

It is possible to suggest at least a partial explanation for this relative quiet. The rulers of the T'ang Dynasty were from the outset predisposed to favor Taoism and Confucianism over Buddhism, so that the early years of the seventh century were not particularly advantageous for any type of publicly-oriented Buddhist activity, whether exegetical or practical in nature. The most spectacular religious event of the century, of course, was the return of Hsüan-tsang from India and his subsequent activities of translation and doctrinal instruction during the years 649-64. Hsüan-tsang's new interpretation of the Yogācāra inspired a certain amount of dissension within Buddhist ranks, for reasons already explained by Professor Weinstein.[130] The Ch'an School was indirectly connected with the active opposition to Hsüan-tsang's dogmatisms in the form of a poorly-documented interest in the _Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra_.[131] Even more significant, the figures who were eventually to be counted as the real founders of Ch'an were gathering students in the relative quiet of central China, in some cases in the same locations as the temporarily quiescent T'ien-t'ai School.

3. Northern Ch'an and the Earlier Meditation Tradition

Sekiguchi Shindai has argued on several occasions that Ch'an was heavily indebted to the T'ien-t'ai School. As evidence, he has cited certain biographical coincidences between early Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai figures and the occurrence of borrowing from T'ien-t'ai texts in Ch'an manuals on meditation. In general, I find his evidence to be inconsequential and inconclusive.[132] Nevertheless, even though it might not be in the form of direct borrowing of ideas and practices from one individual or group of individuals to another, it would be invalid to

suggest that Ch'an owed nothing to the T'ien-t'ai. The problem, of course, is to gauge the true extent of the relationship between the two.

One of the tasks of the next two Sections of this paper will be to determine the extent of Ch'an's indebtedness, not only to Chih-i and the T'ien-t'ai School, but to the earlier tradition of Chinese meditation as a whole. For example, how were the lives of the early Ch'an figures different from those of Seng-ch'ou and Chih-i? Such comparisons will be especially useful in our discussion of the life and impact of Shen-hsiu, the most important figure of the Northern School. Or, how were the Northern School ideas of constant practice and the Perfect Teaching related to Chih-i's innovations? Finally, in more general terms, to what extent were early Ch'an and the Northern School outgrowths of the meditation tradition, and to what extent was their development related to other factors of doctrinal and cultural significance? Even the casual student of Chinese Buddhism must be aware that many important facets of the religion have not been discussed here. The maturation of the Pure Land School, which is often compared to Ch'an, is perhaps the most notable relevent omission. Due to considerations of length, it will only be possible to address such factors very briefly, and only in the Conclusion to this paper.

SECTION TWO

HISTORY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Origin of the Terms "Northern School" and "East Mountain Teaching"

The following is the first recorded usage of the term "Northern School" within Ch'an literature:

> "...When the Preceptor [Shen]-hsiu was alive, spiritual aspirants [all over] China referred to these great masters as '[Hui]-neng of the South and [Shen]-hsiu of the North' (nan Neng pei Hsiu). This was common knowledge. These references led to [the usages] of the two Schools of North and South. Dhyāna Master P'u-chi is actually a student of [Shen-hsiu of] Yü-ch'üan [ssu]. He actually never went to Chao-chou [to study under Hui-neng], so it is therefore impermissable for him to now falsely declare [his teaching to be] the Southern School..."[1]

The passage introduced above is from the P'u-t'i-ta-mo nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun or Treatise on the Definition of the Truth about the Southern School of Bodhidharma, the transcript of a polemical sermon given by Shen-hui in 732.[2] Shen-hui (670-762) is well-known in modern Ch'an studies as the self-proclaimed champion of the legendary Hui-neng, the so-called Sixth Patriarch, and as an energetic antagonist of the "Northern School" represented at the time by P'u-chi and others. (Shen-hui has already been mentioned in Part 2 of the general Introduction above.) Nevertheless, as is implied in Shen-hui's own statement, P'u-chi never referred to his teachings as the "Northern School." Instead, he actually used the term "Southern School" in reference to his own teachings. This early usage of the term "Southern School" (nan-tsung) to refer to Shen-hsiu's lineage is, in fact, corroborated in at least

one early text. On the other hand, there is no indication that Shen-hsiu or any of his immediate disciples ever used the term "Northern School" in reference to themselves.[3]

If Shen-hui was the first to apply the name "Northern School" to Shen-hsiu and his associates, then how did these men refer to themselves? The following passage indicates the answer to this question:

> In the first year of the Ta-tsu [period, or 701 C.E.,] the Dhyāna Master Shen-hsiu was given an Invitation to enter the eastern capital [of Lo-yang. Thereafter he] accompanied the [imperial] chariot on its comings and goings, proselytizing within the two capitals and personally becoming the Imperial Instructor.
>
> The Great Sage Empress [Wu] Tse-t'ien inquired of him: "Whose teaching is it that you transmit?"
>
> [He] answered: "I have inherited the East Mountain Teaching of Ch'i-chou (i.e., Huang-mei, the location of Hung-jen's monastery)."
>
> ...[Empress Wu] Tse-t'ien said: "In considering the cultivation of the Path, the East Mountain Teaching is unexcelled."[4]

This passage is included in a text known as the *Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih* or *Records of the Men and Teachings of the Lankā[vatāra]* (hereafter abbreviated as *LCJFC*). This work was compiled by Hung-jen's student Hsuan-ts'e, probably sometime during the years 708-10.[5] The *LCJFC* does not, however, occur independently, but only to the extent that it is quoted in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tz'u chi* or *Records of the Teachers and Disciples of the Lankā[vatāra]* (hereafter *LCSTC*). This text, which is fortunately still extant, was written by Ching-chüeh, a disciple of both Hsuan-ts'e and Shen-hsiu. The terms "East Mountain Teaching" (*tung-shan fa-men*) and "Pure Teaching of East Mountain" (*tung-shan ching-men*) occur elsewhere in the *LCSTC* as well as in two slightly earlier Northern School documents.[6]

We have no direct information as to what name, if any, Tao-hsin (580-651) and Hung-jen (600-74) used to refer to their own teachings. It is clear from the passages introduced above, however, that Shen-hsiu identified himself as the transmitter of Hung-jen's teaching, P'u-chi labelled his doctrines (which were inherited from Shen-hsiu) as the Southern School, and that Shen-hui appropriated this latter label for his own use.

In spite of the apparent inequity of using a term first applied in a perjorative sense,[7] I will follow modern scholarly convention in using "Northern School" to refer to Shen-hsiu and his successors. There is no real problem involved with this usage -- as long as we refrain from unreservedly accepting statement by later authors (such as Tsung-mi) about the Northern School as referring directly to Shen-hsiu, *et al.*, themselves, rather than to the *image* of Shen-hsiu and his teachings within Shen-hui's writings and the *Platform Sūtra*, etc.

Also in accord with general modern usage, "East Mountain Teaching" will be used to refer to Tao-hsin and Hung-jen. This usage actually presents a much more serious problem than that of the label "Northern School." In the first place, its original meaning was neither so specific nor so clearly sectarian as the other term. In one epitaph dating from shortly after 750, in fact, "East Mountain Teaching" is used to refer to the teachings of the Ch'an School as a whole in juxtaposition with "the concentration and insight of T'ien-t'ai" (*T'ien-t'ai chih-kuan*).[8] Secondly, the primary ancient and modern referents of the name "East Mountain Teaching," i.e., the teachings of Shen-hsiu and his associates or, alternatively, those of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, display a temporal disconformity that is chronologically slight but

potentially very misleading.

2. The "String of Pearls" Approach to Early Ch'an

The problem embodied in the term "East Mountain Teaching" is that all of our information about Tao-hsin and Hung-jen is contained in sources associated with Shen-hsiu and the so-called Northern School. Tao-hsin does receive a biographical entry in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* (*HKSC*) in which Hung-jen is mentioned, and although none of the information contained in that entry is suspicious or even significant enough to warrant close deliberation, Shen-hsiu himself was the most likely source of information for this biography.[9] All of the rest of the data concerning Hung-jen's biography comes from early eighth century Northern School sources. As the discussion below will indicate, these works are more concerned with legend and propagandistic rationalization than with the demands of accurate historical analysis as practiced by modern academicians. As a result, the accuracy of their assertions regarding the early Ch'an patriarchs must occasionally be called into question.

It is customary to describe the history of Ch'an by the serial discussion of the lives and teachings of a succession of individual masters. This is exactly what the traditional orthodoxy of the Ch'an School would have its followers believe: that the only significant information about Ch'an is the body of biographical information and inspired sayings of a number of individual religious authorities who follow each other in master-disciple relationships, much like a set of beautiful pearls on a string.

The status of the Ch'an School at any given time may be defined, according to this approach, by the biography and teachings of the

reigning patriarch. In the case of early Ch'an, the first subject is a combined treatment of the biography and teachings of Bodhidharma, followed by the biography and teachings of Hui-k'o, then Seng-ts'an, Tao-hsin, Hung-jen, etc. For later periods, one would want the sum of such information for all active masters, so that the overall history of the Ch'an School is the sum total of such descriptions.

Obviously, it is appropriate in many cases to organize discussion of the history of Ch'an by proceeding from one generation to the next — I will follow this course of action myself in certain parts of this Section. Nevertheless, a slavish allegiance to the Ch'an orthodoxy ignores two important realities of early Ch'an history. First, except for Shen-hsiu, Shen-hui, and a small number of other individuals, the extant body of primary sources does not allow for the deduction of one-to-one correspondences between individual masters and specific doctrines. Rather, the bulk of our doctrinal information can be identified only as having been valid in a certain general context at a certain time. I will argue below in Section Three that this is especially true of two texts which have until now been used quite frequently for the elucidation of the individual teachings of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen.[10] Second, as already mentioned in the Introduction to this paper, such a simplistic methodology as the "string of pearls" approach of necessity ignores major areas of potentially significant influences (political, social, and intellectual) upon the development of Ch'an. (See the Introduction, Part 5.)

3. The Distinction Between Legend and History

The single most important task facing the modern student of early Chinese Ch'an Buddhism is the accurate discrimination between legend and history. Each has its own distinctive values: Legend was an important aspect of the School's total creative output and an important guide to its self-identity, history the modern understanding of the dynamic cultural and intellectual realities of the School's development. The legend of the "transmission of the lamp" of the teachings from one Ch'an Master to another was one of the most important innovations of early Ch'an, but the statements made within the context of this legendary format cannot automatically be taken as historical assertions to be judged as either true or false and correlated with other "facts." They may have such factual validity, but this only occurs subject to the demands of the propagandistic or polemical purpose of the given text.

The second passage introduced at the beginning of this Section is a perfect case in point. Shen-hsiu's invitation to court and activities in the two capitals are without doubt valid historical facts, but these facts and the dialogue between him and Empress Wu were selected from a large body of information so as best to glorify the status of the departed Ch'an Master, to canonize the derivation of his teaching from a certain religious predecessor, and, implicitly, to legitimize the prestige of the heirs to Shen-hsiu's religious fortune. In this example there is no need to infer any gross distortion of the original situation for the purposes of incorporation into the LCSTC.

In other cases, however, there occur statements that seem to idealize the character of an individual Ch'an master in the face of other directly contradictory evidence. (Hui-neng's biography, of

course, is the most prominent example of this.) Such examples must be approached with extreme caution, since the Ch'an orthodoxy that threatens to distort our critical perspective came into existence on the basis of a series of innovations made during the very period under study.

Although it is fortunate, in one sense, that the texts of the Northern School to be considered here are not so full of patent fabrications and questionable attributions as some of the slightly later texts of early Ch'an (the Li-tai fa-pao chi or Records of the [Transmission of the] Dharma-treasure through the Generations, LTFPC, is undoubtedly the most egregious of all in this respect[11]), the areas of the Ch'an legend that are actually the most difficult to work with are those that lie somewhere in between obvious fact and palpable fiction.

The assertions made about the supposed Third Patriarch Seng-ts'an, for example, can be completely ignored for historical purposes. Only the most foolhardy or avowedly myopic student of early Ch'an would dare suggest that Seng-ts'an had any knowable impact on the School's historical development or any actual connection whatsoever with the text usually attributed to him, the Hsin-hsin ming or Inscription on Relying upon the Mind.[12] On the other hand, the lives of Shen-hsiu, P'u-chi, and other Northern School figures are well enough documented through epitaphs and other contemporary sources that at least the general outline of their lives and contributions is known today.

The cases of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, however, are not so clear-cut: There exists valid data about their biographies and relatively early texts describing their teachings. These two sets of information would seem to dovetail very neatly and without any blatant contradictions. As I will suggest in the following Section, however, the

specific attributions of these texts to Tao-hsin and Hung-jen cannot be accepted. (See Section Three, Chapter II, Part 1.) Although the texts in question are no doubt much better representations of the teachings of the individuals involved than the Hsin-hsin ming was for Seng-ts'an, it remains the case that the individual attributions to Tao-hsin and Hung-jen cannot be accepted without important qualifications. In other words, for the very core of the early Ch'an succession, the third, fourth, and fifth generations, it is impossible to correlate specific teachings with individual patriarchs.

4. The Approach Taken in This Section

The considerations discussed above require that all exclusively doctrinal matters must be left until the third Section of this work. The first task of this Section is to describe the historical development of early Ch'an, from Bodhidharma up to the decline of the Northern School. The second task of the Section will be to analyze the development of the "transmission of the lamp" texts. This task will not require nearly so much space as the first, but it will be at least as important, since it will constitute the examination of the evolution of the Ch'an School's sense of its own identity.

CHAPTER II

BODHIDHARMA, HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS, AND THE MASTERS OF THE <u>LAṆKĀVATĀRA SŪTRA</u>

1. The Legend of Bodhidharma

In our discussion of Seng-ch'ou, Hui-ssu, and Chih-i in the Section above, we occasionally had reason to question the accuracy of our sources, mediate between conflicting sources, or take account of sometimes stiffly formulaic hagiography. With the lineage of Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, however, we are faced with something more than pious exaggeration, something more than a mere concatenation of standard themes and occasionally conflicting evidence. More than with any other tradition of East Asian Buddhism, the doctrinal and social development of the Ch'an School depends on the evolution of its own myths and legends. These legends formed important role models and religious ideals for the members of the fledgling Ch'an School, the maturation of which occurred along with the accumulation of greater and greater amounts of legendary material.

The traditional account of the lives of Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o is perhaps the most inspired and meaningful invention of the entire body of Ch'an legends.[13] According to this version Bodhidharma was originally a South Indian prince who arrived in China during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Liang (r. 502-49) as a 150 year-old monk. Emperor Wu, it should be noted, was one of the most famous imperial supporters of

Buddhism in all Chinese history, a ruler who sponsored the construction of numerous temples and images and who personally took part in the study of Buddhist scriptures and the observation of Buddhism's religious injunctions.[14] In a famous legendary interview with Emperor Wu Bodhidharma emphatically rejects the value of all these activities, saying that they are of "no religious merit" whatsoever. After this celebrated mismatch, Bodhidharma travels north to live in a cave at Shao-lin ssu[15] on Mount Sung near Lo-yang, where he is supposed to have sat in meditation facing a wall for nine years.

It was during his residence at Shao-lin that Bodhidharma gained his most gifted disciple, Hui-k'o. Hui-k'o appears as a middle-aged man who was absolutely convinced of Bodhidharma's importance and fiercely determined to win the Indian monk's respect and the right to receive the teachings. In order to prove his sincerity Hui-k'o stands near where Bodhidharma is meditating and waits for hour upon hour in earnest supplication. Snow begins to fall from the cold winter sky, but Hui-k'o's determination is unchanged. Over the course of the evening the snow eventually accumulates up to Hui-k'o's knees, but when Bodhidharma finally notices the supplicant and discovers why he is waiting there, the Indian sage only warns him about the difficulty of practicing the "unsurpassable, wondrous path of the Buddhas."

Finally, in a surge of zealous desperation and with thoughts of the trials of former enlightened ones, Hui-k'o takes a knife and cuts off his left arm, placing it in front of Bodhidharma. Permitted at last through this extraordinary demonstration to receive the teaching, Hui-k'o asks Bodhidharma:

"My mind is not at peace; please pacify it for me."

To this Bodhidharma replies:

"Bring your mind here and I will pacify it for you."

Hui-k'o:

"I have searched for my mind, but it is completely unobtainable (i.e., imperceptible; or "I cannot find it anywhere.")"

Bodhidharma:

"I have [now] completely pacified your mind for you."[16]

Although Bodhidharma's final reply might appear a neat piece of sophistry to a modern reader, in the traditional account it was enough to inspire Hui-k'o on to a great realization or enlightenment experience. Hui-k'o remains under Bodhidharma's tutelage for some six years, along with a small number of other students of lesser abilities. After the master's death Hui-k'o propagates Bodhidharma's teaching all over North China, eventually transmitting it to Seng-ts'an and thus on to the other Chinese Patriarchs.

The complete legend of Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, of which the above is only the bare nucleus, evolved gradually over the span of many years. All of the most important components of the legend were added in the seventh and eighth centuries, just at the time when the Ch'an School's fundamental perception of itself was being formed. As a result, the contour of this legend's evolution is a valuable indicator of the growth of the Ch'an School itself.[17]

The heuristic value of the entire legend within the context of the meditation hall can hardly be overlooked: How many sermons have been delivered on the worthlessness of Emperor Wu's pious efforts! How many trainees must have been urged on to greater efforts through the example of Hui-k'o! Indeed, the question "What is the meaning of Bodhidharma's coming from the West?" has been one of the favorite subjects of

Ch'an religious dialogue and contemplation for literally a thousand years.

In spite of the numerous positive values of this legend, it is entirely unreliable as a statement of historical event. Without rejecting the religious value of the legend adumbrated above, it is to the historical analysis of Bodhidharma's biography that we must now turn.

2. The Life of Bodhidharma

The oldest text to mention Bodhidharma is the *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi* (*Records of the Temples of Lo-yang*), written by Yang Hsüan-chih in or shortly after 547. Bodhidharma is introduced as a foil with which to demonstrate the magnificence of the greatest of the Lo-yang establishments, Yung-ning ssu:

> At the time there was Bodhidharma, a *śramaṇa* from the Western region. He was a barbarian from *po-ssu* [in Central Asia]. When he came from that far-off country, travelled to China, and perceived the golden plates [at the top of Yung-ning ssu] glistening in the sun, their brilliance shining past the [very] clouds, and the precious bells rung by the wind whose echo extended beyond heaven, he sang out in praise: "This is truly a spectacular accomplishment!" He said that he was 150 years old and had wandered to all the countries in the world without exception, but that this monastery was exquisite, [so much so that its equal] did not exist [anywhere] in the world (*Jambu[dvīpa]*). "I have gone to the very limits of things (i.e., "all over the world"), but I have never [seen anything like] this." He held his palms together and chanted "*namo*" for several days.[18]

The image of Bodhidharma in this text is that of an aged and pious pilgrim. Professor Yanagida points out that foreign monks appearing in this text are not given individual personalities, but function as well-travelled and exotic witnesses to the grandeur of the architecture of Lo-yang.[19] This image is fundamentally different from that of the Ch'an legend, and it is of course possible that the man referred to here only accidentally shares the name of the founder of the Ch'an School.

Nevertheless, the connection between the Bodhidharma of this text and that of the Ch'an School was made as early as the HKSC, which refers to the founder of Ch'an as being 150 years old. Incidentally, as Hu Shih has pointed out, if we are to take the Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi at face value, Bodhidharma's entry into Lo-yang occurred between 516 and 526.[20]

The HKSC entry on Bodhidharma is relatively straightforward, although it does embody certain textual problems that will have to be discussed below. After the subject is introduced as being of Brahmin lineage from South India and described pro forma as gifted both intellectually and spiritually, interested in the Mahāyāna, and accomplished in meditation, we read:

> Feeling compassion [as a result of the decline of the True Teaching in this] obscure corner [of the world (i.e., China), Bodhidharma sought to] lead [the people here to enlightenment] by means of the Dharma. He first reached Nan-yüeh within the boundaries of the Sung and later crossed north again to the Wei. Wherever he went he gave instruction in the teaching of meditation (ch'an-chiao). At the time the practice of lecturing [on the Buddhist scriptures] had spread across the entire country, so that [people] often slandered [Bodhidharma] upon hearing the Dharma of samādhi (ting-fa).
>
> [As students of Bodhidharma] there were Tao-yü and Hui-k'o. Although younger, these two śramaṇas were dedicated to the lofty ideal, so that when they first met the Dharma General (i.e., Bodhidharma) they realized that their spiritual path had reached its natural conclusion. Accordingly, they studied directly under him for four or five years. They made offerings [to him and] inquired respectfully and he, responding to their pure sincerity, taught them the True Dharma (chen-fa): such is the pacification of the mind, called "wall-contemplation" (ju shih an-hsin wei pi-kuan); such is the development of practices (hsing), called the Four Teachings; such is accordance with convention and the defense against calumnification; such is the expedient means (fang-pien) by which one avoided attachments... (Here follows Tao-hsüan's summary of the Two Entrances and Four Practices.)
>
> [Bodhidhar]ma used this Dharma to convert [the people of] the land of Wei, where those who recognized the Truth followed it and were enlightened. His sayings were recorded, and the scroll(s) [containing them] are in circulation in the world [today].

> [Bodhidharma] said that he was over 150 years old. He wandered about and taught, but it is not known where he died.[21]

The Bodhidharma that appears in this text has much more depth of character than that in the Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi, but still falls far short of that in the legendary account given above. Hui-k'o appears as a man of great purity and dedication, but there is no reference to his self-dismemberment. In addition, note the references to the slander of Bodhidharma and his teachings by those devoted to scriptural study and lecturing, as well as the provision within Bodhidharma's teachings for averting the impact of such abuse and ill-will. Finally, the references to "pacification of the mind," "wall-contemplation," and "expedient means" in the passage above are actually abbreviated references to the Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun or Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices (hereafter abbreviated as EJSHL) and its preface by T'an-lin. This Treatise will be translated and analyzed in the third Section of this paper.

It is possible to construct an outline of Bodhidharma's career in China by combining information from the Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi, T'an-lin's preface to the EJSHL, and the HKSC. Please keep in mind that the following points involve a number of unverifiable suppositions and are based on sources that are not necessarily compatible:

1. If we are to take the HKSC literally, Bodhidharma arrived in South China by the maritime route in or before the year 479.[22]

2. If we accept the identification of the "Dhyāna Master Dharma" in the HKSC as the teacher of Seng-fu (to be discussed just below) with the founder of the Ch'an School, then we can infer that Bodhidharma moved to the North before 495 at the very latest and possibly as early as 480 or so.[23]

3. According to the Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi, Bodhidharma was still in North China sometime during 516-26. Presumably, his wanderings were restricted to North China from the time of his

first journey there until his death.

4. On the basis of information in the HKSC, Bodhidharma's death occurred around the year 530, or after 524 and before 534.[24]

In addition to the skeleton of dates given above, it is possible to make a few statements about Bodhidharma's personal character. He was a native of South India, a Brahmin by birth and perhaps a member of the ruling family of some unknown and probably minor principality. He was a Mahāyānist and a meditation instructor who focussed his proselytic efforts on the Lo-yang area.[25] Other than these few remarks and what may be inferred from his EJSHL, nothing else can be said about him with any certainty.

3. Seng-fu

At this point the conventional approach would be to turn to Bodhidharma's most well-known student and major successor, Hui-k'o. Instead, we will first consider the case of Seng-fu, whose entire career in Ch'an antedates that of his more famous fellow-student. It is indicative of the continuing strength of the Ch'an orthodoxy that Seng-fu's life and probable relevence to the history of early Ch'an have been so rarely studied; the majority of scholarly references to him are made with regard to a later legendary fabrication in which there appears a monk with a similar name.[26]

Seng-fu's HKSC biography[27] occurs at the very beginning of the section on meditation specialists, before those of Bhadra (given here as Buddha), Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, and others. Originally a resident of Ch'i-hsien in T'ai-yüan (Shansi) in the far North, Seng-fu searched far and wide for a meditation instructor before he encountered the Dhyāna Master [Bodhi]-dharma. Seng-fu formally "left home" to become a monk

after visiting the latter's cave-residence, where the two discussed the profundities of Buddhism. After penetrating to the limits of the "principle of meditation" (ting-hsüeh tsung), Seng-fu travelled about to various centers of scriptural learning to complete his education. During this time he realized that "learning depends only on oneself, [since] sages have no words."[28]

Sometime during the years 494-97 Seng-fu travelled south to Chien-k'ang, where he resided at Ting-lin hsia ssu on Mount Chung, just outside the capital.[29] Seng-fu is said to have loved Ting-lin's forest groves and quiet setting, living there with only the bare minimum of possessions. Although widely respected by the local monks and laypeople, he steadfastly refused invitations from members of the ruling class and did not go for an interview with the famed Buddhist sovereign, Emperor Wu. This reference implies that Seng-fu stayed at Ting-lin hsia ssu until after Emperor Wu's coronation in 502.

At one point Seng-fu undertook a missionary sojourn in the Szechwan area,[30] but he soon returned to Ting-lin hsia ssu. Eventually, Emperor Wu ordered his craftsmen to build a residence for the Northern meditation specialist at K'ai-shan ssu, which was founded in 515.[31] In accordance with his previous asceticism, Seng-fu's assumption of residency at this monastery did not occur without at least an outward show of resistance on his part. It is said that whenever he wandered past the gate of the new temple, which was dedicated to the memory of Pao-chih, Seng-fu would lean on his staff and lament:

> A [single] room with a fence about it, a woven wormwood gate, and windows made of broken pots thrust in the walls -- meditation in such a place can be quite pleasant! Why should one esteem a mansion and despise a thatched hut? One can take one's peace and depart. Why must reverence for the deceased (i.e., Pao-chih) be restricted to this [new building], which is only for

the purpose of pleasing the ears and eyes?[32]

Since Seng-fu did eventually take up residence at K'ai-shan ssu, we might suspect that his sentiments above are something of a pose. However, it is easy to imagine that his Northerner's sensibilities were affected by the high society atmosphere of Southern court Buddhism. His distaste for material finery is also demonstrated during his final illness, when he rejected all gifts and instructed that his body be thrown away on a mountain-side on behalf of the birds and beasts. Here again, his ascetic sensibilities were ignored -- a stele was erected to publicize his virtue, the inscription for which was written by Prince I of Hsiang-tung, the eventual Emperor Yüan.[33]

The only indication we have of Seng-fu's religious experience and teachings comes from an event that occurred after his return from what is now Szechwan to Ting-lin hsia ssu. On a certain date in 515, a spirit appeared to an individual on a mountain in what is now Kiangsi and handed him a copy of the _Hui-yin san-mei ching_ or _Sūtra of the Samādhi of the [Tathāgata's] Seal of Wisdom_. This was to be used by the Prince of Nan-p'ing (476-533), so that his current illness might be cured. If the Prince needed assistance in understanding the text he was to seek it from Seng-fu, who is said to have practiced the _samādhi_ in question previously. The Prince supposedly performed the requisite twenty-one days of this practice and enjoyed a speedy recovery.[34]

There is no way of knowing whether Seng-fu originally practiced this _samādhi_ under Bodhidharma's guidance or influence, whether he first encountered it in the South,[35] or whether it was his idea to use it as a palliative rather than for some higher spiritual end. All that can be said is that if Bodhidharma's teaching included some form of Mahāyāna

samādhi practice, he could hardly have chosen a more appropriate text. The Hui-yin san-mei ching describes the Buddha's body as imperceptible to normal consciousness because of its fundamental "thoughtlessness, immoveability, and unshakability" (wu-nien pu-tung pu-yao). The Samādhi of the Tathāgata's Seal of Wisdom is recommended as a means by which one might divest oneself of all impediments and achieve the sort of wisdom that would allow one to perceive the Buddha's true being. There is no specific reference to any particular efficacy with regard to physical illness.[36]

Seng-fu's biography is the basis for some tantalizing but uncertain inferences. The possibilities are as follows: Seng-fu was Bodhidharma's earliest student, antedating Hui-k'o's discipleship by thirty years or more. Early in his teaching career Bodhidharma used the Hui-yin san-mei ching, a possibility that is quite consistent with his later teachings as found in the EJSHL. The Sūtra is independent of any obvius doctrinal affiliation, i.e., it is not a derivative of the Lotus or Pure Land scriptures, for example. (This avoidance of scriptures closely identified with other, previously-established Schools or traditions is a marked characteristic of Ch'an throughout its history.) In addition, it emphasizes the transcendent nature of the Buddha, which it describes in terms that are distinctly reminiscent of later usages. (The term wu-nien, meaning "thoughtlessness" or "no-thought," is particularly noteworthy.) Finally, the text does little more than command its readers to practice the samādhi involved and achieve the indicated level of wisdom, thus leaving Bodhidharma almost complete freedom of interpretation.

Although I am inclined to accept the above scenario as probable, it is impossible to know whether or not Bodhidharma ever used the Hui-

yin san-mei ching. It is not even certain that Seng-fu used this text for anything other than as the basis for a liturgy of healing, nor that he was a student of Bodhidharma of the Ch'an School rather than some other monk named Dharma.[37]

4. Hui-k'o

While we know only the barest outline of Bodhidharma's life and must question the relevence of Seng-fu's activities to the history of the Ch'an School, with Hui-k'o we begin to encounter a degree of meaningful substantiation. In one sense we know very little about Hui-k'o -- his dates of birth and death, for example, can only be roughly estimated -- but the HKSC does allow us to gain a general impression of his identity as a teacher, his position within the contemporary Buddhist world, and his impact on several generations of students. Although the religious personalities of those students are often poorly known, the very fact that he was the only successor of Bodhidharma's to have known successors himself is an important indication of Hui-k'o's importance.

The HKSC biography of Hui-k'o states that his secular surname was Chi and his birthplace Hu-lao (Ssu-shui hsien, Honan).[38] Widely read in both the Chinese classics and Buddhist scriptures, he achieved a level of enlightenment that surpassed that of his contemporaries. Even though his attainments were unassailable, he was universally criticized for not having a teacher. When at age forty he did meet Bodhidharma during the latter's missionary peregrinations around the Mount Sung/Lo-yang area, Hui-k'o realized at once that he had found his true master. He studied the One Vehicle teaching of Bodhidharma for six years. (Recall that the entry on Bodhidharma said that he and Tao-yü studied with the master for four or five years.)

After Bodhidharma's death an official announcement was circulated throughout the area, but when monks and laymen came to inquire after the departed master Hui-k'o attacked the propriety of their feelings of curiosity and imparted to them his understanding of the late master's teachings. There is a trace of Hui-ssu's fire in the following words, the translation of which is very rough:

> Therefore, even though your words spread across the entire country, the intention [of Bodhidharma] will not be fulfilled. You read widely in the mysterious writings [of Buddhism, but the truth of which they speak] has not even begun to penetrate your minds![39]

Later, during the beginning of the period 534-37, Hui-k'o moved to the new capital of Yeh, where his teaching actitivies aroused hostility from those who were "stagnated on words," i.e., those who were involved in scriptural exegesis. We are told of an otherwise unknown meditation master named Tao-heng,[40] who before Hui-k'o's arrival had about a thousand students. Tao-heng sent his students to spy on Hui-k'o, but when they heard the latter's teachings they became overwhelmed with feelings of compassion and peaceful acquiescence to the truth. None of them returned to their original teacher, even after repeated orders, eventually saying that he had only obscured the innate perfection of their own understanding. We are also told that Tao-heng paid money to have Hui-k'o killed, but that Hui-k'o managed to convert the attacker instead.

Perhaps the final victory was Tao-heng's, however, for we are told that Hui-k'o eventually left the area of Yeh and Wei (i.e., modern Honan and Hopeh) and wandered about, eventually dying without any prominent successors. This last assertion is contradicted by the balance of Hui-k'o's HKSC biography, to be discussed in the next Part of this

Chapter. In addition, there is also the case of the Southern meditation specialist Hui-pu (518-87), who visited Hui-k'o in Yeh and "suddenly penetrated [the hollowness of] names and views." Hui-pu also visited Hui-ssu, with whom he had a long discussion on doctrinal matters. It is possible to infer from internal evidence that these visits took place before 547; Hui-pu's date of birth suggests that they took place well after 538. Therefore, Hui-k'o was still in Yeh at this time.[41]

Hui-k'o's age and date of death are not given, but it can be inferred that his dates were ca. 485 to ca. 555 or, possibly, to sometime after 574.[42]

5. Hui-k'o's Successors

The above treatment of Hui-k'o's life occupies only a third of the material presented in the HKSC under his name. Note the implicit conflict of the following with Tao-hsüan's statement immediately above that Hui-k'o had no prominent successors. That is, the balance of the entry on Hui-k'o is devoted to:

1. A letter from Layman Hsiang and Hui-k'o's response. This will be discussed in Section Three along with the EJSHL.

2. Comments about Hua-kung, Yen-kung, and Dhyāna Master Ho. These men were not far removed in time from Tao-hsüan, but he knew nothing substantial about them due to a lack of written texts and funerary inscriptions.[43] Elsewhere, the HKSC records that Dhyāna Master Ho had three students: Ching-ai (534-78), Fa-k'an (524-604), and Hsüan-ching (d. 606). The two factors that unite the biographies of all three of these men and their known disciples are a devotion to meditation and an association with Mādhyamika texts and religious centers.[44]

3. A brief description and story about Dharma Master Lin, who is undoubtedly the T'an-lin remembered for his preface to the EJSHL. Out-of-place references to the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra occur just after T'an-lin's introduction and again after the story about him.

4. A brief discussion of Dhyāna Master Na, a young but popular Confucian scholar who became a Buddhist ascetic after

hearing Hui-k'o speak.

5. A longer discussion of Hui-man, a student of Dhyāna Master Na and an even more thorough-going ascetic. Another reference to the Laṇkāvatāra Sūtra occurs here.[45]

Tao-hsüan very specifically rationalizes his coverage of Na, Hui-man, and the rest on the basis that they were "all in [Hui]-k'o's lineage (tsung-ch'i)." It seems significant that these men are defined according to their relationship to Hui-k'o rather than to Bodhidharma.

The only one of these figures to merit individual attention is T'an-lin (- 506-74 -). His preface to the EJSHL describes him as a "disciple" (ti-tzu), presumably of Bodhidhamra's, but he seems to have been more closely associated with Hui-k'o. The HKSC describes T'an-lin as a resident of Yeh, a successful lecturer and commentator on the Sheng-man ching (The Sūtra of [Queen] Śrīmālā), and a protector of Buddhist scriptures and statuary during the persecution of 574. The last activity mentioned by Tao-hsüan was undertaken in concert "with fellow-students of [Hui]-k'o's" (yu K'o t'ung-hsüeh), which I believe refers to Dhyāna Master Ho's student Ching-ai and his followers.[46] Finally, there is a story about how T'an-lin and Hui-k'o reacted when each had one arm cut off by bandits. While Hui-k'o maintained his composure, cauterized his wound, and went out on his round of begging as usual, T'an-lin "screamed and yelled the entire night." Although Hui-k'o's biography might be expected to favor Hui-k'o, we may infer that T'an-lin was more a scholar than a meditator. In fact, other sources record his participation in translation projects that took place during the years 525-43.[47]

6. Fa-chung and the Masters of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra

Another important source for the study of Hui-k'o's successors is the HKSC entry for Fa-chung (589-665 ?), which was added by Tao-hsüan only a short time before his death in 667.[48] Many of the details included here can be understood in traditionalistic terms — Fa-chung the talented young official who became a monk after his mother's death, Fa-chung the virtuous practitioner who defended Buddhism from both internal and external threats, etc. However, there is a definite anti-establishmentarian cast to much of his biography, which is manifested most clearly in his refusal to accept official ordination, his criticism of the great translator Hsüan-tsang, and his adoption of a life of mendicancy.

Fa-chung's main area of specialization was the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, and here too there is evidence of both the traditionalistic and anti-establishmentarian tendencies. He lectured on the Sūtra over 200 times and was able to quote from it at will. Although he ultimately did write a commentary on it in five fascicles, he was convinced to do so in spite of his own convictions about the utter ineffability of the ultimate truth.[49]

Our interest in Fa-chung is based on his emphasis of Hui-k'o's name in his own teaching of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra:

> [Fa]-chung had been immersed in [the study of] the profound scripture of Laṅkā for a long time. He travelled here and there [searching for other students of the text], without caring whether [the roads] were safe or treacherous. He met a later successor to Master [Hui]-k'o who was intensively studying this Sūtra. [This later successor to Hui-k'o] then studied under the Master (i.e., Fa-chung), who frequently attacked the major points [in this successor's interpretation], so that he disbanded his following and left the propagation of the teaching [of the Laṅkāvatāra to Fa]-chung. [Fa-chung] lectured on [the Laṅkāva-

tāra] over thirty times in succession. He then met someone who had personally received the transmission from Master [Hui]-k'o, and [was then able to] lecture on it an additional 100 times on the basis of the One Vehicle Teaching of Southern India (nan-t'ien-chu i-sheng tsung).

[The Lankāvatāra] Sūtra was originally translated by Tripiṭaka Master Guṇabhadra of the Sung and transcribed by Dharma Master Hui-kuan. Therefore, its text matches well with the truth and its practices correlate with reality. It emphasizes only the contemplation of wisdom, not just [beautiful] words. Later, Dhyāna Master [Bodhi]dharma transmitted it to [both] North and South [China. Bodhidharma's] teaching (tsung) was that of "forgetting words, forgetting thoughts, the true contemplation of non-attainment (wang-yen wang-nien wu-te cheng-kuan)." This was later practiced in the Middle Plain [of North China].

Dhyāna Master Hui-k'o was the first to receive the transmission (lit., "the rope") [from Bodhidharma. Although] most of the intellectuals of Wei were not equal to him, those who understood the teaching and its purport were at once able to achieve enlightenment. Now [Hui-k'o's] generation grows farther and farther off, causing errors among later students. This is briefly explained in the separate biography of K'o-kung (i.e., Hui-k'o). I will now relate the lineage of masters so that the succession of who studied with whom will be apparent:

(Translator's note: The list below has been re-organized somewhat for the reader's convenience. All material given in parentheses occurs in inter-lineal gloss form in the original text.)

I. After Dhyāna Master [Bodhi]dharma, there were the two persons Hui-k'o and Hui-yü (i.e., Tao-yü). [Hui]-yü received the teaching in his mind but never spoke of it.

II. After Dhyāna Master [Hui]-k'o:
- A. Dhyāna Master Ts'an
- B. Dhyāna Master Hui
- C. Dhyāna Master Sheng
- D. Old Master Na
  1. Dhyāna Master Shih
  2. Dhyāna Master Hui
  3. Dharma Master K'uang
  4. Master Hung-chih

  (Each [of these four men] resided at Hsi-ming [ssu] in the capital, but they died and the transmission of their teaching was terminated.)
- E. Dhyāna Master Tuan
- F. Tripiṭaka Master Ch'ang (or Master Ch'ang-tsang)
- G. Dharma Master Chen
- H. Dharma Master Yu

(The above all preached the mysterious principle but produced no written records.)

III. After Master [Hui]-k'o:

A. Master Shan (who produced an abstract [of the Sūtra] in four fascicles)

B. Dhyāna Master Feng (who produced a commentary in five fascicles)

C. Dhyāna Master Ming (who produced a commentary in five fascicles)

1. Dharma Master Ch'ieh
2. Master Pao-yü
3. Master Pao-ying
4. Master Tao-ying

(These [four men] all successively transmitted the lamp so that it is being disseminated today.)

D. Master Hu-ming (who produced a commentary in five fascicles)

IV. Distantly succeeding to Master [Hui]-k'o:

A. Master Ta-ts'ung (who produced a commentary in five fascicles)

B. Master Tao-yin (who produced an abstract in four fascicles)

C. Dharma Master Chung (who produced a commentary in five fascicles)

D. Dharma Master An (who produced a commentary in five fascicles)

E. Dharma Master Ch'ung (who produced a commentary in eight fascicles)

F. Master Ta-ming (who produced a commentary in ten fascicles)

V. Not succeeding from Master [Hui]-k'o but relying on the The Compendium of the Mahāyāna (She lun):

A. Dhyāna Master Ch'ien (who produced a commentary in four fascicles)

B. Vinaya Master Shang-te (who produced a commentary on the Ju-leng-ch'ieh [ching, another translation of the same scripture] in ten fascicles)[50]

At first glance, this list appears to substantiate the existence of a significant tradition of study of the Laṅkāvatāra beginning with Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o. Actually, examination of the biographies that are known suggests that the Laṅkāvatāra was not as important to these men as this list would have us believe.

First let us consider the "non-commentators," i.e., those descended through religious succession from Hui-k'o who did not produce written commentaries on the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra. The first name given

here, Ts'an, is presumably equivalent to the supposed Third Patriarch of Ch'an, Seng-ts'an. His biography is unknown in any source earlier than the eighth century, and even in those works it is suspiciously vague.[51] The only figure listed as a first-generation successor to Hui-k'o and known through other citations in the HKSC is Old Master Na, who is introduced in the entry on Hui-k'o. (See Part 5 above.) Although Na's student Shih is unknown, Dharma Master K'uang is listed elsewhere in the HKSC as a student of the San-lun School authority Fa-lang (507-81).[52]

Among the "commentators," those who produced either commentaries on or abstracts of the Laṇkāvatāra, we may quickly omit from consideration the two men who based their studies on the She lun and who had no connection with Hui-k'o. (The first of these is undoubtedly the Sui monk T'an-ch'ien of Ch'an-ting ssu,[53] but the other figure is unknown.) The only other names that are identifiable in the remainder of the list are Dharma Master Chung, who must be the Fa-chung in whose biography this list is found, and Ta-ming, a figure of some importance in the early seventh century. Although Ta-ming lacks an HKSC biography of his own, he was one of the teachers of Hui-hao (547-633), who was in turn one of Fa-chung's teachers.[54] The gloss following the mention of Tao-ying (III.C.4) implies that the sub-tradition of commentators on the Laṇkāvatāra remained viable longer than that of the non-commentators.

It is a curious fact that, of the men on this list whose biographies are known, only Fa-chung had any recorded interest in the Laṇkāvatāra. On the other hand, K'uang, Hui, and Ta-ming were all united by a common interest in the treatises of the Chinese Mādhyamika tradition. Not only was Fa-chung a participant in this same tradition, but also the successors to Seng-na mentioned in connection with

Hui-k'o's biography. None of the biographies of any of these men contain any mention of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra. Although the large number of unknown figures in the list above render a firm conclusion impossible, it would seem that the importance of this text has been misrepresented.

7. The Possible Use of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra in Early Ch'an

Before considering the implications of the misrepresentation just mentioned, let us introduce the three references to the Laṅkāvatāra in Hui-k'o's HKSC biography. These occur (1) just after the introduction of [T'an]-lin:

> In the beginning Dhyāna Master [Bodhi]dharma transmitted the four-fascicle Laṅkā[vatāra Sūtra] to [Hui]-k'o, saying: "this Sūtra is the only one that is suitable for China. If you base your practice on it you will attain salvation." [Hui]-k'o single-mindedly imparted the mysterious principle [of the Laṅkāvatāra to his students] just as it had been explained before [by Bodhidharma].

(2) after the anecdotes about [T'an]-lin's and Hui-k'o's each losing an arm:

> At the end of each of his sermons, [Hui]-k'o said: "[The understanding of] this Sūtra will become superficial after four generations. How utterly lamentable!"

and (3) after the discussion of Hui-man:

> Therefore the Masters Na and [Hui]-man always carried the four-fascicle [version of the] Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra as the "essential [teaching] of the mind" (hsin-yao). They preach and practice it at every ocasion, never varying from [the true understanding thereof] that had been bequeathed to them.[55]

Hu Shih has suggested that these three references were interpolated into the text of Hui-k'o's biography, probably at the same time that the Fa-chung biography was added to the HKSC.[56] It is true that these three short statements appear quite out of context in the HKSC.

Even the third statement, the placement of which is less jarring than that of the other two, is preceded by doctrinal positions quite unrelated to the Laṇkāvatāra. The makes the introductory word ku, "therefore," less appropriate.

There are two separate issues involved here. First, did Bodhidharma and/or Hui-k'o actually use the Laṇkāvatāra? Second, what was the connection between this text and the Ch'an tradition descended from Bodhidharma?

The first of these two issues cannot be definitively resolved. Other than the passages in question, there is no direct evidence to suggest that Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o did in fact use the Laṇkāvatāra. Indirect evidence would suggest that the impact of the Laṇkāvatāra was felt most strongly sometime after the study of the She lun had already taken hold, well after the translation of the latter text in 563.[57] Interest in the Laṇkāvatāra was apparently strongest right around the end of the sixth century and beginning of the seventh, but waned after only a short period. No doubt the final blow to its popularity — and, paradoxically, the one factor that did most to make possible a non-mainstream tradition of its study — was the career of Hsuan-tsang, who attempted to establish the authority of his new translations of Yogācāra texts. The reference toward the end of Fa-chung's biography to Hsüan-tsang's refusal to permit lecturing on previously-translated scriptures should be understood as referring specifically to the Laṇkāvatāra.[58]

Although Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o flourished slightly before the Laṇkāvatāra Sutra was most popular, it is possible that they were among the first Buddhists in China to make use of this text. This would fit with the later proclivity of the Ch'an School to use texts not closely

connected with other factions. It would also fit with Chih-i's statement that *Dhyāna* Masters of the North used this scripture as a justification for the idea of sudden enlightenment. Although the *EJSHL* lacks any explicit dependence on the *Laṇkāvatāra*, it is still possible that there is a doctrinal relationship between the two.[59]

The possibility of a real connection between the *Laṇkāvatāra* and the later Ch'an tradition is only slightly less obscure. Fa-chung's connection with the tradition of Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o was quite tenuous, while his interest in the text in question derived from a faction of Mādhyamika that was not connected with the Bodhidharma tradition. The superficiality of the link between the tradition of Bodhidharma and the *Laṇkāvatāra* is indicated by the fact that even in the description of Fa-chung's study of that scripture, Bodhidharma's teaching is described as that of "forgetting words, forgetting thoughts, the correct contemplation of non-attainment." This terminology does not come from the *Laṇkāvatāra Sūtra*, but from the Mādhyamika tradition.[60]

Although Fa-chung was the only major living exponent of the *Laṇkāvatāra* at the time of Tao-hsüan's writing, it would appear that even he dropped out of sight after he left Ch'ang-an sometime during the years 656 and 661. Whatever the reasons behind this departure (such as his conflict with Hsüan-tsang), Fa-chung's attempts to disseminate his own understanding of the *Laṇkāvatāra* were abortive. The prediction that the understanding of this text would become superficial after four generations (see just above) was probably related to the frustration of Fa-chung's mission. Although the true meaning and implications of this prediction may never be known, there is no reason to correlate it with the orthodox lineage of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen.[61]

As we shall see in Chapter V, Part 13, the connection between the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra and the Northern School during the early eighth century was equally tenuous. Although this scripture apparently had some kind of mystical appeal to the followers of early Ch'an, there is no evidence that its contents had any impact on the development of the School.

CHAPTER III

FROM PROVINCIAL CHINA TO LO-YANG AND CH'ANG-AN

1. Bodhidharma and the East Mountain Teaching

The most important fact about the phase of early Ch'an known as the East Mountain Teaching is that it was a long period of quiet growth. For almost exactly a half-century, from Tao-hsin's entry into Huang-mei in 624 until Hung-jen's death in 674, the Ch'an School existed in the quiet setting of an alpine monastery in central China. If we add to this the quarter-century that Shen-hsiu spent at Yü-ch'üan ssu in Ching-chou, then Ch'an spent fully three-quarters of a century preparing for its explosion onto the national scene at the very beginning of the eighth century. It is clear from the historical record that the number of students interested in Ch'an grew steadily during these seventy-five years: only five or so students can be associated reliably with Tao-hsin's name, some twenty or twenty-five with Hung-jen, and over seventy with Shen-hsiu (although many of these students may have joined him after his entry into Lo-yang in 701). In other words, it is possible to trace the growth of Ch'an from Tao-hsin to Shen-hsiu and beyond in an unbroken line.

This is not the case with the transition from Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o to Tao-hsin. In seventh-century sources the succession from Bodhidharma tapers off into a set of names of questionable relevence to the Ch'an tradition, as we have seen in the previous Chapter.

Seng-ts'an, the man who supposedly transmitted the teachings of Ch'an from Hui-k'o to Tao-hsin is a complete unknown, and one cannot help but wonder whether his name was not introduced into the developing Ch'an orthodoxy solely on the basis of its occurrence in the *HKSC* entry for Fa-chung. The *HKSC* contains the earliest biography of Tao-hsin, but it contains no mention of Seng-ts'an nor, in fact, any indication of a connection between Tao-hsin and Bodhidharma.

The fact that the *EJSHL* was used in the compilation of the *Chin-kang san-mei ching* (*Sūtra of the Adamantine Samādhi*) has been taken as evidence of the influence of Bodhidharma's work, but there is no a priori reason to suggest that such influence was extended from the mountains of Huang-mei rather than some other location.[62] In short, there is no explicit, early evidence that connects the East Mountain Teaching with the tradition of Bodhidharma. This connection may well have existed, but we have to look to a text written in or near Lo-yang in the last decade of the seventh century in order to find it attested.[63]

2. Tao-hsin's Biography in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* (*HKSC*)

The earliest source for the biography of Tao-hsin is the *HKSC*, which lists him as a resident of Mount Shuang-feng ("Twin Peaks Mountain") in Ch'i-chou, or Huang-mei. This biography reads as follows (for modern geographical equivalents, see the discussion below):

> Shih Tao-hsin: Of the lay surname Ssu-ma, birthplace unknown. From the age of seven he studied under a single teacher, [a man whose] moral conduct was impure. [Tao]-hsin's repeated remonstrations went unheeded, [so he took to] secretly maintaining the chaste standards [of Buddhist morality on his own]. This went on for five years without the teacher's knowledge.

When he heard that two monks of unknown origin had entered Mount Han-kung in Shu-chou for the peaceful practice of meditation, [Tao-hsin] went and received the teachings from them. He followed and studied under them for ten years, but was not allowed to accompany his teachers when they went to [Mount] Lo-fu, [since they knew that] if he remained behind he would definitely be able to benefit great [numbers of sentient beings].

When the government then granted ordinations to the wise and virtuous, [Tao-hsin] was registered as a resident of Chi-chou ssu. [When he went to take up residence there (?), the city of Chi-chou] had been surrounded by rebels for more than seventy days. Water was scarce within the city and the people were in great distress. When [Tao]-hsin entered [the city] the springs flowed once again. The prefectural magistrate bowed to the ground [before him and inquired]: "When will the rebels disperse?" [Tao]-hsin said: "Just recite the *[Perfection of] Wisdom*," so [the magistrate] ordered the entire city to join voices [in recitation]. Instantly, the rebels outside [the city] saw awesome, gigantic warriors on all the four walls of the city...The magistrate announced to [the rebels]: "You may [go right ahead and] enter the city if you want to meet these giants!" The band of rebels dispersed and peace returned [to the area].

Wanting to go to Moung Heng (i.e., Nan-yüeh) [Tao-hsin took the] road through Chiang-chou. The monks and laypeople [of that region] made him stop at Ta-lin ssu on Mount Lu, where he stayed for ten years in spite of [problems with] rebels and bandits. The monks and laypeople of Ch'i-chou invited him to come to Chung-tsao ssu in Huang-mei hsien, to the north of the [Yangtze] River. [Tao-hsin wanted to] continue his mountain practice, and when he saw the excellent springs and rocks of [Mount] Shuang-feng, he took up permanent residence there. That night a great number of ferocious beasts came and surrounded him, but they all left at his command after he administered the precepts to them.

During the more than thirty years after [Tao-hsin] entered the mountain, students of Buddhism came from all over the country, no matter what the distance. The prefectural magistrate Ts'ai I-hsüan heard about this and came to pay his respects.

Just before his death, Tao-hsin said to his disciple Hung-jen: "You can make a *stūpa* for me [now]." Not long after giving this command he urged them to finish it quickly. He was asked: "Will you enter [the *stūpa* now] or not?" [Tao-hsin] answered: "I am about to enter." The congregation [of his students] said: "Are you not going to make a deputation [of your successor]?" He said: "I have made many deputations during my life." He died peacefully just after saying this.

At that time the more than 500 people in the mountain [community], who were monks and laypeople from all over China,

> suddenly witnessed heaven and earth go dark. The leaves on all the trees for three li around turned white, and the branches of the pawlonia on either side of [Tao-hsin's] room bent their branches toward the room. Even today all [the trees] thereabout are withered. [Tao-hsin's death occurred on the] fourth day of the intercalary ninth month of the second year of the Yung-hui [period, or 651], at his age seventy-two. In the third year [of the same period, or 652], the disciple Hung-jen and others proceeded to the stūpa, opened it, and saw [Tao-hsin's body] sitting erect as of old. They then moved it to its present location, where it still exists today.[64]

It is very interesting to notice what Tao-hsüan did and did not know about Tao-hsin. The most glaring omission, as mentioned above, is that of any reference to Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, or their teachings. The only specific indication of any possible connection with the Ch'an tradition is the discussion between Tao-hsin and his disciples that took place just before his death, when they urged him to select a successor. Their interest seems to have been focussed on the need for a managerial figurehead for the on-going guidance of the East Mountain community. Tao-hsin's response, on the other hand, was meant to indicate that the true meaning of the transmission or "deputation" (as the term fu-chu has been translated here) was not based on the needs of the community but on the intimate relationship between master and disciple. During his life Tao-hsin had had many such relationships as spiritual compatriot to individual religious seekers, the lofty purity of his religious ideals being indicated by his total disinterest (or, perhaps, his feigned disinterest) in appointing a titular successor. This HKSC anecdote is an important indication of the lack of any formalized doctrine of the Ch'an "transmission of the lamp" around the year 660[65] and, at the same time, the existence of popular forces that helped mold such a doctrine.

Since Tao-hsin died in 651, Tao-hsüan must have added this entry after his first redaction of the HKSC in 645. There is, however, no

internal evidence suggesting any connection with the entry for Fa-chung or the references to the *Laṇkāvatāra Sūtra* discussed in the previous Chapter (see Parts 6 and 7). In fact, there is no real indication of Tao-hsin's teaching -- the anecdote concerning the *Perfection of Wisdom* is entertaining, but it cannot be taken seriously for this purpose. There is also no mention of scriptural study or lecturing. This absence may of course be taken as a positive indication of Tao-hsin's single-minded devotion to the practice of meditation.

It is also interesting that the only names included here are those of Tao-hsin's disciple Hung-jen and the local magistrate, Ts'ai I-hsüan (586-656). Other *HKSC* entries discussed above, such as those for Seng-ch'ou, Hui-k'o, and Fa-chung, for example, contain much larger numbers of names. As Professor Yanagida points out, Ts'ai I-hsüan was a prominent military figure from North China who was active in support of the founding of the T'ang and Empress Wu's initial rise to power.[66] It is notable that from the very first the East Mountain Teaching is thus associated with a supporter of Empress Wu.

3. An Outline of Tao-hsin's Career

The other major early source for Tao-hsin's biography is the *Ch'üan fa-pao chi* or *Annals of the Transmission of the Dharma-treasure* (hereafter *CFPC*), which was written around the year 712 on behalf of members of the Northern School. As the earliest extant "transmission of the lamp" text, it is not surprising that the *CFPC* links Tao-hsin specifically with Seng-ts'an and has Tao-hsin explicitly appoint Hung-jen as his successor (albeit with a curious lack of enthusiasm).[67] Since the *CFPC* is introduced in English translation in an Appendix to this Section, there is no special reason to reproduce its entry on

Tao-hsin here. The following outline of Tao-hsin's life is based on both the HKSC and the CFPC. Note the comparative vagueness of the earlier source:

Birthplace: The CFPC states that Tao-hsin was born in Ho-nei, which refers to that part of Honan Province lying to the north of the Yellow River and centered on An-yang hsien. Given the HKSC alone we might have assumed that Tao-hsin's birthplace was in or near Shu-chou (Huai-ning hsien, Anhwei) — otherwise how could he have heard of two meditation masters taking up residence at a mountain near there?

Early training: The CFPC has the same story of Tao-hsin maintaining his own moral purity without the knowledge of his undisciplined teacher, but gives the term of this as six years.

Meditation practice: In the CFPC Tao-hsin is described as proceeding to Mount Han-[kung] (Ch'ien-shan hsien, Anhwei) to study under Seng-ts'an. In the section on Seng-ts'an in the same work the master's companion at that mountain retreat is listed as Dhyana Master Ting, whose full name is given in later sources as Shen-ting but whose biography is completely unknown. In a further contrast with the HKSC, both men are said to have been in residence there beginning in 581 or shortly thereafter. As if to compensate for the addition of a year to the length of time Tao-hsin concealed his action from his first teacher, here he is said to have studied with Seng-ts'an for eight or nine years, as opposed to the ten years given in the HKSC.[68]

After being refused permission to accompany Seng-ts'an to Mount Lo-fu in the South (Tseng-ch'eng hsien, Kwangtung), the CFPC describes Tao-hsin as travelling about in order to teach the Dharma. In view of the gap in the HKSC biography, which fails to account for about a decade of Tao-hsin's life, this assertion should probably be accepted. Tao-hsin's period of study under Seng-ts'an or the unnamed meditation masters, whichever was actually the case, thus began around 591 or 592 and lasted until the very end of the sixth century.

Official ordination: The CFPC specifies that the national ordination program under which Tao-hsin officially became a monk was that which occurred in 607, shortly after the accession of Emperor Yang of the Sui, when each prefecture was ordered to ordain a thousand monks.

Salvation of Chi-chou from rebels: In the HKSC this is presented as if it occurred at the time of Tao-hsin's official ordination and his ensuing journey to Chi-chou (Chi-an hsien, Kiangsu) to take up residence there. The CFPC, however, states that the incident occurred at the end of the Sui — Yanagida suggests that a rebellion that swept the area in 613 may be that in question.[69]

Residence at Ta-lin ssu on Mount Lu: The *CFPC* omits this for no apparent reason. Ta-lin ssu, incidentally, was founded by Chih-k'ai (533-610), a student of Fa-lang of the San-lun School and T'ien-t'ai Chih-i. If the date of the incident at Chi-chou suggested above is to be accepted, then there is no reason to assume that Tao-hsin and Chih-k'ai ever met.[70]

Residence at Mount Shuang-feng in Huang-mei: If we accept the date 613 or shortly thereafter for the incident at Chi-chou, then the *HKSC* and *CFPC* are in substantial agreement as to the timing of Tao-hsin's move to Huang-mei. The *CFPC* asserts that this occurred in 624, which is about ten years (the period of residence at Ta-lin ssu) after the Chi-chou incident. The only problem with this date is that it was only twenty-seven years until Tao-hsin's death, not the thirty or more than thirty given in the *CFPC* and *HKSC*, respectively. Exaggerations such as this involving round cardinal figures occur several times in medieval Chinese Ch'an texts; in the face of specific dates such as that for Tao-hsin's entry into Huang-mei the less precise ordinal figures must be discounted.

Tao-hsin's lesser students: The specific selection of Hung-jen as Tao-hsin's successor as contained in the *CFPC* has been mentioned above and will be discussed further below. In addition to Hung-jen, the *CFPC* mentions Fa-hsien of Ching-chou and Shan-fu of Ch'ang-chou. Fa-hsien (577-653) studied under at least two meditation instructors, one of them T'ien-t'ai Chih-i, before travelling to Huang-mei. We are told that Tao-hsin "further clarified the waters of [Fa-hsien's] meditation," which may be a euphemism for the final experience of enlightenment.[71]

Shan-fu (d. 660) studied under a number of different masters in several different of central and South-central China, from whom he learned Mādhyamika doctrines, Pure Land visualizations, and other types of meditation. In the course of his travels, Seng-fu visited Huang-mei, where Tao-hsin taught him the "expedient means of entering the Path" (*ju-tao fang-pien*). Although this is an interesting hint as to the nature of Tao-hsin's doctrines — the first that has been encountered so far — it is difficult to understand why the *CFPC* denegrates Shan-fu as having the disposition of a *pratyeka-buddha*, unable to understand the Mahāyāna.[72]

Another monk, Hsüan-shuang (d. 652) is mentioned in the *HKSC* but not in the *CFPC* as a student of Tao-hsin's.[73] The only other names associated with Tao-hsin are Fa-jung of the Ox-head School and Yüan-i, who supposedly was the disciple ordered to build the master's *stūpa*. There is no reason to believe that Tao-hsin and Fa-jung ever met.[74] The assertion regarding Yüan-i occurs for the first time in two mid-eighth century sources; its accuracy cannot be verified.[75]

Tao-hsin's death: Nothing is known of Tao-hsin's life from the time he took up residence at Huang-mei until his death

in 651.

(General comments on Tao-hsin's historical significance will be deferred until the end of the following discussions of Hung-jen's life and students.)

4. Hung-jen's Life and Legendary Character

There are only a few sources for Hung-jen's biography: the CFPC, LCJFC and LCSTC, an account by Shen-hui, the LTFPC, and, for only a few additional details, the Sung kao-seng chuan (SKSC).[76] The bare outline of his life that is contained in these sources, which are all in mutual agreement except for certain minor details, is as follows:

Birth: Hung-jen was born in Huang-mei in or about the year 600, the uncertainty being based on minor discrepancies as to his date of death. His ancestors had originally lived in the northern part of Huang-mei, his grandfather having been a recluse.[77]

Youth: The LCJFC says that Hung-jen's father abandoned his home and family, but that the child supported his mother with exemplary filiality. Nevertheless, he too left home to become a monk while very young, either at age seven or twelve. The latter figure is found in the CFPC, which has Hung-jen beginning his studies under Tao-hsin at this age. This would have been during the elder monk's period of official residence in Chi-chou.[78] (It is possible that Tao-hsin did not remain in Chi-chou throughout this period.) Hung-jen presumably remained by Tao-hsin's side at Chi-chou and Ta-lin Ssu on Mount Lu until his master moved to Huang-mei in 624.

Teaching career and death: At Tao-hsin's death in 651 Hung-jen took over leadership of the Huang-mei community. Later tradition has it that he moved the community's mountain center from its original location to Tung-shan or "East Mountain," the easterly of the "twin peaks" of Mount Shuang-feng. This move is recorded explicitly in only one early source, while the term "East Mountain Teaching" is commonly used in early texts in reference to both Tao-hsin and Hung-jen.[79] There is nothing recorded about Hung-jen's life for the years from his assumption of leadership of the Huang-mei community until his last words and death, which probably occurred in 674. After his death his private residence was made into a monastery.[80]

More than the details of Hung-jen's life, it is his personal character as depicted in the CFPC and other works that is the most

intriguing aspect of his biography. He is represented as a quiet youth of diligent filiality and an inoffensive, self-effacing worker who was completely uninterested in anything other than his own spiritual training. After his own selection as successor to Tao-hsin, the previously silent Hung-jen becomes able to immediately understand the problems of his students and teach them with a fluid, spontaneous style that combined an appreciation of the ultimate truth with complete expertise in the expediencies of religious practice.

The most obvious conclusion about the implications of Hung-jen's legendary image is that it formed the basis of the peculiarly Ch'an hagiography of Hui-neng. Indeed, the story of Hui-neng's life as it occurs in the Platform Sūtra and the very closely contemporaneous Ts'ao-ch'i ta-shih chuan or Biography of the Great Master [Hui-neng] of Ts'ao-ch'i[81] can be approached as a more advanced, more concrete version of the same ideal image. Hui-neng's youthful filiality, inherent insight, functional illiteracy, capacity for menial labor, dedication to his master, and style of teaching are all taken directly from the example of Hung-jen.

5. Hung-jen's Lesser Students

Except for a few tidbits of information to be gleaned from the accounts of his students, the only other information we have about Hung-jen's life is contained in the LCJFC. After giving the bare details of Hung-jen's biography, describing his teaching in suitably profound terms, and pointing out that Hung-jen never wrote any explanation of the teaching but always understood the mysterious principle, there occurs the following passage:

> At the time Dhyāna Master Shen-hsiu of Ching-chou had

incorporated the lofty truth within himself and had personally received the transmission (fu-chu, translated above as "deputation"). [I], Hsüan-ts'e, arrived at Mount Shuang-feng in 670, reverentially received the [Master's] instructions, and served as his personal attendent for five years, being in his presence all of that time...

In the second month of the Hsien-heng [period, or 674, Hung-jen] ordered myself and others to build him a stūpa, so with [his other] followers I transported naturally square rocks and fitted them together in a beautiful and imposing manner. On the fourteenth day of the month he asked whether it was finished or not. When I respectfully replied that it was, he said: "I cannot [die on] the same day as the Buddha's nirvāṇa (i.e., April 15)." Thereupon his house was made into a monastery.

[Hung-jen] also said: "I have taught countless people during this life, but my favorites have all died. There are only ten [left] to transmit my teaching to later [generations]. I have explained the Laṇkāvatāra Sūtra to Shen-hsiu, who has a brilliant understanding of its mysterious principle and will certainly be of benefit to a great [number of people]. Chih-hsien of Tz'u-chou and the scribe Liu of Mount Pai-sung both have literary abilities. I remember Hui-tsang of Hua-chou and Hsüan-yüeh of Sui-chou, but do not know anything about their [current activities]. The religious practice of Lao-an of Mount Sung is profound, [while] Fa-ju of Lu-chou, Hui-neng of Chao-chou, and the Koguryo monk Chidŏk (Chih-te in Chinese) of Yang-chou are all capable of teaching people but are figures of only local prominence. I-fang of Yüeh-chou is a lecturer."

He also said to me: "Maintain your combined practice [of meditation and scriptural studies] with care. After my nirvāṇa you and Shen-hsiu shall make the sun of Buddhism shine once again, the lamp of the mind illumine once again."

On the sixteenth day of the month [Hung-jen] asked: "Do you understand your mind now or not?" I respectfully replied: "I do not understand." The Great Master then pointed in all ten directions with his hands and minutely explained the mind as realized by him. Then, at noon on the sixteenth, he faced South in seated meditation, closed his eyes, and passed away. He was seventy-four years old.[82]

Hsüan-ts'e goes on to mention Hung-jen's stūpa, a portrait of the master done on the wall of a monastery at An-chou (Hsüan-ts'e's place of residence), a brief eulogy by a former prominent official. The official was, like the magistrate Ts'ai I-hsüan mentioned in Tao-hsin's biography, a supporter of Empress Wu.[83] Although this fact is hardly

surprising in a work written in the early eighth century, it is clear that Hsüan-ts'e's reportage relates more closely to the time of its writing than to Hung-jen's own memories and opinions. Thus Shen-hsiu is conceded the position of Hung-jen's most prominent disciple and designated successor, while Hsüan-ts'e's references to Shen-hsiu and himself are a bald attempt to appropriate some of the recently departed monk's glory.

Similar inferences may be drawn about Hung-jen's supposed loss of contact with Hui-tsang and Hsüan-yüeh and his sympathetic but unenthusiastic endorsement of Hui-neng and others. That is, these men were known as Hung-jen's disciples, but they had no personal reputation or status within Buddhist circles in the two capitals during the second decade of the eighth century.

Five slightly different versions of this list of Hung-jen's major disciples are included in the LTFPC (two variants) and Tsung-mi's works (three variants).[84] The individuals mentioned in these and other sources and for whom some biographical information is available are as follows:

1. Shen-hsiu: Already mentioned many times in the pages above, this man's biography will be considered in detail shortly. (See Parts 8 through 13 of this Chapter.)

2. Chih-hsien (609-702) of Tz'u-chou (Tz'u-chung hsien, Szechwan): Chih-hsien was the first member of two important lineages of Ch'an in the Szechwan area; the Pure Land figure Nan-yüeh Ch'eng-yüan (712-802) and the great Ch'an Master Ma-tsu Tao-i (709-88) were both his second-generation successors. According to his biography in the LTFPC, he was born in that area of parents originally from Ju-nan (Ju-nan hsien, Honan). He studied first under the famous translator and Yogācāra scholar Hsüan-tsang, then with Hung-jen at Huang-mei. His later activities centered on Te-chun ssu in Tz'u-chou.[85]

Chih-hsien was the author of three works: the Hsü-jung kuan (Contemplation on the Empty Coalescence) in three fascicles, Yüan-ch'i (Causality) in one fascicle, and Pan-jo hsin [ching]

shu (Commentary on the Heart of Wisdom [Sūtra]) in one fascicle. The last of these has been discovered among the Tun-huang manuscripts and published by Professor Yanagida. The LCJFC statement that Chih-hsien possessed literary ability was undoubtedly based on the awareness of works such as these.[86]

3. Lao-an (584?-708) of Mount Sung: Also known as Hui-an, this is a very important Northern School figure who will be covered later. (See Part 14 of this Chapter.)

4. Fa-ju (638-89) of Lu-chou (Ch'ang-chih hsien, Shansi): Another important monk to be considered separately below. (See Part 7 of this Chapter.)

5. Hui-neng (638-713) of Chao-chou (Ch'ü-chiang hsien, Kwangtung): It is noteworthy but not too surprising that Hui-neng's name is included here, since just as with Chih-hsien, the distinction between his lineage and the Northern School did not become apparent until well after the compilation of the LCJFC. Although we obviously cannot consider his biography in detail here, one fact deserves immediate mention: Hui-neng's name appears in two additional Northern School texts, which imply that he was considered a member of that loosely-knit confraternity until at least the second or even the fifth decade of the eighth century.[87]

6. Hsüan-ts'e: Hsüan-ts'e's name is added to the list in the LTFPC, which removes Hui-neng for special treatment. Hsüan-ts'e's biography will be considered in Part 15 of this Chapter.

7. Hsien of Ch'i-chou: Added by Tsung-mi, Fa-hsien (643-720) became prominent for a time in the capitals. His biography will be considered along with that of Hsüan-ts'e in Part 15.

8. The Vinaya Master Chih-hung: This monk is not mentioned in any of the lists cited above, but is instead described as Hung-jen's student in the Ta-T'ang hsi-yu ch'iu-fa kao-seng chuan (Biographies of Eminent Monks [Who Travelled from the] Great T'ang to the Western Regions in Search of the Dharma). One of Shen-hsiu's major successors, P'u-chi, is also mentioned as his teacher.[88]

9. Tao-shun of Pi-chien ssu in Ching-chou: Tao-shun was a native of Chih-chiang (Chiang-ling hsien, Hupeh) who studied the "teaching of birthlessness of East Mountain" (tung-shan wu-sheng fa-men), which is explicitly identified with Tao-hsin and Hung-jen. Tao-shun practiced diligently for forty years, never leaving his monastery and never speaking to anyone. He was eventually invited to court in 707 or 708 along with Heng-ching (634-712), a Vinaya and T'ien-t'ai monk. Emperor Chung-tsung favored Tao-shun with a poetic composition on his departure from court. Since this occurred on the same day as Lao-an's

death (or, alternatively, exactly a year later) in 709, we may infer a relationship of some kind between the two men. Chih-chiang, to which Tao-shun returned and later died, was also Lao-an's native place.[89]

10. Yin-tsung (627-713) of Miao-hsi ssu in K'uai-chi: Yin-tsung is best known for his role in the legend of Hui-neng, and it is difficult to judge the accuracy of the statement in the SKSC, a late source, that he studied under Hung-jen. (Note the reference to Yin-tsung in the biography of Seng-ta, discussed immediately below.) Although he was primarily a Vinaya expert, the most interesting fact about Yin-tsung is that he compiled a comprehensive record of Buddhist sages from the Liang to the T'ang Dynasties. The title of this work, Hsin-yao chi (Anthology of the Essentials of the Mind), its reported emphasis on oral sayings, and the fact that it began in the Liang, with which Bodhidharma is associated in slightly later legends, make it probable that this was a Ch'an-style work. Judging solely from the location of the reference to this work within Yin-tsung's biography, it was probably compiled during his sojourn in Ch'ang-an during the very end of the seventh century.[90]

11. Seng-ta (638-719), also of Miao-hsi ssu in K'uai-chi: Seng-ta was native of K'uai-chi and a member of the Wang family — very probably related in some way to the two laymen of this surname mentioned in the biography of Yin-tsung. When Seng-ta met Hung-jen, it was "like a dry sprout getting rain." He then took up the intensive practice of meditation and later met Yin-tsung and was able to even further "polish the mirror of his mind." Seng-ta followed in Yin-tsung's footsteps by also studying the Vinaya (under a student of Yin-tsung's) and may have been a devotee of the Lotus Sūtra.[91]

The names of fourteen other students of Hung-jen are known, but their biographies are obscure.[92]

6. Hung-jen and the Nature of the East Mountain Community

We have yet to consider Hung-jen's most important disciples — Fa-ju, Shen-hsiu, and others -- but at this point it is appropriate to stop and consider the individual roles played by Tao-hsin and Hung-jen and the general character of the religious community on East Mountain.

It is clear that Hung-jen's personal brilliance must have been a significant factor in the development of Ch'an. That Hung-jen had many more students than Tao-hsin has already been mentioned at the beginning

of this Chapter. In addition, certain less-than-prominent details of Hung-jen's biography imply that he was the primary force behind the community at Huang-mei from its founding in 624 until his death a half-century later. Although this hypothesis cannot be documented with iron-clad certainty, note the following:

1. Huang-mei was Hung-jen's native place, to which Tao-hsin was invited by local supporters of Buddhism. These local patrons certainly included Hung-jen's family, which had a tradition of eremitism.

2. After his death, Hung-jen's residence was converted into a monastery. The mere mention of such a fact implies that Hung-jen's family was wealthy enough to be very prominent locally. In addition, the statements that he labored long and hard and lowered himself before others could only have had impact to the extent that such actions were contrary to expectations, i.e., that he was of upper-class birth and had no reason to exert himself so.

3. Hung-jen may have had students of his own before Tao-hsin's death, although the evidence of this is definitely suspect.[93]

4. After Hung-jen's death, the community at Huang-mei sank into almost complete oblivion for a long period of time. Only one other early Ch'an monk (Fa-hsien, a minor figure to be discussed in Part 15 below) is listed as a resident of Huang-mei.

The Ch'an legend and Buddhist hagiography in general would have us conceive of Hung-jen as a completely spiritual being, thoroughly divorced from the social realities of this world. It seems better to believe that he sought and found an appropriate tutor in Tao-hsin and invited him to Huang-mei in order to lay the foundation of a very successful training center. (No doubt Hung-jen received some guidance from a parent or guardian in his first contact with Tao-hsin.) Tao-hsin's apparent lack of conviction in his deputation of a successor (see the <u>CFPC</u> account in the Appendix to Section Two, section 11) and the description of Hung-jen as meek and self-effacing may be understood as reactions to the reality of Hung-jen's status. This interpretation of

Hung-jen's relative importance fits well with the esteem in which he was held by Shen-hsiu and other Ch'an figures in the capitals in the early eighth century.

In addition to this interpretation of Hung-jen's importance within the history of the Ch'an School, it is possible to make several inferences about the East Mountain community in general. First, Hung-jen **taught meditation and nothing else.** In all the references to him there is never any mention of sūtra recitation, doctrinal study, or Pure Land practices, only that students went to learn the practice of meditation under him. Second, Hung-jen had a **large number of students.** Even if he did not teach a thousand new students every month, or eight or nine out of every ten spiritual aspirants in China, as the biographies suggest, the actual number of those who did study under him was no doubt many times greater than the list of twenty-five names discussed above.

Third, and in direct contrast to the single-mindedness of Hung-jen's dedication to meditation, **his students included individuals of various interests:** Vinaya specialists, devotees of the Lotus Sūtra and Pure Land practices, monks with experience in the translation of Indian scriptures, and minor bureaucrats. Finally, as far as is known, Hung-jen's **disciples stayed with him for limited periods of time.** Fa-ju's tenure of sixteen years (see Part 7 below) was the exception, for Hung-jen's other students seem to have stayed for only a few years at most. Perhaps Huang-mei simply did not appeal to most Chinese monks as a permanent residence. In any case, Hung-jen did not pin his hopes for the future of his school on a single mountain center, as Chih-i had done in grand fashion some years before, but sent his students out to spread their message across the face of China.

Ui Hakuju has suggested that the East Mountain community of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen was the locus for the origination of a unique style of monastic life later codified in the "pure regulations" (ch'ing-kuei, or shingi in Japanese) of Ch'an. Specifically, he makes the following observations:

1. that Tao-hsin and Hung-jen spent sixty years in the same location;

2. that their community always numbered over 500 persons;

3. that the community was entirely dependent on its own resources and efforts for food and the other necessities of life;

4. that all productive labor and even miscellaneous tasks were taken as the religious practice of Ch'an;

5. that all activities (walking, standing, etc.) therefore came to be equivalent to such practice, and even to Ch'an itself;

6. that the Ch'an practiced on East Mountain was spiritually pure and oriented toward the "Mind Nature" (hsin-hsing, or shinshō in Japanese);

7. that Ch'an was not for any special group, but for all;

8. that the scriptures were not understood literally, but were approached spiritually in order to reach their deeper meaning and at times even interpreted arbitrarily in order to express the teaching of Ch'an; and

9. that there must have existed rules and ceremonies necessary for such a type of practice in a community of such size.[94]

Although some of Ui's conclusions are innocuous enough to require no real comment or criticism (numbers 6, 7, and 8), in the main he has over-committed himself in two areas. First, it is unlikely that the community at Huang-mei was actually as large as its recorders said it was. The figures of five hundred and a thousand given in the early texts are obviously pious exaggerations.[95] If we assume that Hung-jen's

students stayed an average of five years and were distributed evenly over the quarter-century of his teaching career — both arbitrary assumptions, of course — then only five of his known students would have been present at any one time. The community would have included a large number of students whose names are no longer known, not to mention lay members and temple functionaries, but it is difficult to believe that the average size of the entire group was even close to five hundred or a thousand. It is better to interpret these figures as inflated estimates of the numbers of community members and interested citizenry who attended the funeral services for Tao-hsin and Hung-jen.

Second, there is absolutely no evidence that the Huang-mei community was totally self-supporting, as Ui says, rather than enjoying roughly the same level and type of financial support as other contemporary institutions.[96] Ui's basis for such a suggestion is apparently the story of Hui-neng threshing rice for eight months after his arrival in Huang-mei,[97] but the real implications of this story are exactly opposite from Ui's interpretation. The _Platform Sūtra_, in which this story appears, intentionally emphasizes Hui-neng's identity as an illiterate barbarian from the South. His relegation to the threshing room is an indication of his complete lack of status in terms of conventional social, educational, and religious standards. Because the entire purport of the legend of Hui-neng was to show that true religious understanding lay outside of all such conventions, which were the normal appurtenances of the highly cultured monks who formed the cream of the Chinese Buddhist _saṁgha_, for the barbarian layperson Hui-neng to have been made to do physical labor is an irrefutable indication that the monks of the day were completely exempt from such requirements.

Not only this, but the story in question can be traced back no further than the first compilation of the Platform Sūtra around the year 780, not to the actual events of Hui-neng's life as Ui surmised. Hence even the above conclusion is relevent to Buddhism in the latter part of the eighth century rather than the same point in the seventh. Presumably, at that earlier point in time the Ch'an School had distinguished itself even less from the general practice of Buddhism in China than it did in the following century. Considering the impossibility of actually documenting the "pure regulations" until the beginning of the eleventh century, it would be unreasonable to believe that they had already assumed their basic form in the seventh.[98]

7. Fa-ju

The first of Hung-jen's disciples to make his mark in the Chinese capitals was Fa-ju (638-89), originally of Lu-chou in modern Shansi and, at the very end of his life, a resident of the famous Shao-lin ssu on Mount Sung. Fa-ju's biography is known from the CFPC and an anonymous epitaph which contains the earliest statement in any Ch'an text of the "transmission of the lamp" theory. Professor Yanagida has studied these two works closely and has concluded that Fa-ju was a figure of considerable importance during his own lifetime, but was intentionally slighted and eventually forgotten within just a few decades after his own death.[99]

Fa-ju's first known Buddhist teacher was Hui-ming, a meditator with Mādhyamika affiliations also known as Ch'ing-pu Ming or "Blue-robed Ming." Hui-ming was noted for his vigorous ascetic practices and had just finished his own studies under Fa-min (579-645) and Chih-yen (577-654) at the time when Fa-ju most likely joined him. This was during the

years 655-59. Fa-min emphasized "non-attainment" (wu-te) and Chih-yen the contemplations of impurity, compassion, and birthlessness. This combination of teachings no doubt filtered down through Hui-ming to Fa-ju, even though they were together for only a brief period of time.[100]

Soon after Fa-ju left home to become a monk, which occurred at his age nineteen (= 658), he was sent off to study under Hung-jen. Thus the epitaph accurately points out that when Hung-jen died in 674, Fa-ju had been with him for sixteen years. Fa-ju's whereabouts for the next eight or nine years, i.e., from 674 to 683, are unknown, but he must have spent at least the last part of this period in Ch'ang-an and/or Lo-yang. This inference is based on the CFPC's information that his name was advanced for a position in the official saṁgha administration after Emperor Kao-tsung's death at the very end of 683. Fa-ju avoided official appointment by moving to Shao-lin ssu on Mount Sung, where he stayed for several years without being recognized.

Fa-ju began to teach the Dharma in 686 after a concerted request from Dhyāna Master Hui-tuan of Lo-yang and the entire community of Shao-lin ssu. From this beginning until his death three years later, Fa-ju taught constantly, always responding quickly to the doubts of his many students. Just before his death he is supposed to have said (according to the CFPC): "After this [students of Ch'an] should study under Dhyāna Master [Shen]-hsiu of Yü-ch'üan ssu in Ching-chou." This instruction, as well as the role played by Hui-tuan just above, should be correlated with references in the biographies of Shen-hsiu's disciples P'u-chi and I-fu.[101]

Fa-ju's prominence was almost poignantly ephemeral. He is treated as a major figure in the CFPC, but listed as a teacher of only

local prominence in the LCJFC. Yanagida suspects that the description of Fa-ju in the latter text as a resident of far-off Lu-chou rather than the famous Shao-lin ssu was intended as a deliberate slight. Certainly Shen-hui's attacks on P'u-chi and the Northern School betray a complete ignorance of Fa-ju's significance.[102]

Although Fa-ju had no known disciples of any significance,[103] he was important as an early exponent of the new religious message of Ch'an in the area of the Chinese capitals. Since he was almost certainly the originator of -- or, at least, the first to disseminate -- the transmission theory that occurs in his epitaph (and which will be discussed in Chapter V, Part 9 of this Section), Fa-ju should be remembered as a significant figure in the history of Ch'an.

8. Shen-hsiu: Biographical Sources

Shen-hsiu (606?-706) was the pre-eminent figure of the Northern School. Without him there would have been no Northern School, nor any record of the East Mountain Teaching. Without him the development of the Ch'an School itself would have been long delayed -- for decades at the very least. For Shen-hsiu's spiritual training earned him the strong personal support of an Empress, the enthusiastic and occultish adulation of the populace, and the religious dedication of many disciples. Of aristocratic and perhaps even royal heritage himself, Shen-hsiu represented the ultimate amalgam of consummate scholar, outspoken and uncompromising supporter of Buddhism, and ardent practitioner and teacher of meditation, the epitome of Buddhist spiritual crafts. As such, his stature is verified by the presence of his biography in the official histories of the T'ang Dynasty. This honor was accorded to only two other Buddhist monks: Shen-hsiu's second-generation disciple

I-hsing, an authority on Esoteric Buddhism and astronomy, and Hsüan-tsang, the famous pilgrim, translator, and Yogācāra scholar.[104]

In spite of his great importance, Shen-hsiu is usually remembered by later Buddhists and modern scholars according to the fictional account contained in the Platform Sūtra introduced at the very beginning of this paper. This account is not entirely unsympathetic to Shen-hsiu, but it is designed to debase his reputation as an inspired master relative to that of the so-called "Sixth Patriarch," Hui-neng, and must therefore be disregarded. As it happens, this study of Shen-hsiu's biography will be of great help in understanding the reasons behind his eventual demotion to a decidedly subordinate role within the annals of the Ch'an School.

The sources for Shen-hsiu's biography are listed below in roughly chronological order (those sources to be used frequently in the discussion below are listed first by abbreviated, titles):

1. Memorial: A memorial to the throne by Sung Chih-wen (d. 713), probably written just a few months before Shen-hsiu's death. It offers an interesting insight into the great Dhyāna Master's stature within court society and the religious life of the two capitals.[105]

2. Eulogy: An anonymous inscription no doubt written soon after Shen-hsiu's death and occurring at the end of, or just after, the CFPC in one Tun-huang manuscript.[106]

3. The entry on Shen-hsiu and other information in the CFPC, written about 712 but apparently not known to the authors of the following two works.[107]

4. Material from the LCJFC quoted in the LCSTC.[108]

5. Other information in the LCSTC, including several short imperial proclamations issued just before and after the great monk's death.[109]

6. Epitaph: A long and detailed epitaph written by the prominent official and poet Chang Yüeh (667-731), probably composed within a few years after Shen-hsiu's death but apparently unknown to the authors of the CFPC, LCJFC, and LCSTC. Other

prominent official and poet Chang Yueh (667-731), probably composed within a few years after Shen-hsiu's death but apparently unknown to the authors of the CFPC, LCJFC, and LCSTC. Other prominent individuals are known to have written eulogies for the departed monk, but this is the only one that survives.[110]

7. A flowery, contentless notice by Chang Yueh on the presentation to Shen-hsiu's monastery of a plaque bearing an inscription of the deceased monk's posthumous title done in the imperial hand.[111]

8. Anecdotal material in the T'ai-p'ing kuang chi (Extended Accounts of the Great Peace) depicting feats of supernormal perception and premonition on Shen-hsiu's part.[112]

9. An entry in the Chiu T'ang shu (Older Chronicles of the T'ang [Dynasty]), written between 936 and 946, based on the Epitaph.[113]

10. Fully three entries in the SKSC:

A. Under the name Shen-hsiu, found in the section on meditators, and combining information from the Chiu T'ang shu with apocryphal stories concerning Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng.

B. Under the name Wei-hsiu, occurring at the very beginning of the section on defenders of the faith, and containing an account of his efforts in this regard in and around the year 662. (The identification of Wei-hsiu and Shen-hsiu will be discussed in Part 10 below.)

C. Under the name Hui-hsiu, located in the section on thaumaturges, and including stories of pre-cognition and non-conformist spontaneity.[114]

11. A short entry in the CTL, which includes only one item of any interest that is not found elsewhere.[115]

Although there are some very long gaps in Shen-hsiu's biography -- details are lacking for over half of his life -- the manner in which the above sources can be pieced together makes the study of his life especially interesting and rewarding. Because of his pivotal importance, we will focus on his biography in much closer detail than has been the case with previous figures.

9. Shen-hsiu's Early Life and Training

Shen-hsiu was born in or around the year 606 in the Li family of Ch'en-liu wei-shih (Wei-shih hsien, Hunan), which is about fifty kilometers south of the modern K'ai-feng and about one hundred kilometers east of Mount Sung.[116] The aristocratic or perhaps even royal nature of Shen-hsiu's family is apparent in the notices about Pao-en ssu, the "home of [Shen-hsiu's] predecessors in Wei-chih," which was converted into a monastery after his death. The LCSTC cites an imperial edict that ordered the conversion of Shen-hsiu's "place of birth, the great Li village" into Pao-en ssu.[117] The Chiu T'ang shu identifies Pao-en ssu as the former residence of Prince Hsiang, the adolescent Emperor Jui-tsung. Whether or not Shen-hsiu was actually a member of the T'ang imperial family, whose surname he shared, it will become increasingly obvious that his ties to and rapport with Emperor Jui-tsung and especially Empress Wu were very close.

After the obligatory praise of Shen-hsiu's innate mental capacities and exceptional physical appearance, the Epitaph says that as a youth he wandered about the area to the south of the Yangtze River. In many ways, this area was the heartland of Chinese Buddhism. Shen-hsiu's erudition was exceptionally broad:

> He could converse in the [southern] dialects of Wu and Chin and was thoroughly versed in the exegesis of the mysterious principle of Lao and Chuang (i.e., philosophical Taoism), the great truths of the Shu-[ching] and I-[ching] (i.e., the Chinese classics), the sūtras and śāstras of the Three Vehicles, and the rules of the Four-part [Vinaya].[118]

The CFPC describes the circumstances under which Shen-hsiu became a Buddhist: When he was thirteen years old, in 618, the areas of Honan and Shantung suffered famines and epidemics as a result of the decline and fall of the Sui Dynasty. Shen-hsiu went to the official granaries

in Ying-yang (K'ai-feng hsien, Honan) to ask for the release of grain to the populace. While doing so he met a "spiritual compatriot" (shan chih-shih, or kalyāṇa-mitra) and was inspired to become a Buddhist monk.[119] It is significant to find Shen-hsiu connected so early in his biography in humanitarian activities and, even in this second-hand fashion, with the social and political conditions that led to the founding of the T'ang Dynasty.

After choosing the homeless life Shen-hsiu first travelled to Eastern Wu (Kiangsu), then to Min (Fukkien), and eventually to all the famous mountain centers of China. Mentioned by the CFPC are Mounts Lo-fu (Kwangtung), Tung, Meng, T'ien-t'ai (all in Chekiang), and Lu (Kiangsi). Shen-hsiu's learning is praised much as in the Epitaph, whose discussion of his studies no doubt refers to the period after as well as before his renunciation of the life of the householder. Shen-hsiu took the full precepts at age twenty (= 625) at a monastery in Lo-yang named T'ien-kung ssu. This monastery had been the T'ang Emperor Kao-tsu's residence before his coronation, but was only converted to religious use in 632.[120] Shen-hsiu was eventually to pass away at the same location.

The CFPC says that, following his ordination, Shen-hsiu devoted his primary energies to learning the Vinaya regulations and ceremonies and then moved on to the practice of meditation and the development of wisdom. Thus he is supposed to have studied all three of the basic components of traditional Buddhist training, śīla, dhyāna, and prajñā. Other than this information, the next quarter-century of his life is a complete blank.

The next known event in Shen-hsiu's life was his journey to Huang-mei in 651 to study under Hung-jen. The CFPC claims that Hung-jen

discerned his new student's abilities at a single glance and taught him for several years. The Epitaph's version of this is more explicit and may be paraphrased as follows:

> [Shen-hsiu] worked day and night for six years. The Great Master Hung-jen sighed and said: "Shen-hsiu has completely mastered the East Mountain Teaching." Hung-jen [then] ordered his student to wash his feet and take his seat alongside [of the master]. At this point Shen-hsiu broke into tears, left East Mountain, and secreted himself.[121]

If we are to accept the notion that Shen-hsiu studied with Hung-jen for six years -- and this figure is suspiciously reminiscent of Hui-k'o's period of training under Bodhidharma and, to cite the ultimate model, Śākyamuni's period of asceticism — this means that Shen-hsiu left Huang-mei around the year 657. This date is important only in that it renders the story of the exchange of "mind-verses" between Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng chronologically impossible.[122]

10. The Identification of Shen-hsiu with Wei-hsiu

The next period in Shen-hsiu's life must be deduced on the basis of a combination of direct and indirect evidence. The first clue occurs in the CFPC, which includes the following statement:

> Later [Shen-hsiu] was banished and assumed layman's garb as a disguise. He lived at T'ien-chü ssu in Ching-chou for over ten years without anyone recognizing him.[123]

The CFPC goes on to say that Shen-hsiu was returned to public status sometime during the years 676-79. Since he remained incognito for over ten years, his banishment therefore occurred sometime in or before 668 at the very latest, probably before 665.

The problem is why Shen-hsiu might have been banished in the first place. A brief glance at the history of church-state relations during this period reveals two possible reasons: (1) the Buddhist-

Taoist debates intended to determine the validity of the ranking of the native religion over the foreign one by the T'ang ruling house and (2) the attempt to alter the traditional status of Buddhism by forcing the members of the saṁgha to do obeisance to both the emperor and their own parents. These two issues were closely related to each other, but both were legitimate causes for the involvement of a prestigious cleric with extremely good political connections. As it turns out, Shen-hsiu was involved in the second of the above disputes.

In 662 an edict was issued in Kao-tsung's name ordering that all Buddhist monks and nuns should reverence their own parents and the emperor according to the customs previously maintained only by lay-people. The date for this announcement must have been chosen to rub salt into the Buddhists' wounds -- the fifteenth day of the fourth month, the anniversary of the Buddha's enlightenment. Just six days after this date, one Wei-hsiu of Ta-chuang-yen ssu proceeded to P'eng-lai Palace in Ch'ang-an in the company of over two hundred monks and submitted a memorial opposing the attempt to restrict the traditional Buddhist prerogatives. The ensuing debate between Wei-hsiu's supporters and opponents among the officials involved came to no immediate conclusion, so he and the other monks retired to regroup at Hsi-ming ssu.

On the twenty-fifth day of the same month Tao-hsüan, a resident of Hsi-ming ssu known to posterity as the compiler of the HKSC, sent an essay defending the Buddhist position to a prince who was the fourth son of Emperor Kao-tsung. On the twenty-seventh similar requests were sent to the mother of the current empress and to all those in the very highest stratum of official service. On the fifteenth day of the next month Wei-hsiu, Tao-hsüan, two other similarly prominent clerical

associates, and more than three hundred other monks presented the case on behalf of the Buddhist saṃgha before an assembly of over a thousand officials.

Unfortunately, this large meeting did not produce any consensus, and the final resolution of the entire dilemma is unclear. About two months after the initial decree, the emperor rescinded the requirement for reverence of his own person, but it is uncertain when, if ever, the requirement that monks conform with the conventional expressions of reverence for their parents was formally withdrawn.[124]

It is my hypothesis that "Wei-hsiu of Ta-chuang-yen ssu" refers to Shen-hsiu of the Northern School of Ch'an. Wei-hsiu's entry in the SKSC contains no biographical information whatsoever, saying only that his place of birth was unknown. Other than praise of his erudition, his ability to explain Buddhism both orally and in writing, and his efforts to disseminate the teachings in his lectures, the only subject discussed in the entire entry is the dispute summarized above. This absence of biographical information for a monk prestigious enough to spearhead the opposition to an imperial edict seems unusual, leading me to visualize the following scenario:

1. Wei-hsiu was the same monk as that described in the pages above, i.e., extremely well-educated and having close connections to the imperial family.

2. After his studies under Hung-jen Shen-hsiu, née Wei-hsiu, moved to Ch'ang-an, where he took up residence at Ta-chuang-yen ssu and began to actively disseminate the teachings of Buddhism.

3. Stating his case on behalf of the traditional rights of the saṃgha too forcefully, he aroused the ire of either the emperor himself or, more likely, those officials most closely associated with the anti-Buddhist decree. As a result, he was banished from the capital and had to bide his time among the company of his supporters at Ching-chou before resuming public activities.

4. At the time of his return to public life in 676-79, Wei-hsiu changed his name to Shen-hsiu in order to avoid any residue of opposition to his former stand. The SKSC would thus be unable to include anything about Wei-hsiu's biography, since the Epitaph avoids the entire incident and was written under the name Shen-hsiu.

This hypothesis not only fills a gap in the middle of Shen-hsiu's biography, it also provides a partial explanation of his extreme prominence at the very end of his life. That is, Shen-hsiu was welcomed by Empress Wu into Lo-yang amid such incredible fanfare not only because he was a venerable teacher of meditation, but because he was remembered as a champion of Buddhism in its travails of four decades before. It seems likely that Empress Wu orchestrated his magnificent arrival in Lo-yang and subsequent career as a demonstration of her support of Buddhism and position as just heir to the T'ang realm. She no longer had need to commission such patently contrived supports to her reign as the *Ta-yün ching* (*Sūtra of the Great Cloud [of the Dharma]*), which was construed so as to predict the advent of a female Bodhisattva to rule China. Rather, the imperial support of Shen-hsiu was designed as both a spectacular ornamentation of her reign and a public demonstration of the importance of Buddhism within her regime. It is also doubly significant that, as we shall see below, Empress Wu bowed to him on his entrance into the capital, rather than requiring that gesture of respect from him.[125]

11. Shen-hsiu at Yü-ch'üan ssu

The CFPC claims that during the years 676-79, several tens of virtuous monks from what is now Hupeh and Hunan sponsored Shen-hsiu's official ordination and residence at Yü-ch'üan ssu in Ching-chou.[126] The Epitaph describes Shen-hsiu's selection of a site for his own headquarters as follows:

> Seven li to the east of [Yü-ch'üan ssu] the land was broad and the mountains mighty. Upon seeing this [Shen-hsiu] said: "This is truly the solitary peak of Laṅkā, [and the fitting site for a] Monastery of the [Six] Perfections. I shall grow old among its shaded pines and tangled grasses."[127]

There is no doubt that Tu-men ssu or the "Monastery of the [Six] Perfections" was built specifically for Shen-hsiu.[128] Although the passage quoted above suggests that he picked the specific location for Tu-men ssu because of its idyllic or geomantically advantageous setting, clearly there was more involved in his choice of Yü-ch'üan ssu and Ching-chou in general. Chih-i's residence at Yü-ch'üan had helped to make it a prominent monastic establishment, while Ching-chou had been an important center of meditation practice for several centuries. In addition, it is possible that Empress Wu's personal connections with this general location may have had some influence on Shen-hsiu's choice of a safe refuge from the dangerous legacy of political activism.[129]

Whatever the circumstances, Shen-hsiu spent the next quarter-century in Ching-chou. Although there are some indications that he was influenced by the example of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i during his stay there, viz., his authorship of a text that used the same title as one of Chih-i's works and the Northern School appropriation of a letter apparently written by Chih-i himself,[130] Shen-hsiu's exact activities and personal religious development while in Ching-chou are obscure. The CFPC claim that Shen-hsiu refrained from teaching until 689 out of deference to Fa-ju cannot be accepted.[131] Judging from the year of the founding of Tu-men ssu, it seems more likely that Shen-hsiu moved immediately after Hung-jen's death to assume the mantle of the East Mountain Teaching.[132]

Shen-hsiu's residence at Tu-men ssu in Ching-chou extends the East Mountain Teaching's period of quiet incubation in provincial

retreats to fully three-quarters of a century, from Tao-hsin's arrival in Huang-mei in 624 to Shen-hsiu's journey to Lo-yang in 701. Unlike the community at Huang-mei, however, that in Ching-chou continued to be a viable Ch'an School training center after Shen-hsiu's departure and eventual death. This is known through the existence of a letter from I-hsing to Shen-hsiu's epigrapher, Chang Yüeh, which says that the departed master's students (I-hsing was actually Shen-hsiu's second-generation successor) were still practicing with all possible intensity and sincerity at Yü-ch'üan ssu.[133] Presumably, Shen-hsiu left some of his students there when he travelled to Lo-yang.

12. Shen-hsiu in Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an

The *CFPC* describes Shen-hsiu's entry into and activities in the two capitals in greater detail than the *LCJFC*, which has been quoted above. According to this text, in the latter part of the year 700

> [Empress Wu] Tse-t'ien sent a palace messenger to escort [Shen-hsiu] to Lo-yang. Monks and laypeople spread flowers in his path, and the banners and canopies [on the vehicles of the wealthy and prestigious] filled the streets. He entered the palace riding on a litter [of a type reserved for members of the imperial family] and decked with palm leaves. [Empress Wu], following him, touched her forehead to the ground and knelt long in a spirit of reverent dedication and chaste purity. When [Shen-hsiu] administered the precepts to the court ladies, all the four classes [of Buddhists] took refuge in him with the same feelings of veneration that they had for their own parents. From princes and nobles on down, everyone [in the capital] took refuge in him.[134]

Other than the slight conflict concerning the date of these events, which can be resolved by noting that the *CFPC* refers to Shen-hsiu's invitation in 700 and the *LCJFC* to his actual entry into Lo-yang the following calendar year, all sources agree on the exceptional nature of the aged monk's treatment. Both the *Epitaph* and the *Chiu T'ang shu* emphasize that he was carried into the palace on a litter to meet a

kneeling and reverential Empress Wu.[135] The Epitaph defends this situation, which was clearly extraordinary within the context of the T'ang, with the statement that "he who transmits the Holy Truth does not face North; he with abundant virtue does not follow the protocol of a subordinate."[136]

Shen-hsiu spent the last five years of his life travelling back and forth between the two capitals of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang. Although his specific activities cannot be known in their entirety from this vantage point, we can imagine that he spent a substantial percentage of his time lecturing and administering the precepts, etc. Although he was probably not directly involved in the work of translation, the SKSC states that he functioned as a "verifier of the Ch'an meaning" (cheng ch'an-i) of newly-translated scriptures.[137] As we will see in Section Three, Chapter III, Parts 5 and 6, it is very easy to imagine Shen-hsiu suggesting some very unique interpretations of the terms and concepts found in such texts. The third SKSC biography listed above and the T'ai-p'ing kuang chi entry contain anecdotal material that indicates the extent to which Shen-hsiu's activities, or the imperial support for him, resulted in his romanticization by the contemporary Chinese public.

Incidentally, while in Lo-yang Shen-hsiu spent at least part of his time at T'ien-kung ssu, where he was first ordained and eventually passed away. In Ch'ang-an he probably stayed at Tz'u-sheng ssu, with which he is associated in the T'ai-p'ing kuang chi and SKSC entries just mentioned. It cannot be a coincidence that one of Shen-hsiu's epigraphers, who was the fourth son of Emperor Jui-tsung, owned residences that were contiguous with both of these monasteries.[138]

One of the more interesting documents pertaining to Shen-hsiu's

life and impact is the Memorial by Sung Chih-wen, a noted poet who was in official service during Empress Wu's reign. More than any other source, it gives us an insight into Shen-hsiu's extraordinary status and activities at the imperial court. The author seems concerned, in fact, that the attention given to the aged monk was disrupting the functioning of government itself. The following is a very rough paraphrase of the entire text:

Memorial on Behalf of the Saṃgha of Lo-yang Requesting that Dhyāna Master [Shen]-hsiu be Welcomed with [all due] Religious Ceremony

Various monks have said: "We have heard that the support of the True Teaching [of Buddhism] depends first of all on the power of the emperor to attract capable teachers from far and wide." I am humbly aware that on a certain date a messenger was sent by Edict to escort the monk Tao-hsiu (= Shen-hsiu) of Yü-ch'üan ssu [to court]. In Your Majesty's support of Buddhism You have dreamt of this person and his words and teachings, You have had him come to the Palace morning and night. This monk embodies the ultimate principle of birthlessness (i.e., nirvāṇa) and transmits the Wonderful Teaching of East Mountain. He lives in an open cave [at Yü-ch'üan ssu], even though he is over ninety years of age. His physical beauty grows richer day by day, his teaching ever deeper.

Students of Buddhism from the two capitals and the faithful from all areas of China all come to the Five Gated [Entrance to the Imperial City to hear his teaching]. They come from a thousand li away without any hesitation! [The mendicants with their] robes and begging bowls crowd into newly-built halls like schools of jumping fish; their huts cover the hillside like lines of geese. Gathering like clouds and free as the dew, they go [to Shen-hsiu] empty-handed and return fulfilled.

[Shen-hsiu] was a recluse among the deep forests of the Three Ch'u who is carrying on the teaching of the One Buddha. He enjoyed living in the distant mountains, having resided for a long time in Ching-nan. Having a (karmic? or kinship?) relationship with the state, he has now returned to Yü-pei (i.e., Lo-yang).

The monks and laypeople of the Nine Rivers love him as they love their parents; the men and women of the Three Rivers look up to him as to the very mountains. It is proper that the mendicants should camp in the fields, that Buddhist activities should be encouraged on the outskirts of the city, [but] if they are allowed to come into the capital they shall lose their

perspective [as to the function of temporal government. This is especially true insofar as] Tao-hsiu has forgotten (i.e., transcended) all worldly preferences and protocol.

The community of monks wishes to show reverence to this marvelous personage. To burn incense and scatter flowers while following the King of the Teaching into the hall of spiritual training -- the four groups of Buddhists would all feel gratitude, a myriad people would become joyous! They would feel the ultimate in unbearable religious sincerity.

I respectfully proceed to the Palace and offer up this Memorial requesting that [Your Royal Highness] and the faithful from the city proceed with due religious ceremony to Lung-men to listen to Tao-hsiu's [teaching].

In rashly touching on the awesomeness of [the Son of] Heaven, I have been deeply presumptuous.[139]

The most striking impression of the above Memorial is the picture it paints of the public response to Shen-hsiu. Even allowing for the literary exaggeration of mendicants gathering "like schools of jumping fish," their huts covering the hillsides "like lines of geese," Sung Chih-wen's Memorial is an incontrovertible testimonial to the fervor with which Shen-hsiu's teachings were received in early eighth-century Lo-yang. No doubt the Chiu T'ang shu claim that ten thousand people visited Shen-hsiu every day is grossly inflated, but the general fact of his popularity is indisputable.

Although the Memorial itself is not dated, it is possible to suggest a very specific context for its composition and submission to the throne. The LCSTC records an edict by Emperor Chung-tsung issued in 705 which praises Shen-hsiu's religious attainments and refuses his request to return home to Ching-chou. The aged Empress Wu, who had already been quietly displaced from her former position of complete authority, was to die at the very end of this year, Shen-hsiu a few months later. Shen-hsiu's interest in returning home must have been fuelled both by a wish to spend his final hours in the relative quiet of

Ching-chou and by a sense of deference to Emperor Chung-tsung, who had only been returned to the throne less than two months before the edict in question was issued. Shen-hsiu was thus offering Chung-tsung the opportunity to repudiate or revise governmental support of his East Mountain Teaching.

Out of his own personal feelings of reverence for Shen-hsiu and in conjunction with the general pattern of smooth transition that characterized the re-establishment of the T'ang in the place of Empress Wu's short-lived Chou regime, Emperor Chung-tsung refused Shen-hsiu's request. Sung Chih-wen's Memorial thus made possible a course of action by which the political and religious functions of the court could be smoothly separated without implying any lessening of interest in or support for Shen-hsiu and the "Northern School" that had developed around him. In fact, Chung-tsung did undertake an imperial progress to Lung-men late in 705 -- and is it not possible that he went to hear Shen-hsiu preach?[140]

13. Shen-hsiu's Death and its Aftermath

Shen-hsiu died while sitting quietly in meditation posture at T'ien-kung ssu in Lo-yang on the twenty-eighth day of the second month of the Shen-lung period, or 706. The Epitaph pinpoints this as having occurred during the night; please refer to the Appendix to this Section for the CFPC's description of the events surrounding his death. The CFPC and the Epitaph both say that Shen-hsiu was over one hundred years old, but that no one had ever asked him his true age.

The LCSTC concurs in the date and location of Shen-hsiu's death, adding that his last words were the three characters ch'ü ch'ü chih. The basic meanings of these three individual characters are "bent over,"

"curved," and "straight," so that they might refer to some progressive perfection Shen-hsiu felt he had achieved. Taking the first two characters as a compound, the statement could be read as "the vagaries of the world are now straightened [in the state of nirvāṇa to come]."

Perhaps the best interpretation is given by Professor Yanagida, who notes that ch'ü-ch'ü chiao is a p'an-chiao or "dividing the doctrine" term for an indirect method of teaching by which the Buddha brought his listeners to the ultimate truth in a step-by-step or even roundabout fashion. According to this interpretation, Shen-hsiu's last words would mean something like "the teachings of the expedient means have been made direct."[141] Whatever the original intent of this statement, we shall see below that Shen-hsiu's teaching style involved the use of perplexingly enigmatic questions, so there is no doubt that his last words were chosen so as to inspire earnest reflection among his followers.[142]

Through the correlation of data from the sources for the biographies of Shen-hsiu and other Northern School monks it is possible to adumbrate an extensive program of funerary and commemorative observations that followed his death. The existence of this program not only substantiates Shen-hsiu's prestige among his contemporaries, it indicates certain aspects of the institutional development of the Northern School.

According to the Epitaph, the emperor sent a messenger to convey his condolences as soon as he heard of Shen-hsiu's death. The lords and princes all sent appropriate gifts. Just a few days after his death (on the second day of the third month), Shen-hsiu was given the title Ta-t'ung ch'an-shih ("Greatly Penetrating Dhyāna Master"). This was

apparently only the second such imperially-granted posthumous title in the history of Chinese Buddhism, and the first since the very beginning of the fifth century.[143]

Emperor Jui-tsung donated thirty thousand cash for the refurbishment and enlargement of Tu-men ssu, which was

> decorated lavishly with money from the state, the bequests exceeding a million [cash]. The massive bell had been forged by the former Emperor [Chung-tsung]; the collection of Buddhist sculpture was a gift of the latter Emperor [Jui-tsung]. The gold plaque [bearing the name of the monastery] was written by the Emperor [Chung-tsung, while the] banners decorated with flowers were made within the palace. The stūpa and monastery [as a whole] were most awe-inspiring and gained a wide reputation for having set a new standard [of beauty].[144]

Three days after the bestowal of the posthumous title Ta-t'ung (on the fifth day of the third month), Shen-hsiu's body was placed temporarily at Lung-men, the burial site of a number of other eminent Buddhist monks. The emperor, princes, and nobles formed a procession that accompanied the remains from Lo-yang as far as the I River, which flows between the cave-temples of Lung-men, while a group of high officials proceeded on to the interment site itself.

The final burial services were begun on the sixteenth day of the seventh month, when an edict was issued authorizing Shen-hsiu's return to Tu-men ssu in accord with his last wishes. The Chief of Ceremonies of the imperial palace led the procession, followed by musicians and the Head Palace Gatekeeper, who acted as a ceremonial guard. The emperor himself went to Lung-men to "weep over the coffin," after which Shen-hsiu's body was dispatched to Ching-chou. On the seventeenth day of the tenth month Shen-hsiu's body was finally laid to rest in an open stūpa located at a site previously selected by him behind his former residence at Tu-men ssu.

At the end of the mourning period in the tenth month of the same year a great assembly was held at Lung-hua ssu, a large nunnery in Ch'ang-an. Eight thousand people were in attendance for these ceremonies, which included the official ordination of fourteen of Shen-hsiu's disciples. The first and second annual observances were held at Hsi-ming ssu, with similar numbers of people present. Other services were held in the palace and at Mount Chung-nan outside of Ch'ang-an.[145]

It is the ordination ceremony held in conjunction with the first memorial service for Shen-hsiu at Hsi-ming ssu that tells us the most about the contemporary state of the Northern School. The Epitaph says only that fourteen persons were ordained one hundred days after the funeral. While there are some discrepancies in the date as reported in various sources, it is likely that these ordinations are the same as those mentioned in connection with Lao-an.[146]

The implications of this coincidence are as follows: it was through this ordination ceremony that the titular leadership of the Northern School was transferred from Shen-hsiu to Lao-an. The latter monk maintained this position until his own death only two or three years later, after which another successor to Hung-jen, Hsüan-ts'e (already mentioned above as the author of the LCJFC), assumed or attempted to assume the same position. Whatever the degree of Hsüan-ts'e's success in the attempt to advance his own cause on the basis of his association with the heroes of the past -- this is an admittedly cynical interpretation of his motives -- eventually the mantle was passed on to the next generation. In this next generation, generally counted as the seventh from Bodhidharma, Shen-hsiu's disciple P'u-chi was the most prominent and outspoken representative of early Ch'an.

14. Lao-an and His Disciples

In order to achieve the proper perspective on the events just after Shen-hsiu's death, it is necessary to consider what little evidence is available about the life of Lao-an. This monk, originally known as Hui-an, is known primarily from a very badly preserved funerary inscription and two entries in the SKSC.[147] He was born in Chih-chiang, Ching-chou (Chiang-ling hsien, Hupeh) in either 581, 582, or sometime between 581 and 600, according to the different sources. (Later sources claim that he lived to the age of 128.) In 597 he is supposed to have entered the forests to escape a Sui Dynasty campaign against those without official ordinations, and during the hardships accompanying canal construction during the years 605-16 he travelled about collecting food for the sick and poor. After rejecting an invitation to court, in 616 he ascended Mount Heng (= Nan-yüeh) to practice meditation.

According to the SKSC, Lao-an went to Huang-mei to study under Hung-jen sometime during the years 627-49. If this were accurate it would mean that Hung-jen accepted a student before Tao-hsin's death — and a man allegedly as old or older than Tao-hsin himself! It is unclear how long Lao-an is supposed to have studied under Hung-jen. The funerary inscription includes a reference to Shen-hsiu, Lao-an, and the "eight teachers" who "received the essentials of Ch'an" from Hung-jen. This passage is obviously dependent on Hsüan-ts'e's assertions in the LCJFC, as introduced in Part 5 above. Even more interesting, when Lao-an left Huang-mei he is supposed to have recommended that students go to Shen-hsiu — a statement that is just as obviously modelled on the CFPC's assertion about Fa-ju.

Although the funerary inscription is marred by long lacunae, it

seems that Lao-an himself then stayed at Yü-ch'üan ssu for several years. According to the SKSC, he took up residence in the caves at Mount Chung-nan near Ch'ang-an in 664. In 683 he moved to what is described as a rude hut in Hua-t'ai (Hua hsien, Hunan),[148] later to a monastery named Chao-t'i ssu built there by imperial edict. After an unknown length of time at Hua-t'ai and possibly a period of wandering, Lao-an moved to Shao-lin ssu on Mount Sung. When he arrived there he said: "This is my stopping place." Students of Ch'an gathered there "like spokes around a hub."

It is not clear when Lao-an first gained access to the imperial court. The early sources mention invitations made and spurned in 605-16 and 664, while two Sung Dynasty texts state that he first went to court in 695 or 696. Even the LTFPC, generally the eighth century text most prone to exaggeration and fabrication, dates his entry to court as occurring in the year 700.[149] Whether or not the Sung figures are correct, it is quite possible that Lao-an's presence at Shao-lin may have attracted official attention and thus contributed to the eventual invitation of Shen-hsiu.

Although it is thus not out of the question for Lao-an's career to have thus contributed to Shen-hsiu's rise to prominence, in general the relationship between the two men seems to have been just the opposite. What little is known about Lao-an's biography seems suspiciously reminiscent of Shen-hsiu's, so much so that it is impossible to avoid the impression that Lao-an's was directly modelled on and even designed to outdo that of his more famous associate. Thus Lao-an was older than the venerable Shen-hsiu, achieved greater recognition for his humanitarian efforts at the end of the Sui, joined Hung-jen earlier,

advanced Shen-hsiu's name on his own departure from Huang-mei, and cut a more exotic figure than the obviously distinguished Shen-hsiu.[150] Because of this impression, the veracity of the details of Lao-an's early biography are open to considerable doubt.

This is not to deny that Lao-an was a very prominent figure in the two capitals after Shen-hsiu's death. He is known to have received valuable gifts from the emperor on several ocasions. Not only did he oversee the ordination of fourteen disciples, as mentioned in connection with Shen-hsiu, he may have accompanied Shen-hsiu's body back to Ching-chou in the funeral procession already described above. Lao-an himself died in 708 or 709, depending on the source. The earlier of these two dates fits better with other information to be considered below.[151]

Lao-an is known to have had several disciples. One of these, Chih-ta or Hui-ta, is a figure of perhaps questionable historicity who is also said to have studied under Shen-hsiu. He is remembered as the author of an interesting Northern School text, the _Tun-wu chen-tsung chin-kang pan-jo hsin-hsing ta pi-an fa-men yao-chüeh_ or _Essential Oral Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment to the True Teaching and Attainment of the Other Shore [of Nirvāṇa through the] Cultivation of Adamantine Wisdom_.[152]

The _Tsu-t'ang chi_ (_Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall_, hereafter _TTC_) of 952 mentions two students of Lao-an's, one of whom was the author of a short work recorded in the _CTL_. If this attribution is accurate -- and I know of no reason to question it -- this is a very important text. Unfortunately, no significant biographical information is available about its author. Another monk, Tao-shun, may have been associated with Lao-an, even though this is not explicitly stated in his

biography.[153]

The only students of Lao-an's whose biographies are known from reliable sources are Yüan-kuei (644-716)[154] and Ching-tsang (675-746). The second of these is definitely the more interesting. Ching-tsang studied for more than ten years with Lao-an, or until the master's death, and then for five years or less with Hui-neng. Ching-tsang finally received certification of his enlightenment (yin-k'o) and "transmission of the Dharma and the lamp" (fu-fa ch'üan-teng) after five years of additional practice under an unnamed teacher in Ching-nan, the general location in which Yü-ch'üan ssu was located. Well after this experience, in about 730, Ching-tsang took up residence at a chapel dedicated to Lao-an near a stūpa at Hui-shan ssu on Mount Sung. Incredibly, a picture of Ching-tsang's own stūpa occurs in Tokiwa Daijo's monumental set of plates on the cultural legacies of China.[155] In spite of his contact with Hui-neng, Ching-tsang's epitaph includes a passage about the teaching being "transmitted directly through seven patriarchs, having arisen on Mount Sung," in which the sixth and seventh generations are presumably Lao-an and Ching-tsang himself.[156]

15. Hsüan-ts'e and Fa-hsien

Lao-an was not, of course, the only student of Hung-jen's to be active in the two capitals after Shen-hsiu's death. In addition to the minor figure Tao-shun mentioned in passing just above, Fa-hsien (643-720) of Lung-hsing ssu in Ch'i-chou (Huang-mei) must also be mentioned in this regard. This monk was invited to court during the years 705-707 and was active there until his death in 720. Although Fa-hsien was a relatively unimportant figure, his epitaph by Li Shih-chih is interesting in two ways.[157]

First, one of the hagiographical anecdotes recounted in this epitaph bears evidence to the growing strength of the Ch'an legend. As the story goes, when Fa-hsien was struggling with massive rocks at the construction site of his mother's grave, a man approached him, bowed, and pulled out a book. Giving it to Fa-hsien, he said: "This is in order to help you dig the grave." The book was a "Treatise of Bodhi-dharma's" (P'u-t'i-ta-mo chih lun); the grave was finished in two days.

Second, although Fa-hsien died in 720 and his epitaph was not written until 740, the only master mentioned is Hung-jen. In other words, fully sixty-five years after Hung-jen's death the memory of his name was still strong enough to serve as a monk's sole source of religious identification. This is not only a testimonial to Hung-jen's importance: unless the absence of Shen-hsiu's and P'u-chi's names is taken as an intentional avoidance of the "Northern School," there is in this epitaph of the year 740 no indication whatsoever of any impact of the campaign launched a decade before by Shen-hui.[158]

In 708, either the same year or the year before Lao-an's death, another student of Hung-jen's received an invitation to court. This was Hsüan-ts'e, already introduced above as the author of the LCJFC. Earlier in his career Hsüan-ts'e assisted in Hsüan-tsang's translation work. In 667 he attended the formal establishment of an ordination platform on Mount Chung-nan. Tao-hsüan's list of those attending this ceremony identifies him as a Dharma Master of Wu-liang ssu in Ching-chou, a monastery whose name evokes the Pure Land tradition. These details, however scanty, corroborate Hung-jen's description of Hsüan-ts'e (as reported by Hsüan-ts'e himself) as accomplished in the "combined study" of several facets of Buddhist academic and spiritual

learning.[159]

According to his own account reproduced above (Part 5), Hsüan-ts'e studied under Hung-jen from 670 to 674. His activities from the end of this discipleship until 708 are largely unknown, but he spent at least part of this period practicing meditation on Mount Shou in An-chou (Ying-shan hsien, Hupeh). It is impossible to say how long he maintained his position in the capitals after 710, if at all.[160] The lack of information implies that his activities did not attract as much interest or attention as those of Shen-hsiu or even Lao-an. Hsüan-ts'e died sometime before 727, leaving his robe, bowl, and staff to his only known disciple, Ching-chüeh. This reference to the bequest of robe and bowl is the first in Ch'an literature, which just a few decades later is filled with different claims about the disposition of a robe supposedly given by Hung-jen to Hui-neng.[161]

Hsüan-ts'e's brief success in Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an after 708 and his authorship of the <u>LCJFC</u> suggest that he attempted unsuccessfully to follow in the footsteps of Shen-hsiu and Lao-an. Since the timing of Hsüan-ts'e's invitation to court may have been determined by the date of Lao-an's death, we may infer a horizontal succession within the early Northern School: from Hung-jen to Shen-hsiu, Lao-an, and Hsüan-ts'e. (Fa-ju's name should perhaps be placed before that of Shen-hsiu.) Although Shen-hsiu's students P'u-chi, I-fu, and Ching-hsien may have been just as prominent as Hsüan-ts'e, this apparently horizontal line of succession has interesting implications for the development of the "transmission of the lamp" theory. This subject will be taken up in some detail in Chapter V, but at present we should attend to the completion of the historical narrative of the development of Northern Ch'an.

CHAPTER IV

THE SEVENTH GENERATION AND BEYOND

1. The Contour of Later Northern Ch'an History

The major dimensions of the Northern School's rise to prominence should now be clear, but that does not mean its subsequent history is confined to the details of the School's decline and disappearance. On the contrary, the composition of the Northern School after the deaths of Shen-hsiu and Lao-an, the status claims and doctrinal statements made by P'u-chi and his successors, and the extension of Northern School proselytic efforts into Tibet are all subjects of great importance in their own right. In fact, there are several issues fundamental to the study of the Northern School and early Ch'an in general that can only be addressed on the basis of an accurate understanding of this period:

1. What was the nature of the Northern School's contemporary success and the extent of its impact on the subsequent development of Chinese Ch'an?

2. What effect did Shen-hui's campaign have on the Northern School and, once again, on the subsequent development of Ch'an?

3. In what sense was the Northern School a religious "school" of Chinese Buddhism and why did it cease to exist as such?

The traditional view, of course, is that the Northern School had little or no impact on subsequent periods of Ch'an history, that after Shen-hui's campaign the membership of the School was fatally depleted as Hui-neng's swelled, and that the Northern School disappeared because of

the inherent inferiority of its own teachings, its influence in the long run being essentially nil. Our review of the relatively abundant evidence for this phase of early Ch'an history will show that all these assertions are completely incorrect.

I have already mentioned how first Lao-an and then Hsüan-ts'e attempted to fill the vacuum left by Shen-hsiu's death. In addition to their own personal charisma, Lao-an's being derived from his incredible age and Hsüan-ts'e's from a diverse career in several areas of Buddhist endeavor, the primary rationale for each man's prestige was the connection with Hung-jen.[162] Sooner or later, however, the mantle of Ch'an had to be passed on to the next generation, the seventh from Bodhidharma. Here the importance of Shen-hsiu's role becomes all the more evident, for while the students of Lao-an and Hsüan-ts'e were not completely unknown it was those of Shen-hsiu — P'u-chi, I-fu, Ching-hsien, Chiang-ma Tsang and others — who dominated the world of Ch'an during the second, third, and fourth decades of the eighth century.

In contrast to the serial order apparent in the careers of Fa-ju, Shen-hsiu, Lao-an, and Hsüan-ts'e, the men of the seventh generation seem to have coordinated their activities: Just after Shen-hsiu's death and during Lao-an's brief heyday, I-fu and P'u-chi were both in residence at the same monastery on Mount Sung, where they were presumably planning their future course of action. Afterward, they effectively divided the responsibilities for maintaining the glory of the Northern School between themselves, I-fu moving to Mount Chung-nan and P'u-chi staying at Mount Sung. P'u-chi thus retained control of the Northern School's long-held training center outside Lo-yang, while I-fu established a new base of operations near the much more important metropolis

of Ch'ang-an.

Whether by design or by accident, I-fu seems to have become primarily a pastor to the imperial court. After spending fifteen or twenty years on Mount Chung-nan, he set up residence in Ch'ang-an itself and then followed the emperor back and forth between that city and Lo-yang. P'u-chi also spent time in each of these cities, but the large number of his known successors suggests that he was the Northern School's chief instructor of spiritual trainees. P'u-chi also had the dubious distinction of being singled out for attack by Shen-hui, which may be taken as a testament to his greater public stature. P'u-chi's own epitaphs contain almost fantastic claims of his own significance, and his name seems to rival that of Shen-hsiu himself in certain documents dating from the 760's. Finally, while there are no extant epitaphs for any of I-fu's students, those which exist for P'u-chi's first- and second-generation successors contain enough doctrinal information to suggest that his lineage not only continued on but was the most philosophically dynamic sub-lineage of Northern Ch'an.

Shen-hsiu is credited with having as many as seventy students.[163] Although biographical information exists for many of these figures, I will discuss only four of his most important disciples: Chiang-ma Tsang, Ching-hsien, I-fu, and P'u-chi.

2. Chiang-ma Tsang

Chiang-ma Tsang or "Demon-subduing Tsang" is mentioned in the SKSC and various other sources.[164] On the basis of provenence rather than content, the most interesting of these are from Tibet, where he evidently achieved a degree of individual prominence.[165] His early studies in Buddhism included the recitation of the Lotus Sūtra and

emphasis on the Vinaya.

At one point Tsang reached the very brink of a great enlightenment experience while either giving or, more likely, listening to lectures on the "theory of the Southern School" (nan-tsung lun). This theory, which is also mentioned in the biography of one of Shen-hsiu's lesser-known students, can only be understood as a reference to the Mādhyamika.[166] At any rate, this experience led Tsang to forgo scriptural studies and travel to all the holy sites of China. During the course of his travels Tsang met Shen-hsiu, whom he accepted as his teacher.

The first encounter between Chiang-ma Tsang and Shen-hsiu is described in the SKSC as follows:

> [Shen]-hsiu asked: "You name is 'Demon-subduer.' At my place there are no mountain or tree spirits, so will you turn around and become a demon [yourself]?"
>
> [Tsang] said: "[If] there is a Buddha, there are demons."
>
> [Shen]-hsiu said: "If you are a demon, then you must reside in an inconceivable realm."
>
> [Tsang] said: "This Buddha is also non-substantial. What is the inconceivable [realm of] being?"

Although there is no way to be certain, the sophistication of the above dialogue implies that it was not actually uttered and recorded at the time of the two men's actual encounter. On the other hand, if one chooses to take the "safe" position that it is a later fabrication, then the unavoidable implication is that even after the development of encounter dialogue there was still enough interest in or respect for Shen-hsiu and the members of the Northern School for someone to ornament Chiang-ma Tsang's biography with the usual trappings of later Ch'an

texts.[167]

3. Ching-hsien

Ching-hsien (660-723) is not mentioned in the SKSC or CTL, but his epitaph is still extant.[168] His first teacher, an otherwise unknown figure, supposedly informed Ching-hsien of Shen-hsiu's identity as the lineal transmitter of the Dharma-treasure, a status equivalent to that of a Buddha. Ching-hsien immediately went to study under Shen-hsiu at Yü-ch'üan ssu, where he was taught with "expedient means" (fang-pien) and achieved a first taste of enlightenment that was like an instantaneous flood of cleansing light. Thereafter he lived alone amidst wolves, tigers, poisons, and pestilence on a mountain near one of the very famous and beautiful narrows along the Yangtze, the Pa-hsia (Hupeh). After at least a summer of meditation, Ching-hsien's enlightenment became great and perfect. When he conveyed this new development to Shen-hsiu, the latter happily "conferred the transmission of the treasure-store" upon him (fu pao-ts'ang chuan), so that the succession of the lamp would not be broken.

It is unclear whether Ching-hsien accompanied Shen-hsiu to Lo-yang in 701, but some five years or so later he was ordained at court at the behest of Emperor Chung-tsung. He may have been one of the fourteen students of Shen-hsiu and Lao-an who received official ordination in 706.[169] Sometime between 716 and 723 he had an encounter with the Esoteric Buddhist master and translator Śubhākarasiṁha. The text of this encounter, in which Ching-hsien is introduced as a resident of Hui-shan ssu on Mount Sung, is still extant. Ching-hsien died in 723 at Hui-shan ssu. The names of four of his students are known, but their biographies are obscure.[170]

4. I-fu

I-fu (661-736)[171] practiced the recitation of the Lotus, Vimalakīrti, and other standard Mahāyāna texts while still a boy. At some point he went to Fu-hsien ssu in Lo-yang, where he studied under Dharma Master Fei. This monk is probably identical to the Tu Fei who compiled the CFPC. (See Chapter V, Part 10 below.) Probably at Fei's instigation, I-fu then went to study under Fa-ju, but was disappointed to discover that the noted Ch'an teacher had just passed away. (I-fu's birthplace and first place of scriptural study both appear prominently in Fa-ju's biography.[172])

After taking the full precepts in the first half of the year 690, I-fu travelled to Shen-hsiu's center in Ching-chou. Shen-hsiu taught I-fu according to his own dispositional needs, causing his defilements to be dispersed and his thoughts concentrated, training him in the basics of meditation,[173] and impressing upon him the hollowness of worldly success or failure. I-fu responded by seeking for the great goal of enlightenment with unflagging zeal. He maintained his efforts for ten years without cease -- but also without achieving the ultimate success.

I-fu accompanied his teacher to court in 701 and was his personal attendant during Shen-hsiu's final illness at T'ien-kung ssu. I-fu's enlightenment must have occurred during this time, for we are told of a "secret transmission" that occurred before Shen-hsiu's death. As mentioned above, I-fu stayed for a time on Mount Sung, but then moved to Hua-kan ssu on Mount Chung-nan. He lived in the Dharma Hall of that monastery,[174] where he was visited by a great number of people — sincere aspirants, recluses, nobles, and literati, some for spiritual and some for worldly benefit.

In 722 I-fu moved at popular request to Tz'u-en ssu in Ch'ang-an, but three years later he accompanied Emperor Hsüan-tsung back to Lo-yang, where he stayed at Fu-hsien ssu. In 727 he returned to Ch'ang-an, only to go by imperial order to Lo-yang once again in 733. On this occasion he stayed at Nan lung-hua ssu. I-fu's health began to deteriorate in the fall of 735, and he died in the summer of the following year. At least one of I-fu's disciples may have been a very prominent figure in the religious world of the 760's, but no biographical information is available.[175]

5. P'u-chi

P'u-chi (651-739) was the most important of Shen-hsiu's successors and the most thought-provoking figure in Northern Ch'an history. For much of his later career he shared the limelight with Lao-an, Ching-hsien, and I-fu. The fact that P'u-chi survived these other figures must have helped to assure his ultimate position in history, but more important, he taught so many students that his own following assumed a semi-independent status in some late-eighth century descriptions of Ch'an lineages.[176]

Like his associates in the Northern School, P'u-chi referred to himself -- or allowed himself to be referred to publicly -- as the seventh generation representative of the Ch'an tradition. He did not stop with this, however. The following passages from P'u-chi's epitaphs indicate the full extent of his claim to individual religious authority:

> Only Heaven is great, and Yao alone modelled himself on this; only the Buddha is sagely, and the Ch'an [School] alone succeeds to this. Therefore, the five suns of the transmission in India in the West illuminated the ancient day; the seven patriarchs of the transmission of the lamp in China in the East are refulgent upon the imperial weal. Our Seventh Patriarch and National Teacher to three courts, the Preceptor Ta-chao (the

"Greatly Illumunating," i.e., P'u-chi)...has caused the Emperor to bequeath a posthumous title...[177]

* * *

The great master of the four seas — this is an appellation of our Sagely Literate and Divinely Martial Emperor [Hsüan-tsung] of the K'ai-yüan [Period]. He who has entered into the wisdom of Buddha-hood and gloriously become the lord of the myriad dharmas — this is an appellation of the seventh generation of our Ch'an School (ch'an-men), the Preceptor Ta-chao.[178]

This hyperbole indicates that P'u-chi politicized the rationale for his own stature in his attempt to push the standard of the Northern School as high as possible. In comparing himself (or in being compared, since P'u-chi may have inspired but obviously did not write his own epitaphs) to the Chinese emperor, P'u-chi may have accurately captured the flavor and extent of early Northern School prominence and success. Nevertheless, he also ensured the School's eventual demise by attaching its fortunes so closely with the imperial court.

Not only was Emperor Hsüan-tsung not personally disposed to Buddhism, but the An Lu-shan rebellion that occurred at the end of his reign signalled a change in the process by which Chinese Buddhist schools developed and achieved prominence.[179] Although imperial support was by no means completely irrelevent after the debacle of 755, the very success of the "Southern School" of Ch'an signifies the radically increased importance of tendencies which can only be termed populist. None of these populist tendencies, which are represented most clearly in the legendary image of Hui-neng, can be detected in P'u-chi's biography.[180]

Just as with Hung-jen and I-fu, P'u-chi's secular family had a tradition of eremitism. P'u-chi himself is described in the usual fashion as having great innate ability and zeal in his studies of

traditional Chinese subjects. His Buddhist studies began at Ta-liang (this was Shen-hsiu's native place), with special attention being paid to the Lotus Sūtra, Yogācāra theories, and the Awakening of Faith and other treatises. Later he took the precepts under the Preceptor Tuan of Lo-yang, after which he studied the Vinaya under the Preceptor Ching of Nan-ch'üan (Kuei-ch'ih hsien, Anhwei). P'u-chi's full ordination occurred in 688 at his age thirty-eight. The Preceptor Ching who performed the ceremony was probably Heng-ching (634-712), a monk with Vinaya and T'ien-t'ai School affiliations.[181]

After deciding to undertake the study of meditation and practicing for a time on his own, P'u-chi sought out Fa-ju of Shao-lin ssu. Finding him already deceased, P'u-chi went the next day to Shen-hsiu of Yü-ch'üan ssu. Several metaphors are used to describe P'u-chi's ability and rapidity of progress, etc., such as the smooth gait of a thoroughbred and the easy cultivation of good land. "When the precious mirror is polished it reflects (ch'eng, lit., "offers") the myriad images; when the pearl clarifies the water, visibility [extends to a depth of] a hundred rods." Later on in the epitaph we find the following passage:

> When [P'u-chi] wanted transmission of the essentials of the teaching before he had recited the Precept Sūtras, Ta-t'ung (= Shen-hsiu) made him discard his personal views with general examples and abuse.[182]

P'u-chi then spent five years studying under Shen-hsiu, being made to concentrate first on the Ssu-i ching ([Questions of] Ssu-i [Bodhisattva] Sūtra) and then the Laṅkāvatāra. He then spent an additional two years serving as Shen-hsiu's messenger, after which he went to reside at Mount Sung. This would have been in or around 696. P'u-chi's official ordination occurred sometime during the years 701-705, after which he was registered at Sung-yüeh ssu on Mount Sung.

After Shen-hsiu's death, P'u-chi was offered an official appointment as the leader of Shen-hsiu's disciples. News of this imperial nomination was conveyed to P'u-chi by an official named Wu P'ing-i, who was later to become an object of Shen-hui's criticism.[183] P'u-chi supposedly declined the position (his long statement on the matter is of some doctrinal interest), but the large number of students he later had implies that he eventually assumed the position in fact, if not necessarily in name.

In 725 P'u-chi took up residence at Ching-ai ssu in Lo-yang. At this time both I-fu and Emperor Hsüan-tsung were also present in the same city. Two years later the emperor returned to Ch'ang-an, accompanied by I-fu. P'u-chi was installed in Hsing-t'ang ssu in Lo-yang at this time so that the "cloud of the *Dharma* would rain everywhere" — or at least in both Chinese capitals. In 735 P'u-chi travelled to Ch'ang-an, where he ministered to great numbers of nobility and presumably visited I-fu in his final hours. In 739 we find P'u-chi back at Hsing-t'ang ssu in Lo-yang, where he spent the last days of his own life.

P'u-chi's death was followed by the appropriate bequests and other observances. For our purposes, the most interesting event was the behavior of P'u-chi's lay supporter P'ei Kuan, who joined the funeral procession in robes associated with a three-year mourning period and walked among P'u-chi's disciples. The *SKSC* says that P'ei Kuan's behavior was roundly criticized by his peers as being too extreme, this being the beginning of his fall from official favor. Tsan-ning, the compiler of the *SKSC*, defends P'ei Kuan's actions by pointing out that he was extremely close to P'u-chi but only walked barefoot, not going so far as to dishevel his hair. Such behavior may well have been commonplace

during the reigns of Empress Wu and the pious Emperor Chung-tsung, but in the middle of Hsüan-tsung's reign the attitude of the court toward Buddhism had become distinctly negative.[184]

6. P'u-chi's Disciples

P'u-chi taught an exceptionally large number of disciples during the more than three decades of his teaching career. One source written in the year 772 claims that his followers numbered as many as ten thousand, of which sixty-three were major disciples who had "ascended into the hall" to hear the master's teachings, while one had achieved a spontaneous and complete mastery of true wisdom.[185] There exists information about roughly a third of these sixty-three major disciples, although in some cases only the individual's name and a few stereotyped details are known. The following is a summary of some of the more interesting and informative biographies:

1. Hung-cheng: This is the one disciple of P'u-chi's supposed to have achieved perfect control of religious wisdom (tzu-tsai chih) according to the document mentioned just above. Another epitaph, this one written about 760, refers to Hung-cheng as the most prominent representative of the Northern School and to another monk, perhaps a student of I-fu's, as the representative of the "single fountain-head of the Northern School." Hung-cheng is also mentioned in several other locations, but the only biographical detail known about him is his monastery of residence: Sheng-shan ssu in Lo-yang. Although the epitaphs for two of his students are still extant, it is unfortunate that no epitaph exists for him. The fact that he is not mentioned in P'u-chi's epitaph is curious.[186]

2. I-hsing (685-727): I-hsing was clearly one of the most important monks of the entire T'ang Dynasty. He began his Buddhist career as a student of P'u-chi's, also studied the Vinaya and T'ien-t'ai doctrine, and is best known for his participation in the translation of various Esoteric Buddhist scriptures. His twenty-fascicle commentary on the Vairocana Sūtra is one of the most important texts of the East Asian Esoteric tradition. Nevertheless, it is I-hsing's scientific brilliance which has captured the greatest modern attention, and which has led to his elevation to the status of popular hero by the leaders of the modern Chinese government. Briefly, he was

responsible not only for the compilation of a new Chinese calendar based upon the accurate observation and understanding of astronomical phenomena, but also for the construction of an armillary sphere that included within its workings the mechanical foundation of the modern clock.[187]

3. Ling-cho (691-746): This man was no doubt typical of many who became known as P'u-chi's students. He was a mature Vinaya Master and Nirvāna Sutra exponent who only encountered the teachings of the great Ch'an Master in the last fifteen years of his own life, or sometime after 730. He was active thereafter in propagating the teaching of Ch'an from his residence in Ch'ang-an, where he died at a part of Ta-an-kuo ssu named Shih-leng-ch'ieh-ching yüan or "Chapel of the Stone-[engraved] Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra." We will see below that Ching-chüeh, the author of the LCSTC, resided at the same monastery, but there is no specific evidence linking to two together. Ling-cho had at least four disciples, none of whom is known in other sources.[188]

4. Ming-ts'an: This man's biography is important for several reasons: he is remembered as the author of a short piece recorded at the end of the CTL, was perhaps the earliest and certainly the most important of the Northern School's representatives at Mount Heng or Nan-yüeh in the far South, and had a unique and unconventional style of behavior that engendered a reputation similar to that of the legendary Pao-chih of the Liang.[189]

After becoming a mendicant and mastering the teachings of P'u-chi, his first and only teacher, Ming-ts'an then repaired to Nan-yüeh. He became known as Lan Ts'an or "Lazy Ts'an" because of his refusal to participate in monastic affairs. He was also summoned occasionally as "Leftovers" (this was also a pun on his name) because of his habit of eating food remaining after the other monks had finished. Nevertheless, in spite of his unusual ways, on the rare occasions when Ming-ts'an chose to speak, his utterances were always in complete accord with the principles of Buddhism. In the same vein, the SKSC goes on, his actions were not incorrect but merely incomprehensible to the unenlightened observor.

In 742, or three years after P'u-chi's death, a great change took place in Ming-ts'an's life. For reasons that are now unknown, he proceeded to Nan-yüeh ssu and assumed monastic duties -- supposedly operating the entire monastery during the day and staying with the cattle at night. He continued this for twenty years without ever tiring, sometimes amazing his observers by moving a giant rock with a light touch of the foot or dispersing a pride of tigers with nothing more than a riding crop. Such feats were witnessed by a personage of some importance in the civil realm: Li Mi (722-89), whose appointment to the post of Prime Minister during the reign of Emperor Su-tsung (r. 756-62) Ming-ts'an is supposed to have made possible through prescient augury and advice.[190]

Ming-ts'an's status in and around Nan-yüeh is corroborated in other sources.[191] In considering the details of his biography, one cannot help but wonder whether the radical transformation in his behavior in 742 might not represent a Northern School victory in some sort of power struggle on Mount Heng. According to this hypothesis, Ming-ts'an's early behavior was designed to show his disrespect for the current leadership. As I shall remark below (Part 7), the number of Northern School figures associated with this important outpost in the Southeast grew after Ming-ts'an's career.

5. Tao-hsüan (702-60): This monk is often mentioned in modern studies because of his mission to Japan and his status as a second-generation predecessor to Saichō, the founder of the Japanese Tendai School.[192]

7. Comments on P'u-chi's Later Successors

There is little that would be gained from including biographical details for any of P'u-chi's second- and third-generation successors.[193] Instead, I will limit myself to the following points concerning the Northern School's longevity, strength, the demography of that strength, and creative energy.

First, rather than fading away after the commencement of Shen-hui's attack on it in 730, the Northern School actually grew in membership throughout the eighth century and continued to have known representatives until the beginning of the tenth century. This constitutes a history of over 150 years from the date of P'u-chi's death, or fully 275 years from Tao-hsin's entrance into Huang-mei. Since the several generations of Shen-hsiu's disciples include at least 125 individuals whose names are known,[194] it is clear that this was not the ephemeral, transitory school that most people have thought the Northern School to have been.

Second, in purely numerical terms the peak of Northern School strength occurred during the second half of the eighth century, probably during the 770's. No doubt the great number of those who studied

Northern School doctrines and meditation techniques was a result of the momentum established during Shen-hsiu's very productive career, but the strength of the School was still very real long after that master's death. The activities of Northern School monks in Tun-huang and Tibet, to be discussed briefly below, indicate that the School was still strong enough to be chosen by the political authorities as the representative of the Chinese religious position in a strategically important set of outlying regions.

Third, although the major strongholds of the School were in and near Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, there was a relative increase in its strength in the South as time went on. Of P'u-chi's immediate disciples, only Ming-ts'an of Nan-yüeh and Tao-hsüan, a temporary resident of Wa-kuan ssu in Chin-ling, were active in the South. In the next generation fully nine out of fourteen monks for whom information is available were associated with Nan-yüeh and other southern locations.[195] It is thus fair to observe that the Northern School was not entirely absent from the area of South-central China generally considered to be the site of Ch'an's most typical and creative developments. Actually, this spread of Northern School activities should not be viewed as a novum, since the original source of the School's religious energy was its period of incubation and growth in Huang-mei and Ching-chou.

Fourth, whereas the numerical strength of the Northern School is relatively easy to chart, measurement of its creative energy is more difficult. The evidence that occurs is inconclusive, or even self-contradictory. The epitaphs that exist for monks who died in the late eighth century and beyond do not impart any sense of great religious ferment, although they do contain occasional indications of a change in

the style of Ch'an practice and religious dialogue (see Chapter V, Parts 14 and 15 of this Section). On the other hand, materials deriving from the expansion into Tibet imply that some doctrinal development was taking place.

Another indicator of an entirely different sort does exist, however. This is the fact that so much material about the Northern School found its way into the SKSC and CTL. Much of this material is probably fabricated, and the remainder contains some chronologically impossible assertions — the most frequent being the statements that men of the late eighth and early ninth centuries studied under Shen-hsiu and P'u-chi. The important point about this material is simply the fact that this material exists.

Although broad generalizations are always dangerous, it would appear that, excluding comparisons with Hui-neng, all references to Shen-hsiu in Ch'an literature are positive. Clearly, there must have been some group of later successors to Shen-hsiu and P'u-chi who remembered them with great reverence and who were behind the inclusion of Northern School-related material in the Sung Dynasty texts. If Shen-hui's campaign and the Platform Sūtra had the net effect of tarnishing the Northern School's image, as I believe they did, then the persistent occurrence of such Northern School material in the face of that negative influence becomes even more significant.

8. The Northern School in Tibet

One of the most exciting events connected with the Northern School is the encounter that took place during the next-to-last decade of the eighth century at Bsam-yas Monastery near Lhasa, Tibet. The chief protagonists in this encounter, which seems to have been an extended series of debates, were Kamalaśīla and Mo-ho-yen (Mahāyāna). The former was an Indian monk who defended the "Gradual Teaching" on the basis of traditional Indian Buddhist exegetics, the latter a Chinese monk who advocated the "Sudden Teaching" of Ch'an. Their debates have attracted a great deal of scholarly interest, and the entire question of Ch'an activity in Tibet and other regions nearby has become one of the most interesting and promising areas of modern Buddhist studies.[196]

The historical outline of the spread of Ch'an into Tibet is still far from clear. The first contact between the Tibetans and the fledgling Chinese religious movement occurred in 751 or shortly thereafter, when the ruler of Tibet sent a delegation off to China in search of the Dharma. This delegation met and received instruction from the Korean Preceptor Kim (Chin in Chinese) or, to use his Chinese religious name, Wu-hsiang of I-chou (Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan). The Tibetan party also received three Chinese texts from Kim before returning to their homeland.

When this delegation returned to Tibet in 759, the political situation there had changed. Power had shifted temporarily to a faction that supported the native Bon religion and opposed Buddhism. The proscription of Buddhism was lifted in 761, at which time the Chinese leader of the earlier expedition became abbot of Bsam-yas Monastery, where he translated and no doubt taught on the basis of the Preceptor

Kim's sayings.

In 763 a Tibetan minister of the pro-Buddhist Emperor Khri-sron-lde-btsan went to China, this time studying under a Chinese Ch'an Master in I-chou named Wu-chu. The details of the encounter between these two men are unknown; indeed, the Tibetan records mention only the name of the already-deceased Preceptor Kim in this regard. Nevertheless, the frequent mention of Wu-chu's name and citation of his sayings in early Tibetan religious literature, not to mention the existence of a Tibetan translation of the LTFPC, prove that the Pao-t'ang School was very effectively and energetically represented in contemporary missionary activities. In fact, it is possible that some of the basic assertions made by the Pao-t'ang School about its own background were influenced by the prospect of proselytization in Tibet.[197]

The transmission of Ch'an to Tibet that is of greatest interest here is that which occurred after the Tibetan takeover of Sha-chou (Tun-huang), which probably occurred in 781. Shortly after this temporary extension of Tibetan civil power toward China, the monk Mo-ho-yen travelled on invitation from the Tibetan emperor from Sha-chou to Lhasa. Mo-ho-yen's religious background is subject to some doubt. Even though he is routinely described with reference to the Preceptor Kim, Wu-chu, and other figures quite outside his genealogy, his only known teachers were Northern School figures.[198]

Mo-ho-yen apparently returned to Sha-chou after the debates mentioned above, sometime during the 790's. According to Tibetan sources of the eleventh century he left in utter defeat at the hands of his Indian counterpart, but Tun-huang manuscripts in both Chinese and Tibetan indicate a more complex situation. Rather than defeat and the

immediate expulsion of Chinese Buddhism from Tibetan soil, Mo-ho-yen's mission to Tibet left behind a continuing legacy of interest in Chinese-style approaches to religious practice. Since Northern School and other early Ch'an texts were translated into Uighur, Hsi-hsia, and presumably other Central Asian languages, we may infer that Chinese political interests — as well as pure religious zeal — were fuelling the dissemination of Ch'an across vast areas of Asian territory.

CHAPTER V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE "TRANSMISSION OF THE LAMP" HISTORIES

1. Legend and Encounter Dialogue in Ch'an Literature

The discussion of Bodhidharma's life at the beginning of this Section included a brief comment on the differing values of history and legend within the study of Chinese Ch'an, but up to this point our concern has been almost entirely with the former. Having now finished with our historical narrative, we may now turn to the development of the "transmission of the lamp" theory and the appearance of the texts in which it first appears.

In many ways, the most significant fact of the Northern School phase of early Ch'an history is not the set of achievements of individual masters, but the veritable flood of literature intended to explain the origins and meaning of their new religious message. Since it was during the Northern School's period of ascendancy that Ch'an first achieved a sense of its own identity as a single, unified entity within the framework of Chinese Buddhism, it is of the utmost importance to know as much as possible about both the origins and implications of the theory that constitutes the School's statement of its own history.

Rather than begin with the various origins of the transmission of the lamp theory in Indian and Chinese Buddhist literature, we can achieve greater focus by first outlining the general place of the

transmission texts within the greater context of Ch'an literature. These texts constitute only one of three distinct major genre of that massive body of literature, the other two being the "recorded sayings" (yü-lu) texts and the "public case" (kung-an) anthologies.[199]

Although not necessarily the oldest genre, the recorded sayings texts are the most fundamental of the three in that they are straightforwardly devoted to the spoken and literary output of individual Ch'an masters. Although they often contain poetry, short essays, and details about the lives of their subjects, recorded sayings texts are primarily devoted to the transcription of oral exchanges between masters and disciples. These exchanges include both verbal and non-verbal forms of communication — question and answer, silence, shouting, oral vilification, physical abuse, laughter, gesturing, etc.

Even though the reportage fails to make each and every vignette come completely alive, it is clear that the "encounter dialogue,"[200] as I refer to it, recorded in these texts was a unique and spirited form of communication aimed at the achievement of the ultimate religious quest, the realization of enlightenment. The master poses a question or paradox and the students struggle to understand it. Or, just as often, the students state the questions and the master tries to force them beyond the limitations of their own misconceptions. Occasionally an exegete or a devotee of Pure Land practices or scriptural recitation will appear to act as a foil for the iconoclastic arguments of the Ch'an master, but there are also occasions when the master is surprised by an unexpectedly brilliant parry and thrust from a previously unnoticed student or visitor.

The public case anthologies are also composed primarily of

encounter dialogue, but their format is different from that of the other types of Ch'an literature discussed above. That is, these texts contain short selections of encounter dialoque supplemented with commentary by one or more later masters. This different format reveals the extent to which the spontaneous examples of the T'ang and Five Dynasties period Ch'an masters had been transformed into classical precedents to be studied and emulated in a ritualized process of meditation and religious inquiry.

The ultimate aim of these anthologies, of course, was to provide a set of subjects for meditation that would enable the student to achieve his own complete self-realization, but notice what was required: at a time when traditional Buddhist education was being continually undercut by the relative decline of the religion in China, Ch'an masters composed anthologies of forty-eight or a hundred or more subjects of meditation that could only be understood by those conversant with conventional Buddhist concepts, not to mention the use of those concepts within the Ch'an tradition. Although ultimately the student had to transcend conceptualized expressions of Buddhism in order to achieve the supreme goal, before being able to achieve that transcendent experience he first had to understand those expressions themselves. The public case anthologies were, in a word, didactic tools of the most basic order.[201]

2. The Structure and Function of the "Transmission of the Lamp" Texts

Just as with the recorded sayings texts and public case anthologies, the basic ingredient of the "transmission of the lamp" texts or transmission histories is the transcription of encounter dialogue. Here, however, the overall framework in which such transcription appears is all-important. Rather than being the sum of all the known sayings, etc., of a single master, or a selection of short individual encounters drawn from the entire lore of such dialogues, the transmission histories include the most representative teachings of all the recognized Ch'an masters known at the time. Since each master is considered within the context of his own religious generation, the result is a complex genealogical tree that is heavily annotated with encounter dialogue.

The greatest of all these works, the Ching-te ch'üan-teng lu (CTL), devotes an entry to the lives and teachings of each of the following overlapping groups of individuals:

1. Seven Buddhas of the past, culminating in Śākyamuni.

2. Twenty-eight Indian Patriarchs, beginning with Śākyamuni and ending with Bodhidharma. (These two men only receive one entry apiece, of course.)

3. Six Chinese Patriarchs, from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng.

4. Numerous subsequent Chinese masters descended from Hui-neng and other early figures, listed according to religious generation and extending to the period just before the compilation of the CTL.[202]

Where the HKSC and other works of the "biographies of eminent monks" genre strive to be encyclopedic in their treatment of translators, exegetes, meditators, thaumaturges, etc., so as to embrace the entire panorama of Buddhist activity, the CTL and other similar texts aim to catalogue the nearly infinite permutations of the expression of

the one ultimate truth of Buddhism. The followers of Ch'an were certainly not unaware of the activities of translation and exegesis, sūtra recitation, and thaumaturgy, etc., but to them only those who experienced transmission of the true teachings and enlightenment to the "mind nature" actually participated in the Buddhist religion per se.

The highest goal of the transmission histories, as with all other Ch'an works, was to function as a catalyst for the enlightenment of the reader by exposing him to examples of true religiosity and perfected behavior. In addition to this lofty goal, these texts had two other purposes of a propagandistic and quasi-historical nature: (1) to glorify the sages of the past and thereby legitimize the status of their living disciples, and (2) to rationalize the origins and existence of the Ch'an School itself. It is the latter of these two that is of greater importance here, since it was the task of the Northern School to establish Ch'an as a legitimate -- in its own eyes as *the* legitimate -- school of Chinese Buddhism.

The assignment facing the Northern School was rendered difficult by the fact that Ch'an lacked any single underlying scriptural tradition from which it could trace its descent. Unlike the T'ien-t'ai School, for example, which used the *Lotus Sūtra*, or the Pure Land School, which revered the three Pure Land scriptures, the Ch'an School did not have any specific canon of texts that might provide the answers to its particular religious dilemmas. On the contrary, the very existence of Ch'an was based on a reaction against the excessive reliance on scriptural study. Ch'an presented itself as a "separate transmission outside the teachings" and cautioned its followers to "not rely on words!" True, as a *Meditation* School, Ch'an grew out of centuries of Chinese Buddhist

religious practice, but as a Meditation School, it had to establish its own identity, separate and yet somehow superior in its own terms from the other Chinese Schools.

3. The Theoretical Basis of the "Transmission of the Lamp" Texts

In spite of, or perhaps because of, the effort required to overcome the problems mentioned just above, the Ch'an School achieved an astounding degree of success in carving out its own unique niche within the expansive tableau of Chinese Buddhism. The primary means by which Ch'an succeeded in this task was the creation of a long series of transmission texts, beginning with the Northern School works of the early eighth century and culminating, but not ending, with the CTL at the beginning of the eleventh. The theoretical basis of these texts may be explained according to the following four elements:

1. The ineffable teaching: Ch'an is more emphatic than any other Buddhist School in its position that the ultimate goal of religious practice cannot be understood with words. Elsewhere this fact of ineffability is taken to mean that the words of the scriptures point at some higher, more abstract truth, but in Ch'an those very words are perceived as an impediment to understanding. At the very least, one must not cling to the doctrinal formulations of the sūtras or turn them into unalterable dogma. This is not to deny the fact that, although Ch'an texts would deny its existence as a cognitively conceivable entity, there does exist some central teaching, some ultimate truth to which each of the masters of Ch'an become enlightened one after another.

2. The enlightened master: A Buddha, patriarch, or Ch'an master is someone who has achieved the experience of enlightenment just mentioned, someone who completely and perfectly embodies the ineffable truth. Because of his status as the embodiment of ultimate reality, his every action and word becomes the expression of that reality. Each and every moment of his life is a simple and direct statement of the highest Buddhist doctrine, each pronouncement the perfect response of enlightenment to a specific situation. Thus the method by which he teaches is not the logical exposition of Buddhist doctrine, but the perfect and immediate response to the needs of his students — needs which are often so hidden by the preoccupation with

traditional Buddhist doctrines that he must resort to extraordinary methods of instruction. In addition, because of his wisdom and ability as a teacher, the enlightened master is the administrative head of his own religious community and even the guardian of Buddhism during his lifetime.

3. The gifted successor(s): Although each master may have many students, there is only one, or perhaps a few, who have a special aptitude for his teachings. The gifted successor's biography, such as it is given, is made to indicate his instinctual affinity for the ineffable truth. He may be uninterested in the usual children's games and given to strange pronouncements and quiet meditation as a youth. He may be totally uninterested in scriptural study or, alternatively, a brilliant student who eventually burns his books and turns to meditation. The decision to strive for enlightenment, once made, is pursued with uncommon zeal. He may encounter incredible obstacles and be on the very point of giving up his quest entirely, but eventually he achieves the ultimate goal and becomes an enlightened master in his own right. Even so, the first inspiration does not mean that all becomes easy for him, for the complete internalization of the truth often takes years of additional effort.

4. The succession of enlightened masters: As each individual successor achieves his own realization of perfection, his master grants him "authorization" or "certification" (yin-k'o, or inka in Japanese). This constitutes permission to embark on an independent teaching career. Each student who receives such authorization and embarks on a teaching career of his own immediately assumes the role of successor and community leader within the framework of his own activities. Since each generation of students is thus related through religious genealogy to those preceding and following it, the result is an unbroken chain of enlightened masters and their communities of students beginning with Śākyamuni and the other Buddhas of the past and extending down to the present.

4. The Origin of the Transmission Theory

Having completed this brief definition of the "transmission of the lamp" theory as it existed at the beginning of the eleventh century, we may now turn to the relevent antecedents to this theory in Indian and Chinese Buddhist literature. Obviously, there is not enough space to exhaust this subject here; the comments pertaining to Indian Buddhism will be especially brief.

It should not be surprising that the ultimate model for the ideal

image of the enlightened master and the concept of the religious succession was derived from the biography of the historical Buddha. Since the story of his life was well-known to Chinese Buddhists and formed the basis for numerous hagiographical embellishments found within the epitaphs and biographical statements for members of the Ch'an School (see, for example, the account of Tao-hsin's death given in Chapter II, Part 1 above), it would not be unreasonable to suppose that events in the Buddha's legendary biography might have been used as justifications for the validity of the transmission theory. Actually, in some ways just the opposite seems to have been the case, since the Chinese theory was designed to overcome the weight of the orthodox Indian Buddhist tradition.

Many of the same considerations that went into the creation of this important theory of Chinese Ch'an were present during the formative years of primitive Indian Buddhism, but generally with a distinctly different cast. There is no question but that the Buddha's ultimate teaching was ineffable. Note, for example, his refusal to define the state of nirvāṇa or to discuss the existence or non-existence of the enlightened sage after death, etc.[202] The sermons of the Buddha that were so diligently preserved through memorization and oral repitition might be considered his recorded sayings, as they were in later Ch'an. Nevertheless, the type of analysis to which these sermons were subjected was markedly different from the methodology of Chinese Ch'an. The Buddha's personal example was an extremely important factor in the success of his order, but there is little indication that he taught with the same demonstrative style of repartee used by the Chinese Ch'an masters.

Finally, one of the most important determinants of the ultimate course of Indian Buddhism was the Buddha's refusal to select a successor to assume his position after his own passing.[204] It is thought that this refusal enhanced Buddhism's ability to expand beyond the confines of a single religious community, but in the present context we must note that the potential role of administrative and spiritual figurehead that the Buddha specifically refused to fill was essentially identical to the role of the patriarch or Ch'an master in later Chinese Buddhism.

The Mahāyāna reaction against early Buddhist sectarianism includes certain attitudes similar to that expressed in the transmission theory. Ānanda is caricatured within the Perfection of Wisdom literature and other scriptures as capable of rote memorization but no real understanding. This is very similar to the mockery of exegetes and rigid theoreticians in Ch'an texts. It is interesting to note that some of the early versions of the transmission idea introduced below begin with similar descriptions of Ānanda's role and personality.

The emphasis on the importance of prajñā in the Mahāyāna has been correlated frequently and quite legitimately with the type of understanding sought after in Ch'an.[205] It can also be argued that the entire framework of grandiose metaphysical imagery present in the Mahāyāna scriptures made the goal of enlightenment appear to be substantially less rationalistic and more profound — if more distant — than in Hīnayāna texts. Finally, the redefinition of the Buddha's identity as one in a long series of perfectly enlightened sages opened the door to the Ch'an idea of a succession of equally qualified masters.

The most important factor in the development of the theory in question, however, was equally operant in both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna

Buddhism: the passage of time. As every student of Buddhism knows, the more time elapsed after the death of the Buddha, the more uncertain his followers became about whether they had access to the true, unalloyed teachings. In the last analysis, the councils and schisms about which one reads were all based on the problem of maintaining an understanding and practice of Buddhism that was true to the teachings of the religion's founder. The occasional persecution of Buddhism by unsympathetic potentates made the situation even worse: not only anxious as to whether their understanding was accurate and complete, the followers of Buddhism became struck with a kind of crisis consciousness. The fear of repeated persecution induced them to take special steps to preserve the *Dharma*, including the first written transcription of the scriptures in Sri Lanka and the compilation of meditation *sūtras*, some of which are mentioned in Section One, Chapter I, Part 4.

5. The Transmission Theory in Early Chinese Buddhism

Although there were some antecedents to the transmission theory in Indian Buddhism, it will be convenient to comment on these only as they became known to the Chinese tradition. The most elementary manifestations of this theory, or the prototypic notions that led to its development, occur in lists of orthodox successions from the Buddha found in *Vinaya* and meditation texts.

In the first case, the lists found in Chinese *Vinaya* texts, the motive for the statement of such lineages is clearly related to the problem of maintaining authenticity of textual reproduction within a tradition that was originally oral, not written. There exist two such lists, which contain the names of twenty-seven and twenty-four men,

respectively, who either "heard" (*wen*) or "transmitted" (*fu*) the *Vinaya*. With the exception of the first figure listed, Upāli, who was chosen to recite the Buddha's pronouncements on the *Vinaya* at the First Council, the two lists are completely different. The recording of these lineages, by the way, was probably not a result of their general interest, but because they defined the religious heritage of the translators of the texts in question.[206]

The earliest comparable lists from the meditation tradition are found in Seng-yu's (438-518) *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi* (*Collection of Notes [Concerning the] Translation of the Tripitaka*), which was compiled in 515 and revised shortly thereafter. This text contains two lists (or two variants of the same list) of Sarvāstivādin masters beginning with the Buddha and ending with the names of several important Kashmirian figures. These lists include either fifty-three or fifty-four names, each of which is given a number and, generally, either the title "Bodhisattva" or "Arhat" (for example, "the Arhat Kumārajīva, number twelve" or "Dharmatrāta Bodhisattva, number fifty-three"). The relevant portions of these two lists are as follows:

Mahākāśyapa	------
Ānanda	Ānanda
Madhyāntika	Madhyāntika
Śāṇavāsa	Śāṇavāsa
Upagupta	Upagupta
* * *	* * *
Prajñātāra (?)	Prajñātāra
Puṇyatāra	Buddhasena
Buddhasena	Dharmatrāta
Dharmatrāta	* * *[207]

The first four or five names on these lists (before the three asterisks, which mark the omission of irrelevant names) are identical to those found in the *A-yü wang chuan* or (*Parables of [Emperor] Aśoka*).

Excerpts of this account are found in several other early works included in the Chinese canon.[208] The last three or four names imply that these lists were originally intended to describe the religious heritage of Buddhabhadra, the student of Buddhasena's discussed above in Section One, Chapter I, Part 4. Thus they are obviously related to the work discussed immediately below.

6. The Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching (Meditation Sūtra of Dharmatrāta) and its Prefaces

Buddhabhadra's Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching and its prefaces by Hui-yüan and Hui-kuan constitute a very important source for the development of the Ch'an transmission theory. Not only do these documents give us a much better impression of Buddhabhadra's conception of his own religious background, but their contents were mentioned explicitly by at least two major innovators of the Ch'an tradition.[209] One of the reasons this sūtra and its prefaces were so utilized, no doubt, is the fact that it describes the religious transmission in more than just a superficial, matter-of-fact manner. Unlike the A-yü wang chuan, in which the transmission of the Dharma is described very simply and on a purely verbal level, here it is clear that the subject is a more profound type of communication. In addition, the Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching is, as its title indicates, a meditation sūtra. This fact alone distinguishes it from the works mentioned above.

The sūtra and its prefaces include the following lists of names, which are obviously truncated versions of the Sarvāstivādin lists given above:

Sūtra	Hui-yüan	Hui-kuan
Mahākāśyapa	-----	-----
Ānanda	Ānanda	Ānanda
Madhyāntika	Madhyāntika	Madhyāntika
Śāṇavāsa	Śānavāsa	Śāṇavāsa
Upagupta	Upagupta	-----
Vasumitra	(Five Schools of the Vinaya)	Puṇyamitra
Saṁgharaksa	Dharmatrāta and Buddhasena	Puṇyalāta (?)
Dharmatrāta		Dharmatrāta and Buddhasena
Puṇyamitra		Buddhabhadra[210]

The reader cannot fail to notice the many variations in these three lists and those introduced from the Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi above. In addition, it is troublesome that the contemporaries Dharmatrāta and Buddhasena are listed as if they were master and disciple in the Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi lists. The sheer number of these anomalies implies an inconsistency in Buddhabhadra's reportage of his own religious background. It is also possible that the very notion of defining one's religious genealogy was not fully matured in contemporary Kashmirian Buddhism.

In spite of these inconsistencies, the motivations within the Kashmirian tradition for producing the Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching and for devising such lineage descriptions were identical to those behind the development of the Ch'an lineage theory in China. Hui-yüan's preface reads:

> Ānanda received the complete [transmission of the Buddha's] oral teachings, but he always concealed this within his own mind from those who were not [fit to receive them]...Shortly after the Tathāgata entered into nirvāṇa Ānanda transmitted [the teaching] to his fellow disciple Madhyāntika. Madhyāntika transmitted it to Śāṇavāsa...The achievement [of enlightenment by

Ānanda, Madhyāntika, and Śāṇavāsa] transcended words and was not described in the sūtra, being [furthermore] not the least bit different from [that of the Tathāgata]. Afterward came Upagupta...

From the time [of the Five Schools of the Vinaya onward everyone] worried about the ancient texts each time there was any worldly disturbance. Each of the Schools' students included those who were [fit to transmit the teaching]. They were all fearful that the great Dharma might come to an end. How profound was the basis for their sorrow! Therefore, they each wrote Meditation Sūtras in order to promote the practice [of meditation]...

Further, [the sages of the Five Schools] were able to respond perfectly and without restriction to the [needs of the] times. They concealed their names and activities so that no one knew of them. Such persons [fit to transmit the teaching] cannot be defined by sectarian labels. Being undefinable by sectarian labels, neither do they produce any teaching outside [of the true Dharma]...

The present translation is derived from [the teachings of] Dharmatrāta and Buddhasena. These men were the paragons of the Western realm, the patriarchs of the meditation teaching...[211]

It is instructive to note the following aspects of Hui-yüan's explanation, some of which also apply to the later Ch'an theory of the transmission of the lamp: (1) the transmission of the true teachings of Buddhism occurred unbeknownst to the majority of the religion's followers and without any reference to it occurring in any prior written record, (2) the true teaching that was transmitted was something to which adherents of all the schools of Buddhism were privy, pending their own individual capacity, (3) the true sages of these schools all wrote meditation sūtras so that the teachings of Buddhism would survive any eventuality, and (4) the *Ta-mo-lo-to-lo ch'an ching* contained the accurate teachings of Buddhism because of its author's identity as a direct lineal descendant of the Buddha. There is, of course, a mutual contradiction between the implicit assertions that the transmission transcended words and that the Sūtra in question contained the true

teachings of Buddhism.[212]

7. Other Evidence Related to the Appearance of the Transmission Theory

Ch'an was not the first School of Chinese Buddhism to include a statement of religious genealogy within its literature. This honor goes to the T'ien-t'ai School, which justifies its own version of the Buddhist teachings on the basis of two different definitions of religious transmission. In one version Hui-wen's mastery of the Ta chih-tu lun is presented as evidence of his status as a direct religious descendant of Nāgārjuna. In another version Hui-ssu and Chih-i are said to have been present in former lifetimes at the exposition of the Lotus Sūtra, thus giving them a direct connection to the Buddha himself.[213]

The most well-known T'ien-t'ai reference to a lineage scheme, and the one which has generated the greatest amount of interest in relation to the study of Ch'an, is that based on the Fu fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan or History of the Transmission of the Dharma-store. This text, which appeared in the latter half of the fifth century, lists twenty-three lineal successors from the Buddha to one Siṁha Bhikṣu, who died without religious issue at the hands of an anti-Buddhist monarch in Kashmir. Since the succession was thus cut off long before it reached China, Chih-i and/or his recorder Kuan-ting had to postulate the successions from Nāgārjuna and Śākyamuni mentioned above.[214] The occurrence of this statement of the lineal succession is a certification of the growing strength of the idea of religious genealogy at the end of the sixth century.

Since I have just mentioned the Ta chih-tu lun, it may be apropos to include a passage from that text which Tsung-mi claims to

have been the original source of the concept of lineage in the Ch'an School:

> Although Ānanda was very gifted he was inclined to be a śrāvaka, only seeking his own emancipation. Therefore, [the Buddha] informed [Ānanda of his duties vis-à-vis the transmission] three times, so that the transmission would prevent Buddhism from ever coming to an end. [The Buddha said]: "You should teach a disciple. Your disciple should then teach another person, and so on, each teaching [the next]. This is like one lamp lighting other lamps, so that the light becomes greater and greater. Do not be the last person [in this succession], the one with no seed!"[215]

Although the above passage does not refer explicitly to any ineffable teaching outside the scriptures, once again there is an obvious effort to remake Ānanda's image as the devoted but uncomprehending recorder of the Buddha's words.

Whether or not this specific passage was indeed the ultimate source for the metaphor of the "transmission of the lamp" in Ch'an texts as a whole, it is a fact that this term and related ideas occur frequently in the biographies of pre-Ch'an School meditation specialists in the HKSC. Not only are a number of monks described as having individually "transmitted the lamp" of their predecessor's teachings, but there also occurs the following account from the biography of the eccentric religieux Pao-chih:

> When he was about to die [Pao-chih] lit a single lamp in order to depute [the responsibility for matters] after [his own death] to the official Wu Ch'ing. When [Wu] Ch'ing heard of this he said with a lament: "The Great master is going to remain no longer. Is the lamp to indicate that the affairs of afterwards are consigned to me?"[216]

Certainly this graphic demonstration can leave no doubt that the symbolism of the lamp and the responsibilities of the duly-selected religious successor were well-known in the Chinese Buddhist tradition long before the advent of the Ch'an School.[217]

8. Hints of the Transmission Theory in an Early Ch'an Text

There are a small number of references within Northern Ch'an literature to this idea of "one lamp lighting many lamps."[218] Nevertheless, there is no explicit statement of the transmission theory in any of the earliest "transmission of the lamp" texts themselves. In addition, whereas virtually all of the information cited above relates to the transmission of the teachings in India and the "western regions," the primary focus of the earliest Ch'an texts is the sequence and definition of the transmission that occurred on Chinese soil. In fact, there are only three references within Northern Ch'an literature to the Indian patriarchs. Two of these are based on Hui-yüan's preface to the Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching and will be discussed presently.

The third such reference occurs in an intriguing but patently contrived work entitled Hsien-te chi yü shuang-feng shan-t'a ko t'an hsüan-li — shih-erh or Twelve Previous Worthies Gather at the Stūpa on Mount Shuang-feng to Discuss the Mysterious Principle.[219] Although this is not the oldest manifestation of the transmission theory within Ch'an literature, in some ways it is the most primitive. As is partially apparent from the work's title, the folowing masters are transported out of time and space to Hung-jen's burial site in order to present comments on the practice of meditation (only their names are of interest at the moment):

1. Pārśva: This refers to an early second century Indian monk who figures in Kumārajīva's Tso-ch'an san-mei ching and both of the Sarvāstivādin lineage lists discussed above. He is also known through comments preserved in the Mahā-vibhāṣa, a massive Abhidharma compendium that he compiled.[220]

2. Aśvaghoṣa: This man was an important author of Mahāyāna Buddhist literature. His verses also occur in the Tso-ch'an san-mei ching and his name in the Sarvāstivādin lists

above, where he is listed immediately after Pārśva.[221]

3. Chao: This could be Fa-ju's student Hui-chao, known only as a resident of Shao-lin ssu.[222]

4. Buddha: Also known as Bhadra, this is the famed teacher of Seng-ch'ou and first resident of Shao-lin ssu.

5. K'o: The conjunction of the names Buddha and [Hui]-k'o makes one wonder whether there may have been some confusion about the distinction between the former and Bodhidharma.

6. Chiung (= Ming): The same unusual character also occurs elsewhere as a mistake for Dharma Master Ming or Ta-ming ("Big Ming") of the San-lun School.[223]

7. Min: This man is probably the teacher of Hui-ming or Ch'ing-pu Ming ("Blue-robed Ming"), another San-lun School figure already mentioned above.[224]

8. Neng: This can only be Hui-neng, the legendary figurehead of the Southern School.

9. Hsien: This could be Fa-hsien (discussed above), but the identification is uncertain.[225]

10. Tao: Unknown.

11. Tsang: This may refer to Hui-tsang of Hua-chou, an obscure figure listed as one of Hung-jen's ten major disciples.[226]

12. Hsiu: Here we find the name of Shen-hsiu, the major figure of the Northern School.

The fact that all these individuals are portrayed in a gathering at Hung-jen's stūpa on Mount Shuang-feng is an important indication of that master's importance in the collective memory of the members of the Northern School. What is more, this fanciful gathering represents the germ of the transmission concept: Although there is no explicit statement of a lineal succession from one to the next, they are listed in roughly chronological order and include both Indian and Chinese figures. The identity of the twelve worthies included here — which include two important Indian figures, one of the most famous adepts ever to carry the teaching of meditation to China, and at least two San-lun School

authorities, not to mention Hui-k'o and the other explicitly Ch'an figures — indicates the breadth of the Northern School's sense of its own background.

9. Fa-ju's Epitaph

The earliest statement of the "transmission of the lamp" theory in any Ch'an text occurs in an epitaph for Fa-ju, who has been introduced above as a long-time student of Hung-jen's and one of the first Ch'an monks to be active in the cultural and administrative center of China. The epitaph, which was no doubt written shortly after Fa-ju's death in 689, includes the following:

> The transmission [of the teaching] in India was fundamentally without words, [so that] entrance into this teaching is solely [dependent on] the transmission of the mind. Therefore, the preface to the *Meditation Sūtra of Dharmatrāta* by *Dharma* Master [Hui]-yüan of Mount Lu says:
>
> > Ānanda received all the oral teachings [of the Buddha, but] he always concealed them in his heart when in contact with those unfit [to receive them]...Shortly after the *Tathāgata*'s *nirvāṇa*, Ānanda transmitted [the oral teachings] to Madhyāntika and Madhyāntika transmitted them to Śāṇavāsa...The achievement [of Ānanda, Madhyāntika, and Śāṇavāsa] was beyond words and is not discussed in the *sūtras*, but was exactly and without the slightest difference as preordained by the Original Master (i.e., the Buddha). They were able to respond perfectly to any occasion, concealing their identities and accomplishments so that no one knew of them. These men cannot be distinguished according to School because they taught a truth separate [from sectarian doctrines].
>
> It was the *Tripiṭaka* Master of South India, *Dharma* Master Bodhidharma, who inherited this teaching (*tsung*) and marched [with it to this] country in the East. The *Biographies* (? *chuan*) say:
>
> > His inspired transformation [of sentient beings] (i.e., his ability as a teacher) mysterious and profound, [Bodhidharma] entered the Wei [regime of North China] and transmitted [the teachings to Hui]-k'o, [Hui]-k'o transmitted them to [Seng]-ts'an, [Seng]-ts'an transmitted them to [Tao]-hsin, [Tao]-hsin transmitted them to [Hung]-jen, and [Hung]-jen transmitted them to [Fa]-ju.

> [These masters all] transmitted [the teachings] but could not speak of them -- if a person were not fit [to comprehend the teachings], who could possibly transmit them to him?[227]

It is a pity that more is not known about Fa-ju's teachings, for the above is a very tantalizing passage indeed. Basically, the anonymous author of this epitaph combined two types of information to develop a very unique, even epochal, theory. The first source was Hui-yüan's preface to the Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching. One passage in this preface, which claimed that the best masters of all the schools were privy to the ultimate truth, was altered ever so slightly to imply that the teachings of Ch'an existed completely apart from the sectarian traditions of Buddhism. The epitaph thus firmly avows the idea that the teaching of Ch'an was a "tranmission outside the teachings," as it was put in later texts.[228]

The second type of information used in the epitaph may derive in part from the HKSC and other written works, but ultimately it consists of the oral tradition of Ch'an as it was known to Fa-ju and his survivors. It is interesting that in this oral tradition Bodhidharma is introduced as the true successor to the tradition of the Buddha and Ānanda, et al., completely ignoring Hui-yüan's focus of attention on Kashmir.[229]

The description of the succession from Bodhidharma to Fa-ju is interesting for two reasons. First, it is the earliest explicit indication of any link between the Bodhidharma tradition and the East Mountain Teaching. As mentioned above, Seng-ts'an is an obscure figure. Second, the epitaph still leaves a great deal unsaid. Although the listing of six generations of lineal predecessors was a novum in Chinese religious literature,[230] Fa-ju's epitaph does not number or specifically identify

the figures listed as "patriarchs," nor is the specific nature of the transmission from one to the other described. It is perfectly understandable that the transmission had so much latitude for later growth.

10. The Author of the Ch'üan fa-pao chi (Annals of the Transmission of the Dharma-treasure, or CFPC)

Fa-ju was eventually forgotten by the Ch'an tradition, but his teachings as contained in the epitaph (we can only assume that they are his rather than those of his anonymous eulogist) had a very substantial influence on the later development of the School's awareness of its own identity. This influence was felt through the medium of the Ch'üan fa-pao chi (CFPC), the entire format of which is dependent on the passage introduced just above.

Not only is the CFPC the single most important source for the study of the development of the "transmission of the lamp" theory in the Northern School, it also contains valuable documentation of the state of Ch'an in the two capitals shortly after Shen-hsiu's death, anecdotal evidence as to the hagiographical image of the ideal Ch'an master, and hints as to the status of factional distinctions within the Northern School. The importance of the CFPC, it should also be mentioned, is further demonstrated by the fact that it was mentioned by Shen-hui in his attack on P'u-chi and the "Northern School."[231]

Professor Yanagida's analysis of the identity of the author of the CFPC has yielded helpful insights into the background of the text.[232] That author was a layman named Tu Fei, a figure almost certainly identical to the Dharma Master Fei who was an early teacher of I-fu's.[233] Tu Fei's statement that he was commissioned to write the CFPC by "friend(s) from the past"[234] must refer to I-fu and, perhaps, to

P'u-chi. The apparent distortion of historical reality in order to make Fa-ju appear to have received the transmission from Hung-jen earlier than did Shen-hsiu (see Chapter III, Part 11 above) is an indication of Tu Fei's earlier association with Fa-ju.

It is possible to make a few plausible inferences about Tu Fei's attitudes toward the Ch'an of his day. First of all, it is evident that his was an elitist view. He believed that only a few gifted individuals were capable of understanding Ch'an. He sharply criticized some of his ordained contemporaries who, solely in order to satisfy their own personal ambitions, falsely claimed spiritual experience and even transmission of the teachings to themselves.

This indignant attitude toward the attitude of his contemporaries is in direct contrast with the reasons for which he was commissioned to write the <u>CFPC</u>: whereas P'u-chi and I-fu undoubtedly wanted to glorify Shen-hsiu's successes and legitimize their own positions as successors to a lengthy line of enlightened masters, Tu Fei clearly placed the responsibility for the situation he criticizes squarely on the shoulders of the later patriarchs. These later patriarchs had decided to make Ch'an available to greater and greater numbers of people, instead of limiting its availability to the few individuals Tu Fei felt were motivated and gifted enough to understand it. At one point in the <u>CFPC</u> Tu Fei states his own belief that the adoration of former worthies might "in some cases" inspire spiritual awakening in his future readers, a pointedly lukewarm endorsement of the value of his own efforts.[235]

11. The Contents of the Ch'üan fa-pao chi (CFPC)

The CFPC's understanding of the transmission idea is obviously based on the epitaph for Fa-ju, but Tu Fei quotes even less of Hui-yüan's preface to the Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching than did the epitaph. The CFPC includes no explicit definition of or commentary on the meaning of the religious succession. Like the epitaph, it lacks any description of or even a name for the role fulfilled by the seven masters to which the book is devoted: Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, Seng-ts'an, Tao-hsin, Hung-jen, Fa-ju, and Shen-hsiu. These masters are neither numbered nor referred to explicitly as "patriarchs," as in the case in later texts. Instead, Tu Fei draws on a number of sources to develop colorful portraits of those individual masters.

The most heavily-used source is, not surprisingly, the HKSC, but Tu Fei's attitude toward this text is definitely negative. In the section on Bodhidharma, the HKSC is indirectly criticized for including part of the Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices. Tu Fei admits that Bodhidharma may have used this text in the course of his instruction, but only as a provisional guide for beginning students. By the time the CFPC was written the increasingly sophisticated image of the Ch'an master did not allow for such straightforward and simplistically organized doctrinal statements. In the same section on Bodhidharma, Tu Fei writes that Hui-k'o cut off his arm in order to prove his religious sincerity and expressly denies the "false version" involving mutilation by rebels contained in the HKSC.

These and other differences of detail between the HKSC and CFPC may be understood when we consider the basic theoretical difference between the two works. While the HKSC is a comprehensive collection of

biographies and comments intended to document the breadth of the entire Buddhist tradition in China, the CFPC presents itself as the history of the true teachings of Buddhism through seven generations of enlightened masters. Even more than other works written about the same time and deriving from other sub-traditions of Chinese Buddhism, the CFPC is dedicated to the revision of the encyclopedic tendencies of the HKSC: for Tu Fei and the followers of Ch'an, their School was not just a sub-tradition, but the mainstream of the entire Buddhist religion.[236]

12. Ching-chüeh and the Leng-ch'ieh shih-tz'u chi (Records of the Masters and Disciples of the Laṅkā[vatāra], or LCSTC)

Ching-chüeh (683- ca. 750), the compiler of the LCSTC, has a biography that is unique within the history of early Ch'an.[237] He was a younger brother of Emperor Chung-tsung's consort and eventual empress, the ill-fated Wei-shih (d. 710). His family was repeatedly beset with tragedy because of this association. Ching-chüeh's parents were assassinated when he was only one year old and his brothers put to death eight years later,[238] so that it is difficult to understand how he himself survived. He must have entered the priesthood while very young, but there is no specific information about his early years.

In 705 (age twenty-three), while in residence at Mount T'ai-hang north of the Yellow River (Shansi/Honan), Ching-chüeh wrote his own commentary on the Diamond Sūtra.[239] Shortly thereafter he must have travelled to Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, where he studied under Shen-hsiu and, possibly, Lao-an.[240] His most intimate religious relationship, however, was with Hsüan-ts'e. Ching-chüeh became Hsüan-ts'e's student immediately upon the latter's invitation to court in 708 by Emperor Chung-tsung, who was Ching-chüeh's uncle. Hsüan-ts'e probably wrote the

LCJFC sometime during the years 708-10.[241]

Ching-chüeh no doubt left the two capitals after his elder sister Wei-shih's disastrous misadventure of 710, when she attempted to assume power in the fashion of Empress Wu. He wrote the LCSTC sometime during the years 713-16 at his previous mountain retreat on Mount T'ai-hang. His ignorance of the CFPC was no doubt due to his inferred absence from Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang after 710. Ching-chüeh's commentary on the Heart Sutra (this and the LCSTC are the only texts of his to survive) was written in a far-off corner of what is now Shensi Province. He may have returned to Ch'ang-an, where he resided at Ta-an-kuo ssu, sometime before his death, but this cannot be known for certain.[242]

The full extent of Hsüan-ts'e's LCJFC is unknown, but it was presumably dedicated to the major figures of the East Mountain Teaching/Northern School — Hung-jen, Shen-hsiu, Lao-an, and, by inference at the very least, Hsüan-ts'e. It is possible that the LCJFC contained sections devoted to Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, Seng-ts'an, and Tao-hsin, but probably it did not — in any case, Ching-chüeh does not quote the LCJFC in the early passages of the LCSTC.

It is possible to infer that Hsüan-ts'e implicitly accepted the HKSC as the authoritative source for the biographies of the earlier masters. Another notable difference between this and Tu Fei's CFPC is the omission of any emphasis of Fa-ju's role. Because of his claim as the recorder of Hung-jen's last words, Hsüan-ts'e could not have admitted Fa-ju's importance without implicitly undermining his own.[243]

Although Ching-chüeh's LCSTC devolves from the same general religious environment and utilizes the same conceptual framework as the CFPC, the two works could hardly be any more different. Where the CFPC

almost completely ignores the actual teachings of its subjects in favor of their biographies and the teacher-student relationships between them, the LCSTC refers to the religious succession from one master to the next in most matter-of-fact terms and concentrates instead on those masters' doctrines. (One notable exception to this concentration exists in the LCSTC's quotation of Hung-jen's alleged last words, as introduced in Chapter III, Part 5 above.)

Another obvious difference between the CFPC and LCSTC may be discovered in the succession schema posited by the two works: where the former discusses seven masters from Bodhidharma to Shen-hsiu, never once going so far as to mention any of their disciples, the latter places Guṇabhadra before Bodhidharma, ignores Fa-ju, and refers to a total of twenty-four men who received transmission of the teachings of Ch'an. The treatment of Guṇabhadra, which was based on his role as the translator of the most commonly-used version of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, is an extraordinary anomaly in the context of Ch'an historical texts. Even though the CFPC and the LCSTC derive from the same religious milieux, neither displays any knowledge of the other. Clearly, they must be considered to be quite different and independent works.

13. The *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tz'u chi* (LCSTC) and the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*

Although Ching-chüeh claimed to be writing a history of the "teachers and disciples of the *Laṅkāvatāra*," he failed utterly at the documentation of his position.[244] The only quotations from this scripture found in the LCSTC are commonplace slogans which are unrelated to the specific doctrines of the scripture itself.

On several occasions Ching-chüeh states that a given master's

teachings were based on the Laṇkāvatāra, only to follow with an explanation of those teachings that completely ignores the Sūtra. (See especially the sections on Tao-hsin and Shen-hsiu.) Even the section devoted to Guṇabhadra, which is included only because of his status as translator of the Laṇkāvatāra, is completely lacking in any particular emphasis on this text. In other words, Ching-chüeh accepted the identification of Ch'an and the Laṇkāvatāra -- either out of deference to Hsüan-ts'e or for some unknown reason -- but was unable to or uninterested in explicating that identification in any meaningful way.

Even more than the CFPC, the LCSTC draws on a wide variety of different source materials. In fact, the very heterogeneity of these sources and the great disparity in the amount of space devoted to the different masters results in a lack of balance and continuity. The sources used by Ching-chüeh, in some cases surreptitiously, are as follows:

1. Numerous quotations from several sūtras, the Awakening of Faith, the writings of Seng-chao, the HKSC, and material found in other Northern School Tun-huang manuscripts.

2. Several passages from the Hsiu-hsin yao lun or Essential Treatise on the Cultivation of the Mind (HHYL), which is generally attributed to Hung-jen.

3. Bodhidharma's EJSHL, including the preface by T'an-lin.

4. A fragment from a commentary to Hui-ming's Hsiang-hsüan fu or Ode on the Elucidation of the Mysterious, attributed here to Seng-ts'an.

5. Probably the entire text of a work attributed here to Tao-hsin, the Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien fa-men or Essential Teaching of the Expedient Means of Pacifying the Mind and Entering the Path (JTAHY).

6. Hsüan-ts'e's LCJFC, either in its entirety or nearly so.

7. Several imperial proclamations relating to Shen-hsiu,

perhaps first included in the LCJFC.

8. An unknown source, perhaps the oral tradition, for questions and paradoxical statements attributed to Guṇabhadra, Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, and Shen-hsiu.[245]

Some of the circumstances of Ching-chüeh's use of the above sources indicate the true extent and purpose of his efforts. He uses the HHYL, for example, but not for his exposition of Hung-jen's teachings and without mentioning it by name. Instead, he makes a thinly veiled reference to the illegitimacy of its popular attribution to Hung-jen and plagiarizes it to fill out his sections on Guṇabhadra and Hui-k'o.[246]

The use of the commentary fragment found in conjunction with Seng-ts'an's name (item no. 4 above) is even more egregious -- although it is of course impossible to prove that Seng-ts'an did not write the commentary in question, the most reasonable interpretation is that Ching-chüeh knew absolutely nothing about the teachings of Hui-k'o's successor and arbitrarily inserted part of an anonymous commentary.

Therefore, if Ching-chüeh had wished to make more of a case for the identification of Ch'an with the Laṇkāvatāra Sūtra, he did not fail to do so because of a lack of effort or ingenuity. Either he did not feel moved to do so, or there simply was no source material available that would have supported such a position.

14. The Northern School and Encounter Dialogue

In the description of the three major genre of Ch'an literature above I stated that the primary ingredient of the "transmission of the lamp" texts is the transcription of encounter dialogue. At first glance, this does not seem to be true of the Northern School texts under consideration here. There are a number of stories intended to

illustrate the inspired and unconventional behavior, not to mention several references to the spontaneous and intuitive teaching styles of the Northern School masters. Such anecdotes and references actually occur throughout the texts of this School. Nevertheless, there are no actual examples of any dialogues between them and their students. Must we refrain from considering the CFPC and LCSTC as full-fledged transmission texts?

It is possible that the LCSTC, at least, contains a partial transcript of prototypic encounter dialogue exchanges. This text contains an intriguing set of rhetorical questions and short doctrinal admonitions which it refers to as "questions about things" (literally, "pointing at things and asking the meanings," chih-shih wen-i). These questions and admonitions are attributed to several of the early masters, as can be understood from the following partial translation:

(Guṇabhadra)

> When [Guṇabhadra] was imparting wisdom to others, before he had even begun to preach the Dharma he would assess [his listeners' undertanding of physical] things by pointing at a leaf and [asking]: "What is that?"
>
> He would also say: "Can you enter into a [water]-pitcher or enter into a pillar? Can you enter into a fiery oven? Can a stick [from up on the] mountain preach the Dharma?"
>
> He would also say: "Does your body enter [into the pitcher, etc.,] or does your mind enter?"
>
> He would also say: "There is a pitcher inside the building, but is there another pitcher outside the building? Is there water inside the pitcher, or is there a pitcher inside the water? Or is there even a pitcher within every single drop of water under heaven?"
>
> He would also say: "A leaf can preach the Dharma, a pitcher can preach the Dharma, a pillar can preach the Dharma, a building can preach the Dharma, and earth, water, fire, and wind can all preach the Dharma. How is it that mud, wood, tiles, and rocks can also preach the Dharma?"

(Bodhidharma)

The Great Master [Bodhidharma] also pointed at things and inquired of their meaning, simply pointing at a thing and calling out: "What is that?" He asked about a number of things, switching their names about and asking about them [again] differently...

He would also say: "Clouds and mists in the sky are never able to defile space. However, they can shade space [so that the sun] cannot become bright and pure..."

(Hung-jen)

The Great Master [Hung-jen] said: "There is a single little house filled with weeds and crap — what is it?"

He also said: "If you sweep out all the weeds and crap and clean it all up so there is not a single thing left inside, then what is it?"

..Also, when he saw someone light a lamp or perform any ordinary activity, he would always say: "Is this person dreaming or under a spell?" Or he would say: "Not making and not doing, these things are all the great parinirvāṇa."

He also said: "When you are actually sitting in meditation inside the monastery, is there another of you sitting in meditation in the forest? Can all the mud, wood, tiles, and rocks also sit in meditation? Can mud, wood, tiles, and rocks also see forms and hear sounds, or put on robes and carry a begging-bowl?

(Shen-hsiu)

...[Shen-hsiu] also said: "Is this mind a mind that exists? What kind of mind is the mind?"

He also said: "When you see form, does form exist? What kind of form is form?"

He also said: "You hear the sound of a struck bell. Does [the sound] exist when [the bell] is struck? Before it is struck? What kind of sound is sound?" He also said: "Does the sound of a bell that is struck only exist within the monastery, or does the bell's sound also exist [throughout] the universe [in all the] ten directions?"

..Also, seeing a bird fly by he asked: "What is that?"

..He also said: "Can you sit in meditation on the tip of a tree's hanging branch?"

He also said: "The Nirvāṇa Sūtra says: 'The Bodhisattva with the Limitless Body came from the East.' If the Bodhisattva's body was limitless in size, how could he have come from the East? Why did he not come from the West, South, or North? Or is this impossible?"[247]

Sekiguchi Shindai has already suggested that these "questions about things" resemble the "public cases" of later Ch'an. Unfortunately, his analysis was so superficial and unconvincing as to inspire unusually harsh criticism from Yanagida, who accused him of approaching the issue with an incorrect preconception of public cases.[248] I would suggest that, rather than looking to the public case anthologies of the eleventh century and beyond, it will be more fruitful to compare this Northern School material to the idiosyncratically Ch'an style of encounter dialogue that developed before the end of the eighth century. These "questions about things" represent the earliest recorded phase in the development of this type of religious dialogue.

15. Encounter Dialogue, Ma-tsu Tao-i, and the Northern School

At this point it is impossible to ignore the reaction of the skeptical reader: Encounter dialogue developed in the Hung-chou School of Ma-tsu Tao-i, which flourished more than a half-century after the Northern School in an area of South-central China far removed from Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang. Ma-tsu was a religious descendant of Hui-neng through Nan-yüeh Huai-jang (677-744) and thus a member of the "Southern" rather than the "Northern" School. If anything, the use of encounter dialogue by Ma-tsu and his associates is related to his close association with Szechwanese Ch'an rather than the practices of Shen-hsiu and the other members of the Northern School.

This skepticism rests upon a set of widespread but untenable

preconceptions. First of all, it is problematic to deny any connection between Ma-tsu and the Northern School. The claim that Huai-jang studied with Hui-neng cannot be tested, but it may have derived from competition with Shen-hui's faction. Huai-jang is also supposed to have studied for a time under Lao-an — this recalls the career of Ching-tsang, who also studied under Lao-an and Hui-neng — so that Ma-tsu's relationship with the Northern School is at least as strong as that to Hui-neng.[249]

Second, it is erroneous to use the term "Southern School" to refer to some dominant trend beginning with Hui-neng and devolving eventually to Ma-tsu. The historical Hui-neng cannot be said to have been a member of the Southern School. The "Southern School" of Shen-hui was not the only influence on the later Ch'an tradition; even the _Platform Sūtra_, which has long been considered the most characteristic Southern School work, is now thought to have been compiled by a member of a faction that defined itself as separate from the Schools of North and South.[250]

Third, it would be unwise to suggest that Ma-tsu's Hung-chou School of the late eighth century could have developed in ignorance of events that took place in the two capitals only a few decades earlier. Indeed, even though the Northern School achieved its greatest success in Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an, it never lacked at least a foothold in the provinces to the South. Finally, it would be incorrect to suggest that the Northern School had no influence on the Szechwan factions of Ch'an. The _LTFPC_, which derives from one of those factions, contains exchanges that are very much like encounter dialogue, but it also displays marked deference to and influence by the Northern School.[251]

Obviously, a thorough investigation of the origins of encounter dialogue is impossible at this time. This would have to include reference to the antecedents of the practice in the Chinese classics and the salon dialogue of the Six Dynasties Period (ch'ing-t'an or "pure conversation"), not to mention a stylistic and doctrinal analysis of Hung-chou School texts. At this point I will limit the discussion to one issue: if the "questions about things" derive from prototypic encounter dialogue exchanges, why do Northern School texts fail to transcribe the entirety of those exchanges?

This issue may be restated as follows: why do the "questions about things" include only the teachers' questions and comments but nothing from the students. When posed in this fashion, the problem becomes relatively simple, for one of the most important differences between traditional Chinese Buddhism and Ch'an is the attention devoted by the latter to the needs of the individual spiritual aspirant.

In other earlier Schools of Chinese Buddhism the universal cynosure of attention was the gifted exegete, the inspired and saintly master. In the writings of such eminent figures (and their emulators) the problems of individual religious training merit only a theoretical, detached sort of treatment. Such writings may contain impressive analyses of Buddhist doctrine and definitions of different types of meditation and the various approaches to practice, etc., but they yield little or no concrete information about how the students of the day were led to achieve their own liberation.

In Ch'an texts of the ninth century and later the master can hardly be perceived as an isolated entity, but is defined almost entirely by the kind of interaction he had with his students. These texts do

indeed contain examples of the independent literary creativity of their subjects, but these examples are overshadowed by — and derive their own validity from — the surrounding reams of extemporaneous dialogue.

The transition from traditional Buddhist custom to Ch'an was therefore not only a religious development; it was also literary. We can easily imagine that the chroniclers of early Ch'an simply did not realize the magnitude of the change that was taking place. Tu Fei, Ching-chüeh, and the epigraphers Chang Yüeh and Li Yung — these men were all extremely well-educated members of the very highest social class, who wrote their texts with a full awareness of traditional literary form.

The inherent conservatism of such figures must have been especially strong in the composition of an epitaph or eulogy, works that were intended to dispatch their subjects in a last flurry of elegant prose rather than break any new doctrinal or religious ground. To include the confused questions and misguided statements of students would have hindered the glorification of the recently departed subjects of these texts.

One clue to the nature of the literary development under discussion here occurs in I-fu's epitaph by Yen Shan-chih. The author says that he and Tu Yü, another of I-fu's epigraphers, collected the departed master's sayings as they were remembered by his students. The two men were apparently unable to write down all of those sayings, presumably because of their great number. Even though they recognized the value of these sayings, neither of their epitaphs for I-fu contain anything that might correspond to the object of such a search.[252]

As time went on, the epitaphs of members of the Northern School

and other figures important in the development of Ch'an began to include precisely this sort of material. For example, note the following exchange and commentary from the epitaph for P'u-chi's student Fa-yün (d. 766):

> "Has the Buddha's teaching been transmitted to you?"
>
> "I have a sandlewood image [of the Buddha] to which I pay reverence."
>
> [This reply was] profound yet brief, and those listening felt chills of loneliness. The day after [the questioner, a prominent official,] left, Fa-yün died without illness while sitting cross-legged on his chair.[253]

After all the hyperbole about Shen-hsiu being equivalent to a Buddha and P'u-chi the religious ruler of the universe, it is perfectly natural to find a slightly later master deflating the idea of the transmission entirely.

The epitaph for Hui-chen (673-751), who was more closely affiliated with the T'ien-t'ai and *Vinaya* Schools than with Ch'an, includes a more explicit reference to and several examples of encounter dialogue:

> "When people do not understand, I use the Ch'an [style of] teaching (*ch'an-shuo*)."
>
> * * *
>
> Question: "Are not the teachings of the Southern and Northern [Schools] different?"
>
> Answer: "Outside the gates of both houses is a road to everlasting peace."
>
> Question: "Do the results of religious practice vary according to the extent [of realization]?"
>
> Answer: "When a drop of water falls from the cliff it knows the morning sea."
>
> Question: "How can one who is without faith achieve self-motivation [in spiritual endeavor]?"
>
> Answer: "When the baby's throat is closed (i.e., when choking), the mother yells to frighten it [loose]. Great

compassion is unconditioned, but it can also cause [a student to] whimper."[254]

A confirmed skeptic might suggest that Hui-chen is merely answering in easily-understood metaphors, rather than some new "Ch'an [style of] teaching." If so, it must be admitted that a new type of metaphorical usage became the vogue in Chinese Buddhism during the second half of the eighth century, for it is also apparent in the biographies of Fa-ch'in and Hsüan-lang, well-known representatives of the Ox-head and T'ien-t'ai Schools, respectively.[255]

It is not necessary to assert that the members of the Northern School were the "inventors" of encounter dialogue, nor that their use of it was identical to that of Ma-tsu and his followers. Indeed, the practice may have had a much wider currency than the extant body of literature suggests, so that the members of the Northern School were only the first to legitimize its use within the context of the Ch'an tradition. Until we have a better understanding of the transition from early Ch'an to the "golden age" actitivies of Ma-tsu and Lin-chi, _et al._, we cannot even evaluate the true significance of the Northern School's contribution in this area. Therefore, the only unassailable assertion that can be made is that, considering the evidence introduced just above, the various references to the spontaneous and intuitive teaching style of Northern School masters, and the existence of obviously-fabricated examples of Northern School encounter dialogue in the _SKSC_ and _CTL_ (as mentioned in Chapter IV, Parts 2 and 7), it seems reasonable to suggest that the members of the Northern School practiced some form of prototypic encounter dialogue.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

1. The Phases of Northern School History

By this point we have traced the development of early Ch'an through a number of different phases: the community at Huang-mei, Shen-hsiu's residence at Yü-ch'üan ssu, Shen-hsiu's career at court, and the later Northern School. Let us briefly review each of these phases individually:

1. The community at Huang-mei: During the half-century from 624 to 674 the Ch'an School existed as a small training community in a relatively isolated location in South-central China. That the fame of this center was enough to draw an ever-greater number of students is a testament to the personal charisma of Hung-jen and the appeal of the new religious message of Ch'an. Since this phase of Ch'an left no records except those edited or written during the early eighth century, it is impossible to define the religious practice prevalent at Huang-mei with any precision. No doubt the entire emphasis was on meditation and the approach to that endeavor similar to the teachings of the slightly later Northern School, but beyond this there is nothing else that can be said with any certainty.

2. Shen-hsiu's residence at Yü-ch'üan ssu: The last quarter of the seventh century was a period of continued incubation and preparation. While the sojourns of Fa-ju and Lao-an at Shao-lin ssu on Mount

Sung made this an important staging area for the future expansion to Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an, it was at Yü-ch'üan that Shen-hsiu developed the basics of Northern School doctrine.

3. Shen-hsiu's career at the imperial court: The culmination of the above periods of preparation was Shen-hsiu's grand entrance into Lo-yang in 701. His subsequent career at court included several different types of activity: On one level he functioned as chaplain to the members of the court and the power-holding elite, administering the Bodhisattva precepts and sermonizing on the ideal deportment of a sincere Buddhist. On another level he served as a very visible focus of the religious fervor of Empress Wu and a sophisticated ornamentation of her reign. Finally, as a propagandist of the faith he served on behalf of the advancement of the Buddhist religion.

4. The later Northern School: The apparent succession from Shen-hsiu to Lao-an and Hsüan-ts'e and then to P'u-chi and his fellow disciples yields an unusually specific insight into the workings of a Chinese Buddhist School. Although the glory of Shen-hsiu's last years was not maintained forever, the School's membership continued to expand and its lineage continued unbroken for at least two centuries. Although the public reputation of the "Northern School" was irreparably damaged by the appearance of the Platform Sūtra, the School continued to make doctrinal contributions at least until the end of the eighth century.

2. Institutional Reasons for the Decline of the Northern School

It is only through an accurate understanding of the Northern School's demise that we can appreciate the subsequent course of Ch'an history. It is not correct to assume that that decline was simply the result of Shen-hui's long and vigorous campaign. In fact, that campaign does not seem to have had any immediately discernable impact. In the long run, Shen-hui himself suffered the same fate as did the Northern School: The Platform Sūtra and LTFPC, to name two important examples, accepted his doctrinal contributions but ignored his historical role.

Another important fact is that there is no mention of Shen-hui in any of the Northern School texts introduced so far -- no criticism, no admonishment, no attack. Shen-hui's banishment at the instigation of an unknown official has long been touted as an indication of a supposedly angry Northern School response, but this interpretation is uncertain. Instead of the doctrinal content of his sermons, the accusation against Shen-hui may have been his argumentative style of lecturing or even the mere fact that he attracted large and thus potentially dangerous assemblies. It is also significant that the four different locations in which Shen-hui spent the term of his banishment are all described as Northern School strongholds (the last of them was the K'ai-yüan ssu in Ching-chou).[256] Clearly, the Northern School either would not or could not keep him out of their own territory during this period. It is very reasonable to suppose that Shen-hui continued to speak out against the Northern School and disseminate his own ideas during his banishment, thus turning the apparent misfortune to his own advantage.

The question remains, then: why did the Northern School disappear? One factor of major importance derived from the School's

close identification with the imperial court. An inevitable aspect of imperial support was its fickleness. The literate courtiers of Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an were very keen on the latest intellectual and cultural trends, so that interest in the Northern School masters and their teachings could not be maintained for more than a few decades. In fact, although we know the names of quite a few Northern School masters who were prominent in the second half of the eighth century, the most highly celebrated native meditation masters of all were Hui-chung (d. 775), an independent figure supposedly connected with Hui-neng, and Fa-ch'in (714-92) of the Ox-head School. Even more than Ch'an masters, however, the teachers of the Esoteric tradition achieved the greatest support from the imperial court.

The grandeur of early Northern School history soon became a thing of the past. With the erosion of imperial power after 755, the most creative factions of Ch'an -- the Ox-head School and Ma-tsu's Hung-chou School -- operated primarily in the provincial centers of South-central China. Although in this respect their growth paralleled that of the East Mountain Teaching a century before, the primary identity of the Northern School was based on its former success at court. Its public image became ossified, and with ossification came the impression of superficiality. This impresssion of superficiality is a major aspect of the *Platform Sūtra*'s position concerning the Northern School.

In addition, the Northern School's close identification with the imperial court was an obstacle to the School's continued success, not only because of the fickleness of that support, but also because of the very nature of the identification itself. More than any other subtradition of Chinese Buddhism, the unworldliness of meditation practice

rendered continued intimate association with the central political system unworkable.

In the pages above we have witnessed several instances of this incompatibility: the natural resistance to Seng-ch'ou's departure for Yeh; Hui-ssu's refusal to answer the summons of meditation masters to court; the abortive endeavors to create the Yün-men ssu and Ch'an-ting ssu systems of meditation centers; Fa-ju's flight to Mount Sung to avoid appointment to a post within the official saṁgha administration; Sung Chih-wen's suggestion to isolate the processes of government in Ch'ang-an from the excessive religious fervor surrounding Shen-hsiu; etc. There are, of course, extenuating circumstances to each of these examples. However, when considered together they imply a fundamental dichotomy between the goals of Buddhist meditation, an individual spiritual enterprise most naturally suited to secluded alpine retreats, and the political requirements of government, which fostered the centralization of power and culture in such cosmopolitan urban centers as Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang.

It is true that the very sophistication of life in the two capitals may have engendered a longing for the simpler virtues of the countryside. Even so, the magnificent careers of Shen-hsiu, P'u-chi, and others were simply too well-known to have remained suitable material for such populist glorification after their deaths. Sung Chih-wen could describe the aged Shen-hsiu as a uniquely pure spiritual being who had transcended worldly protocol, but decades later it was the extravagant successes of Shen-hsiu's career that were most easily remembered. In the second half of the eighth century it was much easier to attribute rustic purity and unlettered brilliance to the relatively unknown

Hui-neng. Thus, paradoxically, the very success of the Northern School and the documentation of the lives of its major figures was a cause of its own supersedure by later factions of Ch'an.

Another factor that cannot be overlooked is the relative immaturity of the Northern School's contributions to the "transmission of the lamp" theory. To be sure, the congruence, in broad theoretical terms, between the CFPC and LCSTC is surprising for such early members of the genre. That both these texts appeared independently at virtually the same point in time indicates the prevalence of the transmission idea in general. Nevertheless, the fact that this theory was still far from its final form is indicated by the specific differences between the two works, the lack of precise and specific terminology for the patriarchs and the act of religious transmission, etc., and by the lack of any believable list of figures to span the gap between Śākyamuni and Bodhidharma -- not to mention the apparently horizontal succession of masters that obtained among the members of the sixth generation after Bodhidharma. These problems formed the basic agenda for innovations that would appear in the second half of the eighth century.

I cannot finish this discussion without posing a second question, one that is less often asked than that just above: why should the Northern School not have disappeared? There is no evidence that its members took any pledge of loyalty other than a personal dedication to the Bodhisattva path. Each individual's affiliation was with the Dharma and with his own master, not to some institutional entity known as the "East Mountain Teaching" or the "Northern School." In contrast to the conventions adopted in this paper, these terms originally had doctrinal rather than sectarian connotations.

The best model for the operation of the Northern School is that of an extended family or clan system. The religious genealogies formulated during this period corroborate this interpretation: Each monk's identity was defined on the basis of his own set of religious ancestors, and the passage of time brought with it an inevitable splintering of the clan into smaller sub-lineages.

Just as the Ti-lun School lineages of the late sixth century blend almost imperceptibly into their She-lun School counterparts of the early seventh, the Northern School underwent a gradual and natural transformation into subsequent phases of Ch'an. The Ox-head School and Szechwan factions also had their day, as did the Yün-men, Fa-yen, and other "houses" of the ninth and tenth centuries. If there was any one aspect of the Northern School's institutional status that was most responsible for its own decline, it was the very fact of its own continued growth.

SECTION THREE

DOCTRINE

CHAPTER I

THE EARLIEST TEACHINGS OF CH'AN

1. Introductory Remarks

There is only one work generally considered to be legitimately attributable to Bodhidharma: the *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun* or *Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices* (*EJHSL*). D. T. Suzuki has suggested that certain of the numerous works from Tun-huang and elsewhere that bear Bodhidharma's name were also legitimately his, but his arguments were based more on hope than reason and have been thoroughly confuted.[1] After decades of discoveries in the collections at London, Paris, and Peking and research in Japan, China, and elsewhere on the meaning of the Tun-huang finds, it is ironic that our best and almost only source for the earliest teachings of Ch'an is the one text that has been available all along.

It is uncertain, of course, whether the *EJSHL* was actually written by Bodhidharma. Because of the literary elegance of the text as it now stands, it was obviously not a product of his hand alone. Some native figure, probably T'an-lin, must have been responsible for putting Bodhidharma's ideas into Chinese. It is even possible that Hui-k'o or some other figure may have made significant contributions to the doctrinal content of the text — there is simply no way of knowing. What is known is that the *EJSHL* was distributed under Bodhidharma's name during the second half of the seventh century. At that time it was

already accompanied by a certain amount of miscellaneous material, some of which is translated below. The Tun-huang manuscripts of the EJSHL contain a great deal of such miscellaneous material, some of which must date from the early and mid-eighth century.[2]

The following is a translation of the EJSHL and its preface by T'an-lin, plus two letters and a reply by Hui-k'o. Except for Hui-k'o's reply, all of this material has been taken from the Tun-huang manuscripts of the EJSHL and its appended miscellaneous material. I have only used that portion of such miscellaneous material which appears to be of arguably early vintage. The second part of the second letter translated here occurs both in the Tun-huang text and in the HKSC, where it is presented as having been written at the beginning of the T'ien-pao period (550-59) to Hui-k'o by one Layman Hsiang. Hui-k'o's response to this letter is found only in the HKSC. It is not known whether the first letter in the Tun-huang manuscript was also addressed to Hui-k'o.[3]

The earliest known title to this work is Lüeh pien ta-sheng ju-tao ssu-hsing, ti-tzu T'an-lin hsu or A Brief Exposition of the Mahāyāna [Teaching] of the Four Practices of Entering into Enlightenment, with Preface by the Disciple T'an-lin. This occurs in the LCSTC and, with the addition of Bodhidharma's name at the beginning (P'u-t'i-ta-mo lüeh pien...), in the thirtieth fascicle of the CTL. This was not, however, the only title in use during the eighth century and earlier. The title used here has been adopted by modern scholars because of its nature as a concise description of the text.[4]

2. The Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices (Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun, or EJSHL)

Preface by the Disciple T'an-lin[5]

The Dharma Master [Bodhidharma] was from a country in South India in the western region, the third son of a great Brahmin king. He was naturally brilliant and understood everything he heard. His aspirations were for the Path of the Mahāyāna, so he discarded the white [garb of a layman] and assumed the black [robes of a Buddhist monk] in order to transmit the sagely tradition. He effaced his mind in the serene and had a penetrating understanding of the affairs of the world. Being wise in both the internal and external, his virtue exceeded the standard of the age. Feeling compassionate sorrow as a result of the decline of the True Teaching in this obscure corner [of the Buddhist world], he crossed the mountains and oceans to proselytize in the far-off land of the Han and Wei.

Those who could overcome [the preconceptions, etc., of] their own minds did not fail to place their faith in [Bodhidharma], but those who grasped at appearances and held [incorrect] views reviled him. At the time Tao-yü and Hui-k'o were his only [students]. These two śramaṇas, having lofty aspirations that belied their youth and the good fortune to meet the Dharma Master, served him for several years. They reverentially inquired of the teaching and instilled in themselves the spirit of the Master's [teaching].

The Dharma Master responded to their innate sincerity by teaching them the True Path: "Such is the pacification of the mind, such is the generation of practice, such is accordance with convention, such are expedient means. This is the teaching of the pacification of mind in the Mahāyāna — make certain [that it is understood] without error." Such is the pacification of the mind — wall-contemplation; such is the generation of practice — the four practices; such is accordance with convention — defense against calumnification; such are expedient means — the avoidance of attachment to those [means].

The above is a brief summary of the origins of the ideas expressed in the text that follows.

* * *

There are many ways of entering into enlightenment (ju-tao), but all of them may effectively be subsumed under two categories: the Entrance of Principle (li-ju) and the Entrance of Practice (hsing-ju).

The Entrance of Principle is to become enlightened to the Truth on the basis of the teaching. [One must have a] profound faith in [the fact that] one and the same True Nature is

possessed of all sentient beings, both ordinary and enlightened, this only being covered up and made imperceptible [in the case of ordinary people] by false sense impressions. If one discards the false and takes refuge in the True, one resides frozen in "wall-contemplation" (*pi-kuan*), [in which] self and other, ordinary person and sage are one and the same; one resides fixedly without wavering, never again to be swayed by written teachings. To be thus mysteriously identified with the [True] Principle, being without discrimination, serene and inactive: this is called the Entrance of Principle.

The Entrance of Practice refers to the Four Practices [listed below], which encompass all other practices. They are the Practice of the Retribution of Enmity, the Practice of the Acceptance of Circumstances, the Practice of the Absence of Craving, and the Practice of Accordance with the *Dharma*.

What is the Practice of the Retribution of Enmity? When the practitioner of Buddhist spiritual training experiences suffering, he should think to himself: "For innumerable *kalpas* I have wandered through the various states of existence, forsaking the fundamental (*pen*) for the derivative (*mo*), generating [in myself] a great deal of enmity and distaste and [bringing] an unlimited amount of injury and discord [upon others]. Although I have not committed any offense in this [lifetime, my present suffering constitutes] the fruition of my past crimes and bad karma, rather than anything bequeathed to me by any heavenly or non-human being. I shall accept it patiently and contentedly, completely without enmity or complaint." The *sūtra* says: "Do not be saddened by the experience of suffering. Why? Because your mind (*shih*, "consciousness") penetrates the fundamental [nature of things]." When you react to events in this fashion (lit., "generate this [state of] mind"), you can be in accord with the [absolute] Principle as you progress upon the path [toward enlightenment] through the experience of [the results of your past] enmity. Therefore, this is called the Practice of the Retribution of Enmity.

The second is the Practice of the Acceptance of Circumstances (*yüan*, "conditions"). Sentient beings have no [unchanging] self (*wu-wo*, *anātman*) and are entirely subject to the impact of their circumstances. Whether one experiences suffering or pleasure, both are generated from one's circumstances. If one experiences fame, fortune, and other forms of superior [karmic] retribution, [one should realize that this is] the result (*kan*, "response") of past causes. Although one may experience [such good fortune] now, when the circumstances [responsible for its present manifestation] are exhausted, it will disappear. How could one take joy in [good fortune]? Since success and failure depend on circumstances, the mind should remain unchanged. It should be unmoved even by the winds of good fortune, but mysteriously in accordance with the Tao (i.e., the Path, or enlightenment). Therefore, this is called the Practice of the Acceptance of Circumstances.

The third is the Practice of the Absence of Craving. The various kinds of covetousness and attachment that people experience in their never—ending ignorance are referred to as craving (ch'iu). The wise man is enlightened to the truth, the [essential] principle of which is contrary to human convention. He pacifies his mind in inactivity (an-hsin wu-wei) and accepts whatever happens to him (lit., "[allows his] form to be transformed in accordance with fate"). [Understanding that] all existence is non-substantial, he is without desire. [The two Sisters of Good and Bad Fortune named] "Merit" and "Darkness" always travel together. The triple world, this home you are long accustomed to living in, is like a burning house! Suffering is an inescapable fact of corporeal existence — who could possibly [have a body and be at] peace? If you understand this, you will cease all [wrong] thinking and be without craving, [no matter which of the] various states of existence [you may experience]. The sūtra says: "To have craving entails suffering; to be without craving means joy." Understand clearly that to be without craving is equivalent to the true practice of the Path.

The fourth is the Practice of Accordance with the Dharma. The [absolute] principle of essential purity (hsing-ching chih li) is called Dharma. According to this principle, all characteristics are non-substantial and there is no defilement and no attachment, no [distinction between] "this" and "that." The [Vimalakīrti] Sūtra says: "There are no sentient beings in this Dharma, because it transcends the defilements of 'sentient being.' There are no selves in this Dharma, because it transcends the defilements of 'self.'" If the wise man can accept and understand this principle, he should practice in accordance with the Dharma.

This Dharma being fundamentally without parsimony, he should practice [the Perfection of] Charity (dāna), giving of his body, life, and possessions without any regret in his mind. Thoroughly understanding the Three Non-substantialities [of recipient, donor, and gift], he neither swerves [from his course] nor becomes attached [to anything], but merely rids himself of his own defilements and aids in the salvation of other sentient beings -- all without grasping at characteristics (i.e., without conceptualizing the existence of self and sentient beings, etc.). In this way he benefits himself as well as others; he ornaments the Path of Enlightenment. Charity is [to be undertaken] as above; the other five [Perfections are performed] in the same manner. To eradicate wrong thoughts and practice the Six Perfections -- but while being without any "practice" — this is the Practice of Accordance with the Dharma.

(Appended Material: The First Letter)

I have always revered the previous Sage (i.e., the Buddha). I have extensively cultivated all the practices, always taken joy in the Pure Land, and valued the legacy of his teaching like a thirsty man needs water. There are many millions who realized the great enlightenment and innumerable ones who attained the Four Fruits[6] through their encounter with Sakyamuni. I truly believed that heaven was a separate country and hell another place and that, upon achieving enlightenment and attaining the [ultimate] fruit, one's body becomes changed, one's form different. [Thinking thus, I] opened the scriptures seeking blessings and [sought to make the] motivation of my practice pure. In a confused whirl of activity I practiced as I might, thus passing many years with never a moment of rest.

Eventually, though, I sat upright in serenity and fixed my attention on my mind. Having long cultivated false thoughts, however, I perceived forms on the basis of my feelings (i.e., experience hallucinations), the transformations of which seemed never-ending. Eventually I penetrated the Dharma Nature (fa-hsing) and crudely cultivated Suchness (chen-ju), so that for the first time I understood that there was nothing that did not exist within the square inch [of my own mind]. The bright pearl penetrated brilliantly, mysteriously attaining the profound truth. From the Buddhas above to the squirming insects below, there is nothing that is not identified according to [the criteria of our own] minds [and that is not] a separate name of [our own] false thoughts.

Therefore, I have poured my deepest feelings into the composition of a modest verse on the expedient means of entering into enlightenment, which I address to those of a common background and like inclinations. If you have the time, please read this. If you practice seated meditation, you will surely perceive the Fundamental Nature (pen-hsing).

If you can meld the mind and make it pure
then [you will realize that] a split second
of discriminative consciousness is saṁsāra.
Mentation undertaken within [saṁsāra
results in] the creation of Wrong Livelihood.[7]
If you search for the Dharma with a
calculating [mind], your karma will not change.

(The Second Letter)

In its ever-increasing defilement, the mind is difficult to [bring to the] ultimate. When the Sage heard the eight words [of the verse "All things are impermanent; this life is *saṁsāra*" (?)], he instantly realized for the first time that his six years of asceticism had been wasted effort.

The world is universally entangled with demons who pointlessly argue and fight. They make incorrect interpretations [of Buddhism, by which they] teach sentient beings. They speak of remedies, but they have never cured a single illness.

Serene, serene — from the beginning there have fundamentally never existed any ascriptive views and [superficial] characteristics (?), so how can there be good and evil, false and true? Birth is also not-birth, extinction also not-extinction. Motion is equivalent to non-motion, meditation equivalent to non-meditation.

(The following is represented by the *HKSC* as a letter from Layman Hsiang to Hui-k'o.)

Shadows are generated by forms and echoes follow voices. Toying with shadow and belaboring their forms, [foolish religieux] do not understand the identity of the two. Raising the voice to stop the echo, [such persons] do not understand that their voice is the basis of the echoes. Striving for *nirvāṇa* by eradicating the illusions is like eliminating forms and searching for shadows. Striving for Buddha-hood by transcending [one's status as a] sentient being is like silencing one's voice and listening for an echo.

Know therefore that ignorance and enlightenment are identical, stupidity and wisdom not separate. [People] arbitrarily posit names where there are no names (i.e., describe in words a reality that is inherently ineffable), which names lead to the generation of [distinctions between] "this" and "not-this." [They also] arbitrarily formulate principles [explaining this reality] where there are no principles, which principles lead to the occurrence of disputation. The phantasmagorical transformations [of phenomenal reality] are not real, so who can say "this" and "not-this"? [All is] false and without reality, so what is "beings" and "non-being"?

Not having been able to go and discuss [Buddhism with you], I have written these few phrases. [Even so,] who could [ever truly] discuss the mysterious principle!

(Hui-k'o's Reply)

Your discussion of the True *Dharma* is completely accurate.
There is ultimately no difference between it and the true and abstruse principles.
Originally deluded, one calls the *maṇi*-pearl[8] a potsherd.
Suddenly one is awakened -- and it is [recognized as] a pearl.
Ignorance and wisdom are identical, not different.
One should understand that the myriad *dharmas* are all "such-like."
Having compassion for those who hold such discriminating views
you have taken your brush to write this letter.
Contemplating one's body and the Buddha to be no different,
why should one further seek for that remainderless state [of *nirvāṇa*]?

3. The Message of the Letters

Taken together, the two letters attached to the EJSHL describe the following three states of religious consciousness:

1. Mundane striving: The author of the first letter offers a long confession of his former addiction to traditional sorts of Buddhist religious activity -- scriptural study or recitation and the like -- all of which were undertaken in order to bring him closer to enlightenment, which he perceived to be a total transformation of his entire being. The Buddha's six years of asceticism mentioned in the second letter are essentially identical in that they were a period of goal-oriented behavior predicated on ascriptive views about the nature of reality that were not only incorrect but fundamentally non-existent. Both letters elaborate on the implications of such fundamentally false conceptions and distinctions: descriptions of reality using inherently inaccurate and misleading names or definitions of things; dichotomies between good and evil, true and false, etc.; doctrinal disputes and destructive argumentation in general; and -- most important of all -- the deluded notion that one could attain nirvāṇa by destroying one's illusions. In short, in this sort of consciousness one is fundamentally ignorant of the truths of śūnyatā and the existence of the Buddha Nature within oneself, etc.

2. Correct religious practice: In contrast to the attempt to make progress toward a goal which typifies religious practice in the limited sense described above, here one dispenses with all false dualism and fixes one's attention on the mind. The proper approach to practice is described only briefly in the first letter, but at least we know that a special form of seated meditation is implied. There is no question of

there being any stages or technical progressions to this practice: somehow this must be a kind of endeavor that achieves its goal without positing any goal.

3. Realization: The onset of realization occurs all of a sudden. Hui-k'o's reply refers to a sudden switch from the limited consciousness of the normal, ignorant state to the expansive openness of enlightenment. The poem at the end of the first letter refers to "melding the mind and making it pure," i.e., to dissolving the mind's tendencies to false discrimination and conceptualization, which form a barrier to the realization of the absolute realm of *śūnyatā*. We may infer that the historical Buddha instantly understood not only the vanity of his six years of asceticism, but also the identity of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, the illusions and enlightenment. At that point his mind penetrated the fundamental reality of the universe and achieved a complete, unqualified identification with the timeless serenity of the absolute. According to the verse at the end of the first letter, at the moment of enlightenment one realizes that *saṃsāra* is created by ordinary sentient beings during each and every moment of discriminative consciousness, the implication being that one thereby makes the decision to dispense with such discrimination so as to escape the suffering of *saṃsāra*.

The first and third of the above states are actually very standard Buddhist fare; it is the second which manifests the most idiosyncratic element of the Ch'an School. Although not very clearly defined in these letters, the earliest exponents of Ch'an were apparently devoted to a style of meditative practice that somehow dispensed with all stages of progress and lesser sorts of self-improvement and went

straight to the heart of the matter of human ignorance by focussing directly on the mind itself.

4. The Meaning of the Four Practices

Now, then, to the EJSHL itself. The basic distinction in this text is of course that between the Entrances of Principle and Practice. The term "entrance" (ju) may be easily understood in terms of the compounds ju-tao, "to enter the Path" or "to enter into enlightenment," and wu-ju, "to enter into a state of enlightenment." The character li has been translated in this context as "principle," with the word "absolute" added occasionally in parentheses; it refers to the ultimate reality or abstract principle underlying all phenomena. The Entrance of Principle, then, is the "entrance into enlightenment of the basis of the comprehension of the fundamental truth about human reality." It could just as well be translated as the "entrance of the absolute," or, from another tack, the "entrance of understanding."

Hsing-ju has been translated as the Entrance of Practice, in the sense of spiritual practices aimed at the attainment of enlightenment. As we shall see, hsing refers not to contemplative practices per se, but to the entire spectrum of daily activity qua religious endeavor.[9]

For the sake of convenience, let us first consider the Four Practices. The Practice of the Retribution of Enmity is to be undisturbed by unfavorable circumstances or suffering (k'u, duḥkha) in one's life in the realization that they are but the karmic retribution of all enmity and ill-will, etc., expressed by oneself in the past. It is best to think of enmity as only a representative of the basic causes of suffering, i.e., the illusions or afflictions (fan-nao, kleśa), which are themselves based on ignorance (wu-ming, avidyā). The choice of the

term "enmity" (yüan) as the basic cause of one's present plight is apparently occasioned by a compound found in the Tao-te ching.[10] Although this is but the first and most rudimentary of the Four Practices, successful maintainence of the proper attitude in the face of diversity is to be in complete accord with the absolute principle, i.e., the Dharma.

In the Practice of the Acceptance of Circumstances one is to remain unmoved by either good or bad fortune due to an awareness of one's own lack of any permanent existence (wu-wo, anātman) and the incessant changes that occur in one's being and the conditions of one's life. Where the first Practice was applicable only in times of explicit personal suffering, here the sphere of relevancy is widened to include both good and bad karmic rewards. This is done by the perception of the suffering and impermanence inherent within good fortune. However, the basic attitude enjoined by this Practice is no different from that of the above.[11]

The Practice of the Absence of Craving is to be without attachment or desire for any thing or circumstance within one's experience, whether favorable, unfavorable, or neutral. The word ch'iu has been translated here as "craving" in the sense of the Sanskrit word tṛṣṇā, the concept of craving referred to in the second of the Four Noble Truths as the cause of all human suffering. Although this is not a standard equivalent for this Chinese character, the text states that "the various kinds of covetousness and attachment that people experience in their never-ending ignorance are referred to as ch'iu."[12] As in the case of the first Practice, accomplishment of this Practice is to be in accord with the absolute principle, or the truth which is "contrary to

human convention."

The last of the Four Practices is to govern the entirety of one's actions according to an understanding of the emptiness or non-substantiality of all things. The very first lines of this section define the Dharma of śūnyatā as equivalent to the Principle (li) referred to in the first of the Two Entrances. That Principle transcends defilement, attachment, characteristics and dualistic distinctions. The Practice of Accordance with the Dharma is defined according to the example of the Perfection of Charity. Just as this Perfection requires that one perceive the emptiness or non-substantiality of recipient, donor, and gift, so does this Ch'an treatise require that one eliminate false thoughts and cultivate the Six Perfections without conceptualizing anything as a "practice."

It should be obvious that the Four Practices form a very simple progression from the forbearance of suffering, through the rejection of craving, and to a thorough realization of the non-substantiality of all things.[13] Actually, the Four Practices do not represent a series of different modes of practice, but four progressively more profound expressions of one and the same mental attitude of non-attachment. The succession of the Four Practices is best understood as a didactic conceit, useful in the correct orientation of new students into the practical application of the doctrine of śūnyatā. The implications of this observation will become apparent after we have considered the Entrance of Principle.

5. The Entrance of Principle

As has been stressed by previous commentators, the Entrance of Principle is undoubtedly the more important of the Two Entrances. Because of the importance of this part of Bodhidharma's treatise, it is offered below in outline form. The order of the last sentence is altered slightly for convenience of presentation:

1. The Entrance of Principle is to become enlightened to the Truth on the basis of the teaching.

2. [One must have a] profound faith [in the fact that]:

   A. one and the same True Nature [is possessed of all sentient beings, both ordinary and enlightened,

   B. this only being covered up and made imperceptible [in the case of ordinary people] by false sense impressions.

3. If one discards the false and takes refuge in the True,

   A. one resides frozen in "wall-contemplation," [in which] self and other, ordinary person and sage are one and the same;

   B. one resides fixedly without wavering, never again to be swayed by written teachings.

4. This is called the Entrance of Principle:

   A. to be mysteriously identified with the [True] Principle,

   B. being without discrimination, serene and inactive.

Sentence (1) is obviously an introduction to the Entrance of Principle as a whole. The "teaching" referred to here is to be differentiated from the "written teachings" mentioned in (3B), which refers to a limited, conceptualized understanding of the Buddhist scriptures as presented by exegetes and doctrinal specialists. In this case the reference is to Bodhidharma's oral instructions or to the essential message of Buddhism per se — the fundamental truth of the scriptures as opposed to their verbal formulations.[14] Sentences (2) and (3) constitute the main part of the passage, the first explaining the essential

article of religious faith according to Ch'an and the second defining the natural consequences of that faith in one's individual religious training. The last sentence, number (4), represents the passage's conclusion.[15]

Since sentences (1) and (4) obviously constitute introduction and conclusion to the Entrance of Principle as a whole, respectively, our main interest here is in sentences (2) and (3). The first of these is a very straightforward statement of the idea of the Buddha Nature, the enlightened aspect or potentiality for achieving Buddha-hood that is inherent within all sentient beings, regardless of their level of religious insight. The unavoidable corollary of the idea of the Buddha Nature is that its presence is obscured by the existence of human illusion, discriminative thinking, and emotional activity. For all but a very few living beings -- the Buddhas and sages -- the Buddha Nature does not immediately reveal itself to the introspective searcher. However often or insistently we are told that we bear the seed of enlightenment within, there is simply no plain indication that this is actually so.[16]

For practicing Buddhists such as the members of the earliest Ch'an lineage, the initial invisibility of the Buddha Nature leads to the following question: "How can one change oneself so as to become able to perceive the Buddha Nature within?" As this point the testimony of the letters appended to the EJSHL becomes relevent. What was needed was not some form of personal transformation that would destroy or render ineffective the illusions that obscured one's view of the Buddha Nature and which distinguished one so utterly from the ranks of the enlightened, but rather the very realization that no such transformation

was required. By recognizing the unreal quality of one's illusions and rejecting the temptation to tamper with them for the purpose of some pre-conceived notion of spiritual progress, one attained a state of perfect enlightenment. This attainment may in fact constitute a very important type of transformation, but it would not require the replacement of one's own mundane personality with the transcendent identity of a Buddha or celestial Bodhisattva.

The EJSHL proper clearly indicates the relative importance of the Buddha Nature and the illusions and false thinking, etc., which obscure it. This is done by means of the word tan or "only," which is apt to be overlooked by the inattentive reader. Professor Yanagida writes:

> In the present example, true spiritual practice, as well as the fundamental principle of Buddhism, is the profound conviction of the fact that all living beings possess the same one True Nature, whether they are enlightened or not. Sensory impressions are ultimately falsely arisen entities, false coverings. This is the meaning of the word "only."
>
> If one places excessive emphasis on the sensory impressions predicated by this word "only" and thinks of spiritual practice as the rejection of the false and return to the True, then one fails to understand the Entrance of Principle. The True nature is naturally clear and pure — it does not become so only be virtue of the eradication of sensory impressions... If one reads carefully, this usage of "only" appears quite frequently in the texts of the early Ch'an School.[17]

In other words, the existence of an absolute or enlightened aspect within man is of a fundamentally different order of significance than that of the false thoughts, etc., which render that enlightenment invisible to most humans.

What does the EJSHL advocate as a response to this existential situation of a Buddha Nature obscured by a veil of human illusion? The first part of this response is the eminently simple concept indicated in sentence (2): profound faith. As is well-known, in Buddhism faith is

not an emotional commitment or outpouring of devotion, but rather an unswerving conviction, a total absence of even the slightest doubt about the nature of reality as described by the Buddhist teachings. The connotation of the Chinese character for faith, hsin, is that of the acceptance of or reliance upon something. In this case, it is the complete acceptance of the existence of the Buddha Nature within the veil of illusions, or even the decision to rely upon the existence of that Buddha Nature as the guiding principle of all one's actions.

The adoption of this "profound faith" in the existence of the Buddha Nature marks the initiation of the uniquely Ch'an type of religious practice that is only imprecisely indicated by the letters discussed above. In the EJSHL, the adoption of faith results in a condition of residing in a state that is described as "frozen," "fixed," and "unwavering." This state is also referred to in sentence (4B) as "being without discrimination, serene and inactive."[18]

Where other Buddhist texts might describe the victory over human illusions in terms of cutting them off at the root, here we find described a position of invincible solidity in which one (a) realizes the identity of ordinary person and sage and (b) is never again swayed by written teachings. The term "written teachings" refers, of course, to the verbalized imitations of truth, rather than to the true teachings of Buddhism mentioned in sentence (1).

6. The Practice of "Wall-contemplation"

One very important question is how Bodhidharma and his followers developed the position of invincibility described above. Did they use a kind of yogic technique in which all the normal transformations of the consciousnesses were intentionally brought to a stop? Did they somehow manage to paralyze their minds and at the same time achieve a realization of the ultimate truth of śūnyatā? Or is some other meaning of residing "frozen" and "fixedly" implied here?

The crux of the Entrance of Principle is of course the troublesome term pi-kuan or "wall-contemplation." This term is without precedent in prior texts and, as may be seen from the following list, subject to a number of interpretations by later Chinese authorities:

1. T'an-lin's preface to the EJSHL refers to pi-kuan as Bodhidharma's teaching of the "pacification of the mind" (an-hsin), which is one of the most common terms for spiritual endeavor and meditation practice in early Ch'an.

2. The HKSC states that "the achievements of [Bodhidharma's] Mahāyāna wall-contemplation are the very highest," but no specific definition is given.

3. The CFPC, the earliest of the Ch'an transmission histories, rejects the authenticity of "wall-contemplation and the Four Practices" as Bodhidharma's ultimate teachings. This position was repeated by the Sung Dynasty scholar of Ch'an, Ch'i-sung (1007-72).

4. The Hua-yen School's Chih-yen (602-68) lists wall-contemplation in a list of eighteen types of meditation suitable for use by beginners for the treatment of different dispositional problems or spiritual ills.

5. Tsung-mi refers to this term in two different ways. In his discussion of the teachings of the Northern School, he writes:

> Bodhidharma taught people pacification of the mind through wall-contemplation, in which externally one ceased discrimination and internally one made one's mind free of 'gasping' (i.e., free of impediments and attachments ?). When the mind is like a wall one can enter into enlightenment (ju-tao) -- truly, is this not a method of meditation?

In another location Tsung-mi refers to wall-contemplation as an allegory for Bodhidharma's unverbalized teaching of mind and its essence of "knowing" (chih), a concept that Tsung-mi claimed was the quintessential aspect of the teachings of his own favorite, Shen-hui.

6. Huang-po Hsi-yün (d. 850) refers to Bodhidharma's practice as one of physically facing a wall in meditation. The CTL says that Bodhidharma "always sat in silence facing the wall, so people called him the 'wall-contemplating Brahmin.'"

7. A thirteenth century T'ien-t'ai work, the Shih-men cheng-t'ung (The True Succession of the House of Śākya), defines a wall in this context as the "non-entrance of sensory data and the false."[19]

Modern interpretations of this term have been similarly diverse, if cautiously hesitant. Ui Hakuju's only comment on the subject, for example, is his definition of pi-kuan as "pacification of the mind in which the mind is mysteriously united with tranquillity."[20] T'ang Yung-t'ung is only slightly more explicit, saying that "the mind is like a wall, forgetting words and extirpating conceptualization." T'ang apparently understands the wall as a metaphor for unshakeable solidity, rather than in the sense of a vertical surface dividing two regions of space. In addition, it is clear that he interprets the compound pi-kuan as a verb with a preceding modifier ("to contemplate like a wall" or "wall-like contemplation") rather than an inverted verb-object ("to contemplate a wall"). The latter grammatical interpretation is implicit in the image of Bodhidharma "facing a wall" (mien-pi) in meditation, but this is clearly a later construction.[21]

Professor Yanagida has offered two interpretations of the term pi-kuan that are categorically different from those given above. Although they occur in separate contexts and contain assertions that are anything but conservative, their presentation together here will prove to be remarkably helpful in the understanding of the EJSHL as a whole:

> It is a fact that Tao-hsüan characterized [Bodhidharma's teaching] in comparison to those of [the Hīnayānist] Seng-ch'ou, writing that "the merits of Mahāyāna wall-contemplation were the very highest." It is to be expected that "wall-contemplation" in itself constituted the Mahāyāna contemplation of non-substantiality... Actually, the metaphor of the wall had already appeared in the *Ta chih-tu lun*'s passage on the mindfulness of the body... It was a metaphor for the inanimate, the unconscious (*mushin*, or *wu-hsin* in Chinese).
>
> * * *
>
> In essence, *pi-kuan* means "the wall contemplates," not that "one contemplates a wall." One becomes a wall and contemplates as such. What does one contemplate? One contemplates *śūnyatā*. One gazes intently at a vibrantly alive *śūnyatā*.[22]

The more controversial of these two interpretations is unquestionably the latter. Yanagida explicates it with reference to the figures painted on the walls of Chinese burial tumuli, figures that steadfastly view the ghastly scenes in front of them with complete detachment and aplomb. The passage above occurs in a short summary of early Ch'an history aimed at a popular audience, so we can only appreciate the picturesque quality of his interpretation. Yanagida continues as follows:

> In general, the caves at Yün-kang and Lung-men that were created from the Northern Wei onward had countless numbers of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas carved into all four walls. The eyes of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were also carved into the floors and ceilings. These stone images witnessed (*miru*, using the Chinese character *kuan* meaning "to see" or "to contemplate") the history of the people that entered and left such caves.
>
> When Bodhidharma first arrived in the Northern Wei, he presumably sat alone in meditation in such a cave. His was not a practice of "facing a wall," but of becoming a wall and witnessing himself and the world. He saw the emptiness of history, he saw the truth of the identity of unenlightened person and sage. I believe that this was the origin of the word "wall-contemplation."
>
> At the same time "wall-contemplation" includes the idea of "turning back the brilliance in counter-illumination" (*ekō henshō*, or *hui-kuang fan-chao* in Chinese), the wonderfully bright radiance of the setting sun. Or the inconceivable function of the mirror, which illuminates each and every thing in

> existence...It is well to point out that [such ideas] begin in the Ch'an of Bodhidharma along with this difficult yet strangely appealing expression, "wall-contemplation."

I suspect that it would be very difficult to defend the translation of pi-kuan as "the wall contemplates" before a sixth-century audience of native Chinese speakers. Yet the line between "contemplating like a wall" and "a wall contemplating" is very fine: to truly achieve the former would be "like" the achievement of the latter. Although it may seem questionable at first glance, this interpretation of pi-kuan is helpful in the understanding of the EJSHL as a whole.

The key phrase in the passage above describes Bodhidharma's practice "of becoming a wall and witnessing himself and the world." It is at this point that we mustrecall Yanagida's less adventurous interpretation given above, in which he equated pi-kuan with the Mahāyāna contemplation of non-substantiality. According to these interpretations, pi-kuan involved two separate aspects, static and dynamic. These two aspects may be correlated with the Two Entrances of the EJSHL: The Entrance of Principle is to achieve and maintain a firm conviction of the immanence of the Buddha Nature within oneself and all other living beings, while the Entrance of Practice is to act at all times on the basis of a profound understanding of saṁsāra.

It should be readily apparent that such a profound understanding is absolutely necessary for the enactment of the Four Practices. In order to overcome adversity, one must first perceive its impermanence. In order to help sentient beings, one must first comprehend the nature of their suffering. Whereas the firm conviction of the Entrance of Principle is represented within the practice of pi-kuan by the solidity of the wall, the dynamic capacity of understanding that underlies the

Four Practices is embodied in the very notion of contemplation itself, the activity of "witnessing [one]-self and the world."

The reader may object that both of these static and dynamic aspects of religious practice are not immediately apparent in the term pi-kuan. I cannot deny this. I will not claim that the analysis above constitutes a definitive and unchallangeable interpretation of pi-kuan and the Entrance of Principle. However, this analysis is useful in that it provides a key to the comprehensive interpretation of early Ch'an religious doctrine. It is my belief that the very presence of both the static and dynamic aspects of religious practice in the EJSHL is an important reason for the significance of this text in early Ch'an.

7. Bodhidharma's Treatise and the Later Development of Ch'an Doctrine

One of the most important issues in the development of early Ch'an doctrine is the rejection of traditional meditation technique with its emphasis on yogic concentration and gradualistic self-perfection in favor of a sudden approach that was supposedly more open, spontaneous, and intuitive. Hu Shih, D. T. Suzuki, and others have described this as a transition from an intrinsically Indian style of practice to one that was just as uniquely and characteristically Chinese.[23] Although I will refrain from comment on such characterizations at present, it is relevent that the tendency to reject traditional meditative technique occurred in non-Ch'an School contexts during the second half of the sixth century. Note the following passages from the biographies of T'an-lun (d. 626) and Ching-lin (565-640), both of whom were associated with the She-lun School:

> [T'an-lun's teacher] counselled him: "If you fix your mind on the tip of your nose you will be able to achieve

tranquillity." [T'an]-lun said: "If I view the mind as capable of being fixed to the tip of my nose I will fundamentally see neither characteristic of the mind nor what it is fixed upon"...

At a different time [T'an-lun's master] informed him: "In sitting you must first learn to purify your clouded mentation. It is just like peeling an onion — you peel layer after layer and finally achieve purity (te ching)." [T'an]-lun said: "If I view it to be like an onion then it can be peeled, but fundamentally there is no onion that can be peeled"...

Therefore afterwards [T'an-lun] ceased all reading of the sūtras and worship of the Buddhas, but simply shut himself in a room and did not come out, fulfilling his spiritual ambition by simply transcending thoughts (li-nien) in all his activities.[24]

* * *

[Ching-lin] rejected the practice of lecturing in order to single-mindedly cultivate meditation. First, he practiced [the contemplation of physical] impurity and the [Four] Foundations of Mindfulness. Then he became displeased at their petty complexities and [the way they] insisted on the cessation of human ratiocination. He turned to the practice of the various "contemplations of non-attainment" (chu wu-te-kuan). By transcending his thoughts in consciousness-only (li-nien wei-shih) he expanded his realization of the truth. He comprehended every [such contemplation] that he undertook, practicing thus for ten years.[25]

Because the concepts of gradual spiritual progress and sudden enlightenment are so well-known to modern readers, it is fair to notice that these ideas are not specifically mentioned in any of the primary sources introduced in this Chapter. Nevertheless, it is clear that, in addition to the major dichotomy between scriptural study and the practice of meditation (see Section One, Chapter II, Part 5), there also existed in sixth century Chinese Buddhism a minor dichotomy between two approaches to the practice of meditation itself. Although the methods of practice adopted by T'an-lun and Ching-lin did involve seated meditation and predetermined contemplative techniques, they were considered to be fundamentally different from the progressive approach of conventional Indian meditation theory. Similarly, the letters

attached to the EJSHL contain specific rejections of traditional Buddhist practices — the use of scriptural recitation, repentance rituals, and contemplative techniques aimed at the inculcation of positive religious emotions and the simultaneous elimination of incorrect views and prejudices. The EJSHL's references to a frozen and fixed state of being and the absence of the normally dualistic functions of cognitive activity constitute an expression of the same ideal.

Other scholars have of course regarded the references to a frozen or fixed state in terms of yogic styles of mental cultivation. This observation can only be accepted with some modification: the EJSHL does not contain any allusion to the cultivation of yoga, but only to a final state of attainment that is quite similar to the ultimate stage of yogic achievement. It is impossible to know how Bodhidharma had his students reach this state; one only wonders if he used the Samādhi of the Seal of the Tathāgata's Wisdom, à la Seng-fu, or the "contemplations of non-attainment," like Ching-lin.

Actually, the language of the EJSHL is so terse and uninformative that it would be unwise to attempt a definitive interpretation. When considered solely by themselves, the records of Bodhidharma's career and earliest impact must be recognized as being too scanty to yield any meaningful conclusions. The real value of these documents is in their capacity to indicate general themes that govern the following periods of early Ch'an history, to help us understand a body of evidence that is no longer terse and fragmentary, but extensive, voluble, and disorganized. The true teachings of the historical individual Bodhidharma cannot be deduced from the extant body of primary source material, but that material may be used as a key to the subsequent development of Ch'an

thought.

It is in this sense that I make the following observation: The static and dynamic motifs of Bodhidharma's Two Entrances seem to anticipate the two major themes of early Ch'an thought to be considered in this paper. The Entrance of Principle emphasizes recognition of the existence of the Buddha Nature within oneself, which is the primary concern of the East Mountain Teaching texts attributed to Tao-hsin and Hung-jen. The Entrance of Practice is concerned with the active expression of the <u>Dharma</u> in the perfected activities of everyday life, which is the primary concern of the Northern School doctrines of Shen-hsiu and others. It is only after analyzing the doctrines of these two phases of Ch'an thought that we will be able to understand the relationship between these two approaches, the full implications of the rejection of traditional meditative technique, and the true significance of the sudden/gradual dichotomy in early Ch'an.

CHAPTER II

THE BASIC DOCTRINES OF THE EAST MOUNTAIN TEACHING

1. Problems in the Study of the East Mountain Teaching

In Section Two we saw that there was no clear line of demarcation between the period known as the East Mountain Teaching, i.e., the careers of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, and that known as the Northern School, those of Shen-hsiu and his successors. Although they appear to be two separate phases of early Ch'an history, the former is known almost solely through the texts of the latter. The same is true of the religious doctrines of the two phases: no matter how hard we might try to reconstruct the actual doctrines of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, their "East Mountain Teaching" can only be approached through texts produced and/or edited during the later "Northern School" phase.

There are only a very few datable clues as to the teachings of Ch'an during the seventh century:

1. The HKSC refers to Tao-hsin's teaching as the "expedient means of entering the Path" (ju-tao fang-pien) and depicts him as a devotee of the Perfection of Wisdom.[26]

2. The Chin-kang san-mei ching (Sūtra of the Adamantine Samādhi), a text written in China sometime between 645 and about 665, mentions both Bodhidharma's Two Entrances and a practice of "maintaining the one and preserving the three" (shou-i ts'un-san). The latter is reminiscent of the doctrine of "maintaining the one without wavering" (shou-i pu i) that is attributed to Tao-hsin.[27]

3. There exists a Tun-huang manuscript of a text entitled Ta-mo ch'an-shih lun or Dhyāna Master [Bodhi]dharma's Treatise, which might be taken as a guide to the teachings of

early Ch'an. The text is probably relatively early, although its putative date of compilation or transcription, 681, is not reliable. Unfortunately, its contents do not lend themselves to precise dating.[28]

4. The composition of Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun or Treatise on the Contemplation of the Mind may be assigned to the years 675-700. The introduction into the Ch'an tradition of Chih-i's Ch'eng-hsin lun or Treatise on the Clarification of the Mind probably occurred during the same period.[29]

5. Finally, the epitaph for Fa-ju (638-89) mentions such topics as the different types of samādhi practiced at Hung-jen's monastery, Fa-ju's "sudden entrance into the One Vehicle," his ability to remain "motionless in the True Realm and yet know the myriad forms," and, as discussed in the previous Section, the fact that the transmission of the teaching was done without words.[30]

Unfortunately, these details are all too brief, too vague and/or difficult to interpret, and, in the case of those relating to Shen-hsiu and Fa-ju, too late to be of any real value.

The general practice among modern scholars is to explain the teachings of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen on the basis of two texts known chiefly from Tun-huang manuscripts. For the former there exists a portion of the LCSTC which appears to be taken verbatim from a work called the Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien fa-men or Essentials of the Teaching of the Expedient Means of Entering the Path and Pacifying the Mind (hereafter given as JTAHY). For the latter, there exists the Hsiu-hsin yao lun or Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind, which is known from a variety of sources. Since the JTAHY teaches shou-i or "maintaining the one" and the Hsiu-hsin yao lun teaches shou-hsin or "maintaining the mind," scholars have generally argued that the latter text and teaching were more advanced than the former.[31]

I do not believe that this interpretation is acceptable. The JTAHY is known solely through the LCSTC. Judging by the absence of separate Tun-huang manuscripts -- admittedly an argument made ex

silentio -- it did not circulate independently. Even more important, no other early Ch'an text quotes from it or even alludes to it. Although there are no specific indications that it was of late composition, it uses many of the same texts and even the same passages as other Northern School texts of the early eighth century.[32] In addition, it addresses at least two issues, i.e., the criticism of certain Taoist ideas and Pure Land practices, that would have been of greater interest to an author working within the context of Buddhism in the two capitals in the early eighth century rather than a retiring meditation specialist of the early seventh.[33]

Finally, although the text's explanation of shou-i does seem to be less advanced in some ways than the Hsiu-hsin yao lun's concept of shou-hsin, the JTAHY as a whole is a much more sophisticated, or at least a more complex, work. Although it would be misleading to suggest that this greater internal complexity necessarily implies a later date of composition, some of the ideas contained the treatise usually attributed to Tao-hsin are suggestive of the most advanced teachings of the Northern School.

A moment's reflection will show that it is actually quite reasonable that a text attributed to Tao-hsin might have been written after one attributed to Hung-jen. We know that the Hsiu-hsin yao lun was not written by Hung-jen himself, since the text admits that it was compiled by his students.[34] Hung-jen was in many ways the most important figure in early Ch'an, in that he was the immediate spiritual forefather to many of the men who disseminated the teachings in Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang in the late seventh and early eighth century. It is not surprising that such a text as the Hsiu-hsin yao lun would have been composed

to represent the fundamentals of his teachings. The attribution of this text to Hung-jen thus has a retrospective validity: its contents are not an exact record of his teachings, but they are at least representative of the most fundamental doctrines of early Ch'an, a "lowest common denominator" of Ch'an theory around the year 700.

The existence of a handful of separate versions of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun from Tun-huang and elsewhere indicates its general acceptance by the members of the early Ch'an School as teachings appropriate to the departed sage of East Mountain. After Hung-jen was thus equipped with a suitable literary statement, the attentions of the early Ch'an authors would have turned naturally to his predecessor, Tao-hsin. The process continued in this reverse fashion with the compilation of the Hsin-hsin ming or Inscription on Relying upon the Mind, which is falsely attributed to Seng-ts'an, Tao-hsin's supposed teacher.[35]

Although specific proof is lacking, I suspect that the JTAHY was only written very shortly, no more than a decade or so, before it was noticed by Ching-chüeh and quoted in his LCSTC of 713-16. This interpretation must be considered tentative, but the reader should at least grant that it would be improper to follow the conventional approach in constructing a theory for the chronological development of early Ch'an religious thought. This problem is not limited to these two works. In fact, it is extremely difficult to assign a definite date to any of the doctrinal developments of early Ch'an.

Since a diachronic approach to the teachings of early Ch'an is thus untenable, we must turn to a synchronic, thematic approach. Because of the retrospective validity of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and, to a lesser extent, the JTAHY, these two texts will be our primary source of

information about the basic tenets of the East Mountain Teaching. The reader should keep in mind that the "East Mountain Teaching" to be defined in these pages does not refer to the teachings of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, but rather to the most basic doctrines of the Ch'an School in the early eighth century in the vicinity of the two capitals.

2. Textual Information

The Hsiu-hsin yao lun[36] is written as a dialogue between the master and an unnamed interrogator. The text may be divided into two parts of roughly equal length. The first part, which includes sections A to M of the translation below, is a structured series of questions and answers. The second, sections N to V, contains fewer questions, longer doctrinal statements and descriptions of meditation practice, a greater amount of colloquial language, and numerous direct exhortations to vigorous practice.

Important points to notice while reading this text include the following:

1. the metaphor of the sun obscured by clouds that occurs in section D,

2. emphasis on the importance of "maintaining [awareness of] the mind" throughout the text, and

3. the two types of meditation practice that are recommended in sections O and T.

3. The Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind (Hsiu-hsin yao lun)

A) A Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind, in one fascicle, [written by] the Preceptor [Hung]-jen of Ch'i-chou[37] [in order to] lead ordinary people to sagehood and to an understanding of the basic principle of emancipation.[38]

B) If you do not take care of [this text], then all the [other] practitioners will be unable to see it. Please understand that in copying it, you should take care to make no mistakes or omissions, which might mislead those who follow.[39]

C) The essence of cultivating the Path is to discern that one's own body (mind?[40]) is inherently pure, [not subject to the laws of] generation and extinction, and without discrimination. Perfect and complete in its Self Nature,[41] the Pure Mind is the fundamental teacher and is superior to reflecting on the Buddhas of the ten directions.

D) Question: "How do you know that one's own mind is inherently pure?"

Answer: "The *Treatise on the [Sūtra of the] Ten Stages*[42] (*Shih-ti lun*) says:

> There is an adamantine Buddha Nature within the bodies of sentient beings. Like the sun, it is essentially bright, perfect, and complete. Although vast and limitless, it is merely[43] covered by the layered clouds of the five *skandhas*. Like a lamp inside a jar, its light cannot shine.

Further, to use the bright[45] sun as a metaphor, it is as if the clouds and mists of this world were to arise together in [all] the eight directions, so that the world would become dark.[46] How could the sun ever be extinguished?"

[Question: "Without the sun being extinguished,] why would there be no light?"

Answer: "The sun's light is not destroyed, but merely deflected by the clouds and mists. The pure mind possessed by all sentient beings is also like this, in simply being covered by the layered clouds of discriminative thinking, false thoughts, and ascriptive views. If one can just distinctly maintain [awareness of] the mind (*shou-hsin*)[47] and not produce false thoughts, then the *Dharma Sun*[48] of *nirvāṇa* will be naturally manifested. Therefore, it is known that one's own mind is inherently pure."

E) Question: "How do you know that one's own mind is

inherently not subject to the laws of generation and extinction?"

Answer: "The Vimalakīrti Sūtra (Wei-mo ching) says: 'Suchness (ju) is without generation; Suchness is without extinction.'[49] The term 'Suchness' refers to the Such-like Buddha Nature, the mind which is the source [of all dharmas][50] and pure in its Self Nature. Suchness is fundamentally existent and is not conditionally produced. [The Vimalakīrti Sūtra] also says: 'Sentient beings all [embody] Suchness. The sages and wise men also [embody] Suchness.'[51] 'Sentient beings' means us (i.e., ordinary people), and 'sages and wise men' means the Buddhas. Although the names and characteristics of [sentient beings and the Buddhas] are different, the essential reality of the Suchness contained within the bodies of each is identical and is not subject to the laws of generation and extinction. Hence [the Sūtra] says 'all [embody] Suchness.' Therefore, it is known that one's own mind is inherently not subject to the laws of generation and extinction.

F) Question: "Why do you call the mind the fundamental teacher?"

Answer: "The True Mind exists of itself and does not come from outside [oneself. As teacher] it does not even require any tuition fee![52] Nothing in all the three periods of time is more dear [to a person] than one's mind. If you discern the Suchness [inherent in the mind] and maintain awareness of it, you will reach the other shore [of nirvāṇa]. The deluded forsake it and fall into the three lower modes of existence (i.e., animals, hungry ghosts, and residents of the hells). Therefore, it is known that the Buddhas of the three periods of time take their own True Mind[53] as teacher.

"Hence the Treatise says: 'The existence of sentient beings is dependent on the waves of false consciousness, the essence of which is illusory.'[54] By clearly maintaining awareness of the mind, the false mind will not be activated (pu ch'i) and you will reach the state of birthlessness (i.e., nirvāṇa). Therefore, it is known that the mind is the fundamental teacher."

G) Question: "Why is the mind of ordinary people superior to the mind of the Buddhas?"[55]

Answer: "You cannot escape birth and death by constantly reflecting on Buddhas divorced from yourself,[56] but you will reach the other shore of nirvāṇa by maintaining awareness of your own fundamental mind.[57] Therefore, [the Buddha] says in the Diamond Sūtra (Chin-kang pan-jo ching): 'Anyone who views me in terms of form and seeks me by sound is practicing a heretic path and is unable to see the Tathāgata.'[58] Therefore, it is known that maintaining awareness of the True Mind is superior to reflecting on Buddhas divorced from oneself. In addition, the

word 'superior' is only used as a word of encouragement in the context of religious practice. In reality, the essence of the ultimate fruit [of *nirvāṇa*] is uniformly 'same' (*p'ing-teng*) and without duality."

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H) Question: "If the true essence of sentient beings and the Buddhas is the same, then why is it that the Buddhas are not subject to the laws of generation and extinction, but receive incalculable pleasures and are autonomous (*tzu-tsai*) and unhindered [in their activities], while we sentient beings have fallen into the realm of birth and death and are subject to various kinds of suffering?"[59]

Answer: "All the Buddhas of the ten directions are enlightened to the *Dharma* Nature and distinctly illuminate the mind which is the source [of all individual *dharmas*] (*chao-liao hsin-yüan*). They do not generate false thoughts, never fail in Correct Mindfulness (*cheng-nien*), and extinguish the illusion of personal possession.[60] Because of this they are not subject to birth and death. Since they are not subject to birth and death, they [have achieved] the ultimate state of serene extinction (i.e., *nirvāṇa*). Since they [have achieved] serene extinction, the myriad pleasures naturally accrue to them.

"Sentient beings, [on the other hand,] are all deluded as to the True Nature and do not discern the fundamental mind. Because they cognize the various [*dharmas*] falsely,[61] they do not cultivate Correct Mindfulness. Since they do not have Correct Mindfulness, thoughts of revulsion and attraction are activated [in them]. Because of [these thoughts of] revulsion and attraction, the vessel of the mind becomes 'broken and leaky' (i.e., defiled). Since the [vessel of] the mind is broken and leaky, they are subject to birth and death. Because of birth and death, all the [various kinds of] suffering naturally appear. The *Sūtra of Mind-king [Bodhisattva]* (*Hsin-wang ching*) says: 'The Such-like Buddha Nature is concealed by knowledge based on the senses (*chih-chien*). [Sentient beings] are drowning in birth and death within the seas of the six consciousnesses and do not achieve emancipation.'[62]

"Make effort! If you can maintain awareness of the True Mind without generating false thoughts or the illusion of personal possession, then you will automatically be equal to the Buddhas."

I) Question: "[You say that] the Such-like *Dharma* Nature [is embodied by both sentient beings and the Buddhas] identically and without duality. Therefore, if [one group] is deluded, both should be deluded. If [one group] is enlightened, both should be enlightened. Why are only the Buddhas enlightened, while sentient beings are deluded?"

Answer: "At this point we enter the inconceivable portion [of this teaching], which cannot be understood by the ordinary mind. One becomes enlightened by discerning the mind; one is deluded because of losing [awareness of the True] Nature. If the conditions [necessary for you to understand this] occur, then they occur[63] -- it cannot be definitively explained. Simply rely on the ultimate truth[64] and maintain awareness of your own True Mind.

"Therefore, the Vimalakīrti Sūtra says: '[Dharmas] have no Self Nature and no Other Nature. Dharmas were fundamentally not generated [in the first place] and are not now extinguished.'[65] Enlightenment is to transcend the two extremes and enter into non-discriminating wisdom. If your understand this doctrine, then during all your activities[66] you should simply maintain awareness of your fundamental Pure Mind. Do this constantly and fixedly, without generating false thoughts or the illusion of personal possession. Enlightenment will thus occur of itself.

"If you ask a lot of questions, the number of doctrinal terms will become greater and greater. If you want to understand the essential point of Buddhism,[67] then [be aware that] maintaining awareness of the mind is of paramount [importance]. Maintaining awareness of the mind is the fundamental basis of nirvāṇa, the essential gateway for entering the Path, the basic principle of the entire Buddhist canon,[68] and the patriarch of all the Buddhas of past, present, and future."

J) Question: "Why[69] is maintaining awareness of the mind the fundamental basis of nirvāṇa?"

Answer: "The essence of that which is called nirvāṇa is serene extinction. It is unconditioned and pleasant. When one's mind is True, false thoughts cease. When false thoughts cease, [the result is] Correct Mindfulness. Having Correct Mindfulness leads to the generation of the wisdom of serene illumination (i.e., the perfect knowledge or "illumination" of all things without mental discrimination), which in turn means that one achieves total comprehension of the Dharma Nature.[70] By comprehending the Dharma Nature one achieves nirvāṇa. Therefore, maintaining awareness of the mind is the fundamental basis of nirvāṇa."

K) Question: "Why is maintaining awareness of the mind the essential gateway for entering the Path?"

Answer: "The Buddha teaches that even [actions as seemingly trivial as] raising the fingers of a single hand to draw an image of the Buddha[71] can create merit as great as the sands of the River Ganges. However, this is just [his way of] enticing foolish sentient beings to create superior karmic conditions

whereby they will see the Buddha and [become enlightened] in the future.[72] If you wish to achieve Buddha-hood quickly in your own body, then do nothing[73] except to maintain awareness of the True Mind.

"The Buddhas of past, present, and future are incalculable and infinite [in number], and every single one of them achieved Buddha-hood by maintaining awareness of the True Mind.[74] Therefore, the Sūtra says: 'When one fixes the mind in a single location, there is nothing it cannot accomplish.'[75] Therefore, maintaining awareness of the True Mind is the essential [gateway[76]] for entering the Path."

L) Question: "Why is maintaining the True Mind the basic principle of the entire Buddhist canon?"

Answer: "Throughout the canon, the Tathāgata preaches extensively about all the types of transgression and good fortune, causes and conditions, and rewards and retributions. He also draws upon all the various things [of this world] — mountains, rivers, the earth,[77] plants, trees, etc. — to make innumerable metaphors. He also manifests innumerable super-human powers and various kinds of transformations. All these are just the Buddha's way of teaching foolish sentient beings. Since they have various kinds of desires and a myriad of psychological differences, the Tathāgata draws them into permanent bliss (i.e., nirvāṇa) according to their mental tendencies.

"Understand clearly that the Buddha Nature embodied within sentient beings is inherently pure, like a sun underlaid by clouds. By just distinctly maintaining awareness of the True Mind, the clouds of false thoughts will go away and the sun of wisdom[78] will appear. Why make any further study of knowledge based on the senses, which [only] leads to the suffering of saṁsāra?

"All concepts, as well as the affairs of the three periods of time [should be understood according to] the metaphor of polishing a mirror: when the dust is gone the Nature naturally becomes manifest (chien-hsing).[79] That which is learned by the ignorant mind is completely useless. True learning is that which is learned by the inactive (or "unconditioned," wu-wei) mind, which never cease Correct Mindfulness. "Although this is called 'True Learning,' ultimately there is nothing to be learned. Why is this? Because the self and nirvāṇa are both non-substantial, they are neither different nor the same. Therefore, the essential principle[80] of [the words] 'nothing to be learned' is true.

"One must maintain clear awareness of the True Mind without generating false thoughts or the illusion of personal possession. Therefore, the Nirvāṇa Sūtra (Nieh-p'an ching) says: 'To understand that the Buddha does not [actually] preach the

Dharma is called "having sufficiently listened [to the Buddha's preaching]."'[81] Therefore, maintaining awareness of the True Mind is the basic principle of the entire Buddhist canon."

M) Question: "Why is maintaining awareness of the mind the patriarch of all the Buddhas of past, present, and future?"

Answer: "All the Buddhas of past, present, and future are generated within [one's own] consciousness. When[82] you do not generate false thoughts, [the Buddhas] are generated within your consciousness. When your illusions of personal possession have been extinguished, [the Buddhas] are generated within your consciousness. You will only achieve Buddha-hood by maintaining awareness of the True Mind. Therefore, maintaining awareness of the mind is the patriarch of all the Buddhas of past, present, and future."

N) "If one were to expand upon the four previous topics, how could they ever be explained completely? My only desire is that you discern the fundamental mind for yourselves. Therefore, I sincerely tell you: Make effort! Make effort! The thousand sūtras and ten thousand treatises say nothing other than that maintaining the True Mind is the essential [way to enlightenment].[83] Make effort!

"I base [my teaching] on the Lotus Sūtra (Fa-hua ching), in which [the Buddha] says: 'I have presented you with a great cart and a treasury of valuables, including bright jewels and wondrous medicines. Even so, you do not take them. What extreme suffering! Alas! Alas!'[84] If you can cease generating false thoughts and the illusion of personal possession, then all the [myriad types of] merit will become perfect and complete. Do not try to search outside yourself, which [only] leads to the suffering of saṁsāra. Maintain the same state of mind in every moment of thought, in every phase of mental activity. Do not enjoy the present while planting the seeds of future suffering — [by doing so] you only deceive yourself and others and cannot escape from the realm of birth and death.

"Make effort! Make effort! Although it may seem futile now, [your present efforts] constitute the causes for your future [enlightenment].[85] Do not let time pass in vain while only wasting energy. The Sūtra says: '[Foolish sentient beings] will reside forever in hell as if pleasantly relaxing in a garden. There are no modes of existence worse than their present state.'[86] We sentient beings fit this description. Having no idea how horribly terrifying [this world really] is, we never have the least intention of leaving! How awful!"

O) "If you are just beginning to practice sitting meditation,[87] then do so according to the Sūtra of the Contemplation of Amitābha (Wu-liang-shou kuan ching):[88] Sit properly with the body erect, closing the eyes and mouth. Look straight ahead with the mind, visualizing a sun at an appropriate distance away. Maintain this image continuously without stopping. Regulate your breath so that it does not sound alternately coarse and fine, as this can make one sick.

"If you sit [in meditation] at night, you may experience all kinds of good and bad psychological states, or enter into any of the blue, yellow, red, and white samādhis, or witness your own body producing light, or observe the physical characteristics of the Tathāgata, or experience various [other] transformations. When you perceive [such things], then concentrate the mind and do not become attached to them. They are all non-substantial manifestations of false thinking.[89] The Sūtra says: 'All the countries of the ten directions are [non-substantial,] like space.' Also, 'The triple realm is an empty apparition that is solely the creation of the individual mind.'[90] Do not worry if you cannot achieve concentration and do not experience the various psychological states. Just constantly maintain clear awareness of the True Mind in all your actions.

"If you can stop generating false thoughts and the illusion of personal possession, [then you will realize that] all the myriad dharmas are nothing other than [manifestations of your] own mind. The Buddhas only preach extensively with numerous verbal teachings and metaphors because the mental tendencies of sentient beings differ, necessitating a variety of teachings. In actuality, the mind is the basic [subject] of the eight-four thousand doctrines, the ranking of the Three Vehicles, and the definitions of the seventy-two [stages of] sages and wise men.

"To be able to discern one's own inherent mind and improve [the ability to maintain awareness of it] with every moment of thought is equivalent to constantly making pious offerings to the entire Buddhist canon and to all the Buddhas in the ten directions of space,[91] who are as numerous as the sands of the River Ganges. It is equivalent to constantly turning the wheel of the Dharma with every moment of thought.

"He who comprehends the mind which is the source of all dharmas always understands everthing. All his wishes are fulfilled and all his religious practices completed. He accomplishes all [that he sets out to do] and will not be reborn again [in the realm of saṃsāra].[92] If you can stop generating false thoughts and the illusion of personal possession and completely discard [your preoccupation with] the body, then you will certainly achieve birthlessness (i.e., nirvāṇa). How inconceivably [wonderful]!

"Make effort! And do not be pretentious![93] It is difficult to get a chance to hear this essential teaching. Of

those who have heard it, there is not more than one person in a number as great as the sands of the River Ganges who is able to practice it. It would be rare for there to be even one person in a million billion *kalpas* who can practice it to perfection.[94] Calm yourself with care, moderate any sensory activity, and attentively view the mind which is the source of all *dharmas*. Make it shine distinctly and purely all the time, without ever becoming blank."[95]

P) Question: "What is blankness of mind?"

Answer: "People who practice mental concentration may inhibit the True Mind within themselves by being dependent on sensory perceptions, coarse states of mind, and restricted breathing. Before achieving mental purity, [such people may undertake the] constant practice of mental concentration and viewing the mind. Although they do so during all their activities, [such people] cannot achieve [mental] clarity and purity, nor illumine that mind which is the source of all *dharmas*. This is called blankness [of mind.]

["People who possess such a] defiled mind cannot escape the great illness of birth and death. How much more pitiful are those who are completely ignorant of [the practice of] maintaining awareness of the mind! Such people are drowning in the seas of suffering that are concomitant with the realm of *saṁsāra* — when will they ever be able to escape?

"Make effort! The *Sūtra* says:

> If sentient beings are not completely sincere about seeking enlightenment, then not even all the Buddhas of the three periods of time will be able to do anything [for them, even if those Buddhas] are as numerous as the sands of the River Ganges.[96]

The *Sūtra* says: 'Sentient beings discern the mind and cross over [to the other shore of enlightenment] by themselves. The Buddhas cannot make sentient beings cross over [to the other shore].' If the Buddhas were able to make sentient beings cross over [to the other shore of enlightenment], then why — the Buddhas of the past being as incalculable as the sands of the River Ganges — have we sentient beings not yet achieved Buddha-hood? We are drowning in the seas of suffering because of the simple reason that we are not completely sincere about seeking enlightenment.

"Make effort! One cannot know the transgressions of one's past, and repenting now is of no avail. Now, in this very lifetime, you have had an opportunity to hear [this teaching]. I have related it clearly; it would be well for you to understand what I say. Understand clearly that maintaining awareness of the mind is the highest way. You may be insincere about seeking the

achievement of Buddha-hood and become receptive to the immeasurable pleasures and benefits [that accrue from religious training. You may] go so far as to ostentatiously follow worldly customs and crave [personal] fame and gain. [If you do so you will] eventually fall into hell and become subject to all kinds of suffering. What a plight! Make effort!"

Q) "One can have success with minimal exertion by merely donning tattered robes, eating coarse food, and clearly maintaining awareness of the mind. The unenlightened people of this world do not understand this truth and undergo great anguish in their ignorance. Hoping to achieve emancipation, they cultivate a broad range of superficial types of goodness — only to fall subject to the suffering concomitant with saṁsāra.

"He who, in [mental] clarity, never ceases Correct Mindfulness while helping sentient beings cross over to the other shore of nirvāṇa is a Bodhisattva of Great Power.[97] I tell you this explicitly: maintaining awareness of the mind is the ultimate. If you cannot bear suffering during this single present lifetime, you will be subject to misfortune for ten thousand kalpas to come. I ask you: which case applies to you?

"To remain unmoved by the blowing of the eight winds[98] [of good and ill fortune] is to have a truly special mountain of treasure. If you want to realize the fruit [of nirvāṇa], then just respond to all the myriad different realms of your consciousness by activating transformations as numerous as the sands of the River Ganges. One's discrimination [of each instant] is so skillful it seems to flow. Applying medicine to fit the disease, one is able to stop generating false thoughts and the illusion of personal possession. He who [can do this] has transcended the world and is truly a man of great stature.[99] Ah, the unrestricted freedom of a Tathāgata — how could it ever be exhausted!

"Having explained these things, I[100] urge you in complete sincerity: stop generating false thoughts and the illusion of personal possession!"

R) Question: "What do you mean by the 'illusion of personal possession?'"

Answer: "When superior to someone else [in some way] by even a little bit, one may think that this is due to one's own achievement. To feel this way is to be sick even while in nirvāṇa. The Nirvāṇa Sūtra says: 'This is likened to the realm of space, which contains the myriad things. Space does not think to itself "I am doing this."'[101] This is a metaphor for the two teachings of [eradicating the] illness and practicing [the truth, i.e.,] the concept of extinguishing the illusion of personal possession and the Adamantine Samādhi (chin-kang san-mei)."[102]

S) Question: "Even sincere[103] practitioners who seek for a perfect and permanent nirvāṇa [may only seek] the crude and impermanent standards of goodness and fail to take pleasure in the ultimate truth. [Such people may] try to have their minds operate according to [Buddhist] doctrines before they have manifested that which is True, permanent, wondrous, and good (i.e., the Buddha Nature). This leads to the activation of discriminative thinking, which constitutes a defiled state of mind. They may try to fix the mind in the locus of non-being (wu-so).[104] To do so is to be lodged in the darkness of ignorance and is not in accord with the [true] principle.

"They may grasp non-substantiality in an improper way, without trying to fix the mind [on a single object of contemplation] according to [Buddhist] doctrines. Although they have received a human body, theirs is the practice of animals. They lack the expedient means of meditation and wisdom and cannot clearly and brightly see the Buddha Nature. This is the predicament of religious practitioners [such as ourselves]. We beseech you to tell us the true teaching by which we can progress toward remainderless nirvāṇa!"

Answer: "When you are completely in [possession of] the True Mind, the achievement of your ultimate wish [is assured].

"Gently quiet your mind. I will teach you [how to do this] once again: Make your body and mind pure and peaceful, without any discriminative thinking at all. Sit properly with the body erect. Regulate the breath and concentrate the mind so it is not within you, not outside of you, and not in any intermediate location. Do this carefully and naturally. View your own consciousness tranquilly and attentively, so that you can see how it is always moving, like flowing water or a glittering[105] mirage. After you have perceived this consciousness, simply continue to view it gently and naturally, without [it assuming any fixed position] inside or outside of yourself. Do this tranquilly and attentively, until its fluctuations dissolve into peaceful stability. This flowing consciousness will disappear like a gust of wind.[106]

"When this [flowing] consciousness disappears, [all one's illusions will] disappear along with it, even the [extremely subtle] illusions of Bodhisattvas of the Tenth Stage. When this consciousness and [false cognition of the] body have disappeared, one's mind becomes peacefully stable, simple, and pure. I cannot describe it any further. If you want to know more about it, then follow the Chapter on the Adamantine Body (Chin-kang shen p'in) of the Nirvāṇa Sūtra and the Chapter on the Viewing of Akṣobhya Buddha (Chien o-ch'u-fo p'in) of the Vimalakīrti Sūtra.[107] Think about this carefully, for this is the truth."

T) "Any person who can avoid losing [sight] of this mind

during all his actions and in the face of the five desires and the eight winds [of good and ill fortune] has established his pure practice,[108] done that which must be done, and will never again be born into the realm of birth and death. The five desires are [those that arise relative to] form, sound, smell, taste, and touch. The eight winds are success, failure; defamation, praise; honor, abuse; and suffering and pleasure.

While cultivating the Buddha Nature[109] you must never worry about not achieving autonomous [mastery of the super-normal powers, etc.] in this lifetime. The Sūtra says: 'When there is no Buddha in the world, then Bodhisattvas who have [reached the Ten] Stages are unable to manifest the functioning [of enlightenment(?)].'[110] You must become emancipated from this retribution-body. The abilities of sentient beings [as governed by the factors of the] past differ in ways that cannot be understood. Those of superior [ability can achieve enlightenment] in an instant, while those of inferior [ability take] an incalculable number of kalpas. When you have the strength,[111] generate the good roots of enlightenment according to [your own] nature (i.e., individual identity) as a sentient being, so that you benefit yourself and others and ornament the Path of Buddha-hood.

"You must completely [master] the four dependences[112] and penetrate the true characteristic [of all things]. If you become dependent on words you will lose the True Principle (chen-tsung). All you monks who have left home (i.e., to become monks) and practice some other form of Buddhism — this is the [true meaning of] 'leaving home.' 'Leaving home' is to leave the home of birth and death. You will achieve success in the cultivation of the Path when your [practice of] Correct Mindfulness is complete. To never fail in Correct Mindfulness — even when one's body is being torn apart or at the time of death — is to be a Buddha."

U) "My disciples have compiled this treatise[113] [from my oral teachings], so that [the reader] may just use his True Mind to grasp the meaning of its words. It is impossible to exhaustively substantiate [every detail] with preaching such as this. If [the teachings contained herein] contradict the holy truth, I repent and hope for the eradication [of that transgression]. If they correspond to the holy truth, I transfer [any merit that would result from this effort to all] sentient beings. I want everyone to discern their fundamental minds and achieve Buddha-hood at once. Those who are listening [now] should make effort, so that you can achieve Buddha-hood in the future. I now vow to help my followers to cross over [to the other shore of nirvāṇa]."

V) Question: "This treatise [teaches] from beginning to end that manifesting one's own mind represents enlightenment. [However, I] do not know whether this is a teaching of the fruit [of nirvāṇa] or one of practice."

Answer: "The basic principle of this treatise is the

manifestation of the One Vehicle. Its ultimate intention is to lead the unenlightened to emancipation, so that they can escape from the realm of birth and death themselves and eventually help others to cross over to the other shore of nirvāṇa. [This treatise] only speaks of benefitting oneself and does not explain how to benefit others.[114] It should be categorized as a teaching of practice (hsing-men). Anyone who practices according to this text will achieve Buddha-hood immediately.

"If I am deceiving you I will fall into the eighteen hells in the future. I point to heaven and earth in making this vow: If [the teachings contained here] are not true, I will be eaten by tigers and wolves for lifetime after lifetime."[115]

4. The Metaphor of the Sun and Clouds

The key to understanding the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* is the metaphor of the sun obscured by clouds that occurs near the beginning of the text. Unfortunately, the origin of the passage containing this metaphor is obscure. The same passage is also found in Ching-chüeh's *LCSTC* and Shen-hsiu's *Kuan-hsin lun*, but it is attributed in these texts to the *Shih-ti ching*, the *Sūtra on the Ten Stages*, rather than the *Shih-ti [ching] lun*, the *Treatise* based on that *Sūtra*. In fact, the passage occurs in neither. Since no scriptural precedent for this passage has ever been found, it seems best to assume that it derived from an unknown Chinese source of the late seventh century or earlier.[116]

Nowhere does the use of this metaphor occur so prominently as in the beginning of I-hsing's commentary on the *Ta-jih ching* or *Sūtra of the Great Vairocana [Buddha]*, one of the most important scriptures of Esoteric Buddhism. I-hsing, who was at one time a student of P'u-chi, opens his commentary with an explanation of the name of the Buddha that occurs in the title of the *Sūtra*:

> The Sanskrit word "Vairocana" is another name for the sun, having the meaning of an omnipresent brilliance that eradicates darkness. The sun of this world, however, is governed by spatial limitations. It cannot illuminate inside [a building] the same as it can outside; it can brighten one place but not another. Also, its brilliance only occurs during the daytime and does not illumine the night. The brilliance of the Sun of the *Tathāgata*'s Wisdom is not like this, in that it is a great illuminating brightness that extends to every location [in the universe]. There are no spatial [limitations of] interior and exterior or distinctions of day and night.
>
> Also, as the sun travels [about] the world, the plants and trees are able to grow according to their natural allotments, so that the various tasks of this world achieve completion thereby. The brilliance of the Sun of the *Tathāgata* illuminates the entire *dharmadhātu*, [so that] it is able to foster, with absolute impartiality (*p'ing-teng*), the incalculable "good roots" of sentient beings. In addition, all the excellent mundane and supramundane activities are without exception achieved on the basis of

[the Sun of the Tathāgata's Wisdom].

> Further, layered shadows can obscure the orb of the sun so that it is hidden, yet it is not destroyed. Violent winds can blow the clouds away so that the sun's brilliance may be seen to illuminate, yet it is not only just born. The sun of the Mind of the Buddha (fo-hsin chih jih) [that is within us all] is also like this: although it may be obstructed by the layered clouds of ignorance, the afflictions, and foolish disputation, it is never decreased [by such obstructions]. Even if one achieves the ultimate [experience of the] Samādhi of the True Characteristic of All Dharmas, [in which] one's perfect brilliance is unlimited, [the Mind of the Buddha within] is not increased [thereby].
>
> Because of various factors such as these, the sun of this world cannot be taken as a metaphor [for the Sun of the Tathāgata's Wisdom]. It is only by taking consideration of the small degree of resemblance and adding the word "great" that it is said: "Mahā-vairocana."[117]

It is possible, of course, that I-hsing learned this metaphor from Śubhākarasiṁha, the Esoteric Buddhist master under whom he studied the sūtra in question. However, the content and structure of the third paragraph of the statement above, which discusses "layered shadows" (i.e., clouds), violent winds, and the ensuing appearance of the indestructible sun, are strikingly reminiscent of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun passage.[118] Whatever its origin, I-hsing's explanation of the name "Vairocana" utilizes the same conceptual framework as that which was operant in the Ch'an School at exactly the same time.

The metaphor of the sun and clouds is used twice in the LCSTC, once in the entry on Guṇabhadra and again in that on Hui-k'o. In the latter instance it appears essentially as it does in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. In addition to minor variations of wording and the different attribution mentioned above, Ching-chüeh interpolates a passge from the Avataṁsaka Sūtra on the Buddha Nature being as vast as space. He follows the metaphor of the sun and clouds with a list of several others: ice and water, a lamp in the wind, fire within wood, gold and

gangue, and water and waves. The most interesting, for our purposes, is the following:

> The Buddha Nature [exists in the] same sense as the sun and moon are in the world (lit., "below heaven") and fire is within wood. Within people, there is the Buddha Nature. It is also called the Lamp of the Buddha Nature and the Mirror of Nirvāṇa. Therefore, the Great Mirror of Nirvāṇa is brighter than the sun and moon. Interior and exterior are perfect and pure, boundless and limitless.[119]

Ching-chüeh's reference to the mirror is particularly interesting because of the problem of the *Platform Sūtra* verses. The other reference to the metaphor of the sun and clouds in Ching-chüeh's work occurs along with an allusion to the mirror that is even more apropos:

> The Great Path (*ta-tao*, here probably equivalent to enlightenment) is fundamentally vast. Being perfect and pure it is fundamentally existent and is not attained through causes. It resembles the light of the sun, which is underlaid by clouds. When the clouds and mists disappear, the light of the sun appears of itself. What use is it to make any further study of discriminative knowledge, to range across the written and spoken words that only lead to the path of birth and death? He who transmits oral explanations of written texts as the Path is only seeking after personal fame and benefit, [thereby] harming self and others.
>
> It is also like the polishing of a brass mirror: when the dust is completely gone from the surface of the mirror, the mirror is naturally bright and pure. The *Sūtra on the Non-activity of All Dharmas* (*Chu-fa wu-hsing ching*) says: "the Buddha does not achieve Buddha-hood, nor does he save sentient beings. [It is only due to] the excessive discrimination of sentient beings that [he is said to] achieve Buddha-hood and save sentient beings." If you do not become enlightened to this mind, you will never be certain [of its existence and function]. If you are enlightened to it, then [you will perceive] its illumination. The great function of causal generation being perfectly inter-penetrating and without hindrance: this is called the Great Cultivation of the Path.[120]

At first glance, these references to the mirror seem to have exactly the same implication as that in the *Platform Sūtra* verse attributed to Shen-hsiu. Certainly, the basic construction of the metaphor is the same: the mirror represents the fundamental mind or Buddha

Nature, while the dust represents the human ignorance that obscures one's true mind. Although Ching-chüeh's explicit injunction is to recognize the mind that lies beneath the obscuring dusts of the illusions, it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that there is also an implied recommendation to work to rid oneself of illusion just as one would rub dust from the surface of a mirror.

It is important to note that, not only is no such recommendation made in the LCSTC, this is not the way that this metaphor is used in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and other East Mountain Teaching texts. True, the Hsiu-hsin yao lun does contain a reference to polishing a mirror clean of dust (see section L of the translation above), but this is not used as part of an exhortation for the student to strive for the vigorous removal of the "dust" of his own illusions. On the contrary, the implication is that the reflective or illuminative capacity of the mirror was a fundamental characteristic that was not really affected by the adventitious appearance of dust upon its surface.

Another East Mountain Teaching text, the Liao-hsing chü or Stanzas on the Comprehension of the Nature, puts it this way:

> Although the [Pure] Nature is without darkness, it is obstructed by the clouds of false thoughts. It is like dust that is on a bright mirror -- how can it possibly damage the [mirror's] essential brightness (ming-hsing, or "brightness nature")? Although it may be temporarily obstructed, rubbing will return the brightness. The brightness [of the mirror] is a fundamental brightness, not like something appended to it. The Dharma Nature is the same.[121]

In other words, the brightness of the mirror and the existence of dust upon its surface are of two fundamentally different levels of reality. The mirror is not really affected by the dust, which can be wiped off at any time. In the Hsiu-hsin yao lun the emphasis is placed squarely on the sun, which is the symbolic equivalent of the mirror, rather than on

the clouds or dusts of ignorance. The clouds that block our view of the sun do not destroy the sun; the winds that drive those clouds away do not thereby create the newly-apparent sun. As Ching-chüeh points out in the LCSTC, the Buddha actually neither becomes a Buddha nor saves other beings -- he only appears to do so to those who lack true understanding.

According to the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, the existence of the Buddha Nature or fundamental mind within all sentient beings is the single most important fact of our existence. True, that Buddha Nature may be rendered invisible or ineffective by ignorant views, dualistic conceptualization, and the karmic residue of past errors, etc., but the important fact is simply that it is there. What is the appropriate religious response to this situation? Would it be to strive diligently for the annihilation of those obstacles of dualistic ignorance in order to strip away the "clouds" obscuring one's pristine internal "sun"?

No, the appropriate response is to focus on the sun rather than one's illusions, to nurture the awareness of its existence in each and every moment, no matter what one's particular activity or situation might be. This is the meaning of the term shou-hsin, to "maintain [awareness of] the mind."

5. Shou-hsin and Meditation Practice in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun

Literally, shou-hsin means "to guard the mind." In a more liberal interpretation, it is "to maintain constant, undiscriminating awareness of the absolute mind or Buddha Nature within oneself." The word shou means "to protect, maintain, or uphold," and is used in other Buddhist terms in the sense of maintaining the precepts or moral purity in general. The term shou-hsin, in fact, is very similar to shou-i, "to

guard the will" or "to guard the consciousness," which is used in very early Chinese translations in the sense of "mindfulness," an important concept in Buddhist meditation theory.[122]

In the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*, *shou-hsin* does not mean to guard the mind against outside influences so much as to maintain it uppermost in one's thoughts, to refrain from ever forgetting about the cardinal importance of its existence, to make its presence the dominant standard by which one orders one's life. In the strictest sense, *shou-hsin* means to simply maintain continued possession of the absolute mind, but this possession is treated in epistemological terms: it is the awareness of the presence of that mind that is important. Eventually, one will experience the Buddha nature directly when one's illusions happen to disappear.

The metaphor of the sun and clouds and the use of the term *shou-hsin* combine to indicate a very gentle approach to spiritual practice: if one maintains awareness of the mind without having any false thoughts or illusions, then the "sun of *nirvāṇa*" will appear naturally. In other words, one's Buddha Nature will become manifested and one will be enlightened. The insistence on maintaining awareness of the mind rather than purposefully working for and achieving enlightenment amounts to an affirmation of the ultimate perfection of the human condition just as it is, without the necessity of any adjustment or alteration.

In spite of this gentle, all-affirming attitude, the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* is also very outspoken about the need for vigorous effort in meditation. Hung-jen is frequently made to exhort his students to make effort, and it is clear that enlightenment was something to be energetically sought for and achieved, if not in this lifetime, then in the

next. Within the context of this treatise it is impossible to completely resolve this apparent contradiction between the passive acceptance of the ultimate perfection of the present human condition and the purposive striving for enlightenment. It is quite possible that shou-hsin was intentionally designed so as to mitigate the general tendency of beginning students to grasp for an idealized and thus fundamentally misapprehended goal, i.e., the achievement of enlightenment.

Certainly, such considerations occur frequently in early Ch'an works. One important example occurs in the letters attached to the EJSHL and discussed in the previous Chapter, which emphasize that the spiritual goal is not a personal transformation per se but the realization that no such transformation is required. In addition, the tension between the ultimate perfection of human existence and the need to strive diligently for self-realization is common throughout the entire Ch'an tradition. Although the Hsiu-hsin yao lun does not explicitly address this creative tension, the meditation techniques it suggests are in themselves functional paradigms of the importance of the Buddha Nature and the essential emptiness of the discriminative mind. Hence, the very type of practical striving advocated here is in itself an affirmation of perfection in the undisciplined human state.[123]

The first meditation technique recommended in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun is obviously related to the metaphor discussed above: the visualization of the golden orb of the sun. (See section O.) This technique, which is loosely based on the Pure Land tradition's Sūtra of the Contemplation of Amitābha, is at once a simple concentration device for beginning students such as those common to all systems of Buddhist meditation and at the same time a translation of the abstract idea of

shou-hsin and the metaphor of the sun into practical terms. That is, visualizing an image of the sun is a practical enactment of the state of enlightenment, in which the Buddha Nature has become and shall remain constantly visible.

The second technique is simply to concentrate on the movement of one's own discriminative mind. (See section S.) In effect, this is to concentrate on the clouds or dusts of ignorance rather than the pure brilliance of the sun or mirror, but the overall impact is very much the same as in the former technique. Here, too, the instruction is not to wrest that ignorance from one's person, but merely to observe that ignorance until it ceases to function. In effect this is tantamount to concentrating on one's illusions until they dissolve into non-existence. At the point at which one's discriminative mind finally stops, one is said to have come into contact with the absolute mind.

The meditator is not supposed to alter his practice of shou-hsin after achieving this contact, but rather to maintain it permanently while responding perfectly to the outside world. The difference between this new state of being and the previous, unenlightened state necessarily involves being in direct, undistorted contact with the outside world with the undeluded, absolute mind. Although this absolute mind is said to discriminate sense data, it does so perfectly and without any false conceptualization.[124]

The functioning of the enlightened mind is not discussed at length in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, which describes itself as devoted solely to the benefit of self rather than others. This subject is actually the province of the Northern School per se, but we are left to wonder just how much of the later methodology designed to explicate this

issue was already in place by the time the Hsiu-hsin yao lun was written. As we shall see below, the JTAHY has more to say on this subject.

6. The Background of shou-i pu i or "Maintaining the One without Wavering"

The most interesting subject discussed in the JTAHY is that of shou-i pu i or "maintaining the one without wavering." Although the full four-character phrase is not found elsewhere, the term shou-i has a very long history in Chinese literature.[125] Yoshioka Yoshitoyo has analyzed the very rich background and significance of this term within the Chinese Taoist tradition, arguing that by the beginning of the fifth century the advocates of shou-i assumed the status of an independent faction and that by the beginning of the sixth century this faction had developed such that shou-i became accepted as the central element of Taoist meditation practice.[126]

The basis of the Taoist practice of shou-i is the emphasis on the "one" (i), which in the Tao-te ching is understood as the immediate derivative of the Tao itself and, in turn, the source of the myriad elements of phenomenal reality.[127] The term shou-i is used in both the Tao-te ching and the Chuang-tzu, but it is in Ko Hung's Pao-p'u tzu that it receives its most definitive early exposition. Here the "one" is regarded as the source of all things, including even the Tao itself, and the fundamental reason by which all things are as they are. He who knows the one knows all; he who is ignorant of the one knows nothing.

The one is the source of all good fortune, as well as personal longevity, so that the Taoist scriptures teach the practice of "maintaining the one" (shou-i). The one is regarded as existing within the

psychic centers of the body, i.e., the three Cinnabar Fields below the navel, below the heart, and behind the space between the eyes. If a practitioner could "maintain the one without tiring" (shou-i pu t'ai), the one would protect him from all danger.[128]

Although some of the phrases that occur in Taoist texts are very similar to the shou-i pu i of the JTAHY, the explanation of the Taoist practice of shou-i is couched in terms of the highly symbolic language of internal alchemy, which does not translate readily into a Buddhist context.[129] The following statement from a mid-fifth century Taoist text, however, is unmistakably relevant to the development of Chinese Buddhism:

> The śrāmaṇera students of the Hīnayāna sit quietly and count their breaths. Reaching ten, they begin again, doing this all year long without forgetting it for a moment...
>
> The Taoist priests (tao-shih), the students of the Mahāyāna, constantly think upon the image of the true god within the body, [including] its apparel and color. They lead it going and coming (tao-yin wang-lai), treating it as a divine ruler, without ceasing for a moment. Therefore, thoughts do not enter from outside, the Divine and True Being descends, and the mind is without [the confusion of] excess affairs. The Mahāyāna [way of] training is to accept the pneuma and maintain the one (shou-ch'i shou-i).[130]

It is amusing to observe this use of the Buddhist terms "Hīnayāna" and "Mahāyāna" by Taoists against Buddhism. For our purposes, the important implication is that the Ch'an School may have adopted use of the term shou-i because it represented an alternative to traditional Buddhist meditation technique that was somehow more compatible with the Chinese religious spirit. Indeed, the state in which "thoughts do not enter from the outside, the Divine and True Being descends, and the mind is without [the confusion of] excess affairs" could easily be transposed into a Buddhist idiom, with the Divine and True Being taken as an

anthropomorphized Buddha Nature.

This interpretation is rendered even more plausible by the fact that another Taoist text, thought by Yoshioka to have been written around the year 700, emphasizes the importance of shou-i in much the same way that the Hsiu-hsin yao lun does shou-hsin, describing it as the one precept in which all others are subsumed. Not only are the terms "gradual" and "sudden" (chien and tun) mentioned, but the text recommends that one apply the precepts in one's mind, "not activating any other thought" (pu ch'i t'a nien).[131] "Non-activation" (pu-ch'i) was an important Northern Ch'an term at the same point in Chinese religious history.

At the very least, the use of the terms shou-i and shou-i pu i within the early Ch'an School represents the borrowing or imitation of attractive Taoist terminology. Beyond this, it is also possible that shou-i was adopted because of its specific meaning within the Taoist tradition. That is, shou-i represented the quintessential element of Taoist meditation practice, a general technique that was applicable in all situations and far superior to the myriad other techniques of more specific use and elaborate description. The precipitation of shou-i out of the mass of Taoist spiritual technology thus resembles the quest within Buddhism for the single most important and immediately relevant religious technique, a quest that was an important factor in the development of both Ch'an meditation and the Pure Land practice of the "mindfulness of the Buddha" (nien-fo).

It is also possible that the Taoist practice of shou-i represented a sort of generalized mindfulness on one's internal harmony that appealed to the followers of early Ch'an. Thus the Buddhists overlooked

the symbology of Cinnabar Fields and internal spirits and focussed on the state achieved during the correct practice of shou-i, in which thoughts did not intrude on the harmonized mind. Unfortunately, although this interpretation seems reasonable, there is no specific evidence that indicates the degree to which the Buddhists were aware of and indebted to the previous accomplishments of their Taoist counterparts.

7. The Meaning of "Maintaining the One Without Wavering" in the JTAHY

The JTAHY claims that in the practice of shou-i pu i "the trainee is able to clearly see the Buddha Nature and quickly enter the gateway of meditation."[132] The text describes this practice as follows:

A. First, taking the body as the fundamental [focus of one's attention], one should cultivate a detailed contemplation of the body. Also, the body is the amalgam of the Four Elements (i.e., earth, water, fire, and wind) and the Five Skandhas (form, feelings, perceptions, impulses, and consciousness). It is ultimately impermanent and will never achieve autonomy (tzu-tsai). Although it has not yet been destroyed, it is ultimately non-substantial. The Vimalakīrti Sūtra says: "The body is like a floating cloud -- in an instant it disappears."[133]

Further, one should constantly contemplate one's own body to be non-substantial and pure[134] like a shadow, which can be seen but not grasped. Wisdom is generated from within the shadow. Being ultimately without location [of its own, wisdom] is unmoving and yet responds to things, inexhaustible in its transformations. It generates the six senses out of non-substantiality. The six senses are also non-substantial and serene, so one should realize that their six respective realms of sense perception are [illusory, like] dreams or phantasmagoria.

When the eye sees something, there is no "thing" within the eye. When a mirror reflects a face it may be perfectly distinct, but this is an image (lit., a "shadow of the form") manifested in space, and there is not any "thing" within the mirror. You should understand that a person's face does not enter into the mirror, nor does the mirror enter into the person's face.[135] One should understand by this detailed consideration that mirror and face fundamentally do not exit or enter or go or come. This is the meaning of "Tathāgata" (ju-lai, "Thus-come One").

According to this analysis, within the eye and within the mirror there is a fundamental and constant [state] of non-substantiality and serenity. The illumination of the mirror and the illumination (i.e., perception) of the eye are identical. Therefore, [the eye] has been used as a comparison. The meaning of the nose, tongue, and other senses is the same. Know that the eye is fundamentally non-substantial and that all visible form must be understood to be "other-form" (t'a-se).[136] When the ear hears a sound, understand this to be "other-sound." When the nose smells a fragrance, understand this to be "other-fragrance." When the tongue distinguishes a taste, understand this to be "other-taste." When the mind apprehends a dharma, understand this to be an "other-dharma." When the body experiences a feeling, understand this to be an "other-feeling"...

B. To "maintain the one without wavering" is to concentrate on viewing a single thing with this eye of non-substantial purity, to be intent on this constantly and motionlessly, without interruption, day and night. When the mind tries to run away, bring it back quickly. Just as a line is tied to the foot of a bird to retrieve it if it tries to fly, you should view (k'an) [that thing] all day long, without cease. The mind will then become completely settled...

When studying archery, one first shoots at a large target, then a medium-sized one, then a small one then the bull's-eye, then a single hair, then one-hundredth of a hair. Then one shoots each arrow into the haft of the previous one, [each arrow] supported, haft by haft, without any of them falling. This is a metaphor for spiritual training, in which one fixes the mind [on a single object] thought after thought. Continuing this in successive moments of thought without any temporary [diversion], one's Correct Mindfulness is uninterrupted. One is correctly mindful of the immediate present...[137]

Furthermore, if the mind activates (ch'i) its cognitive [functions] (chüeh) in connection with some sense-realm separate from itself, then contemplate the locus of that activation as ultimately non-activating (pu-ch'i). When the mind is conditionally generated, it does not come from [anywhere within] the ten directions, nor does it go anywhere. When you can constantly contemplate [your own] ratiocination, discrimination, false consciousness, perceptions, random thoughts,[138] and confused [states of] mind as non-activated, then [your meditation] has attained gross stability. If you can stabilize the mind and be without further conditional mentation,[139] you will be accordingly serene and concentrated and will also be able accordingly to put an end to [your present] afflictions and cease the production of new ones. This is called emancipation.

If you can view the mind's most subtle afflictions, agonized confusions, and dark introspections, and can temporarily let go of them and gently stabilize [your mind] in a suitable fashion, your mind will naturally attain peace and purity (?).[140]

Only, you must be valiant, as if you were saving your head from burning. You must not be lax! Make effort! Make effort!

C. When you are beginning to practice seated meditation and viewing the mind, you should sit alone in a single place.[141] First, sit upright in correct posture, loosen your robe and your belt,[142] and relax your body by massaging yourself seven or eight times. Force all the air out of your abdomen, so as to become like peace itself, simple and calm. By regulating the body and mind one can pacify the mind (hsin-shen).[143] Therefore, being completely effaced in profound obscurity, one's breathing becomes tranquil and the mind gradually regulated.[144] One's spirit (shen-tao) becomes clear and keen, one's mind (hsin-ti) bright and pure. Observing distinctly, both interior and exterior are non-substantial and pure,[145] so that the Mind Nature is quiescent. When it is quiescent, the mind of the sage will be manifest.

Although formless in Nature, the virtuous fidelity [of the mind of the sage] is always present. The [functioning of the] abstruse numen cannot be exhausted and always maintains its brilliance: this is called the Buddha Nature.[146] He who sees this Buddha Nature transcends birth and death forever and is referred to as a person who has escaped the world. Therefore, the Vimalakīrti Sūtra says: "With a sudden expansiveness one retrieves the fundamental mind."[147] How true these words!

In contrast to the relatively straightforward manner in which different topics are introduced and discussed in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, the JTAHY is repetitive and occasionally confusing. It is much more willing than the other text to string together scriptural quotations (these have been largely excised from the passage introduced above), to make sophisticated allusions to the classics of Chinese secular and Buddhist literature, and even to state apparently self-contradictory positions. Finally, where the Hsiu-hsin yao lun is devoted almost entirely to static images — the existence of the Buddha Nature, maintainence of the mind, etc. -- the JTAHY mixes both the static and dynamic. In particular, it exhibits a greater interest in the on-going functioning of the enlightened mind, rather than the mere fact of its immanence within us all.

Simply put, in the JTAHY "maintaining the one without wavering"

refers to the practice of meditation on the non-substantiality of one's body and the entirety of one's sensory apparatus and experience. The explanation of this practice has two different components: a definition of the non-substantiality of body and mind and the instruction to use that fundamentally non-substantial mind to contemplate a selected object of meditation.

Later on in the LCSTC, the parent-text in which the JTAHY is found, the practitioner is advised to "sit upright in correct position on a flat [place with an unobstructed view], relax the body and mind, and distantly view the character 'one' (i, essentially a straight horizontal line) at the very edge of space."[148] This may be understood as the same kind of symbolic visualization as that recommended in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, that is, the visualization of the sun. In this case, the symbolic interpretation would be that the practitioner is identifying himself with the unity of all things. Other passages in the text, however, imply that the "one" of "maintaining the one" is equivalent to non-substantiality and should not be grasped at too insistently.[149]

At any rate, the practical explanation of "maintaining the one without wavering" is that one is simply to contemplate every aspect of one's mental and physical existence, focussing on each individual component with unswerving attention until one realizes its essential emptiness or non-substantiality. The interesting aspect of this regimen is, paradoxically, its apparent conventionality. Although further examination will reveal significant differences between this and traditional Buddhist meditation practice, the description given so far would apply equally well to the most basic of Mahāyāna techniques: the insight-oriented contemplation of the non-substantiality of the body.

Although this type of contemplation is the common property of virtually all schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism, its presentation here is different from that in more traditional texts in at least two ways. The first difference is that here there is no statement of any preparatory requirements. There are no moral prerequisites and no preliminary exercises. Instead, one moves directly into the practice of contemplation per se. The second difference is that the technique of "maintaining the one without wavering" is in itself completely without steps or gradations. One concentrates, understands, and is enlightened, all in one undifferentiated practice.

These differences may appear to be of little consequence to modern readers, whose cultures generally emphasize instant gratification and success, but it is important to remember that the traditional practice of Buddhist meditation involved a highly articulated system of moral prerequisites and contemplative techniques. Hence these two differences represent fundamental distinctions from the traditional practice of Chinese Buddhist meditation.

The _JTAHY_ thus contains the first explicit statement of the sudden and direct approach that was to become the hallmark of Ch'an religious practice.[150] Nevertheless, the following passage indicates that the attitude of this text toward meditation was complex:

> Do not [practice] mindfulness of the Buddha, do not grasp the mind, do not view the mind, do not measure the mind, do not meditate, do not contemplate, and do not disrupt [the mind]. Just let it flow. Do not make it go and do not make it stay. Alone in a pure and ultimate location (i.e., the absolute), the mind will be naturally bright and pure.
>
> Or, you can view it clearly, and the mind will attain brightness and purity. The mind will be like a bright mirror. You can [do this for] a year, and the mind will be even more bright and pure. Or, you can do this for three or five years, and the mind will be even more bright and pure.[151]

Obviously, the JTAHY makes allowance for both the sudden apperception of the Buddha Nature and gradual improvement in the brightness and purity of the concentrated mind. As Tanaka Ryōshō has shown, the JTAHY actually allows for a number of alternative situations: One may achieve "bright purity" of mind either with or without undertaking the extended practice of "viewing the mind." One may also achieve enlightenment solely through one's own efforts, or conversely, with the aid of instruction from a teacher.[152]

The point of these alternatives is that a true teacher must be able to understand which students are best suited for which approach and to teach them differently on the basis of that understanding. Differences of ability had long been recognized within Chinese Buddhism; P'u-chi is known to have said that enlightenment could occur either right away or only after several years of practice.[153] The orientation of the JTAHY to the teachers of meditation rather than to the students themselves is an interesting highlight on the increasing maturity of the Ch'an tradition.

8. The Metaphor of the Mirror

In the Hsiu-hsin yao lun the practice of meditation necessarily involves one or both of two goals: (1) intimate contact or unification with the Buddha Nature and (2) realization of the ultimate non-existence or lack of efficacy of the illusions. The text's emphasis on maintaininga constant focus on the fundamentally pure mind is an expression of the first of these two goals, while the practice of watching the discriminating mind until it naturally comes to a stop may be correlated with the second.

The description of shou-i pu i in the JTAHY cannot be completely

explained on the basis of the dualistic paradigm of the sun and clouds or Buddha Nature and illusions. Here the primary emphasis is on the on-going functioning of the enlightened mind. The text mentions the inexhaustible transformation undertaken by wisdom in response to things, the non-substantiality of the senses and sensory phenomena, and the ultimate serenity of the apparent activity of perception. It also discusses the "activation" and "non-activation" (*ch'i* and *pu-ch'i*) of the mind's cognitive functions.[154]

In the *JTAHY*, therefore, there can be only one comprehensive goal, one that would be the consummation of both the static realm of the perception of the Buddha Nature and the dynamic realm of the perfection of on-going perceptual processes. The most apt paradigm for such an achievement is the metaphor of the perfectly reflecting mirror.

The metaphor of the mirror is mentioned prominently in the passages discussed above, but its most explicit statement within early Ch'an literature actually occurs even earlier in the *JTAHY*:

> Truly, the *Tathāgata*'s body of the *Dharma* Nature is pure, perfect, and complete. All forms (*hsiang-lei*) are manifested within it, even though that body of the *Dharma* Nature is without any mental activity. It is like a crystal mirror suspended in an elevated building: all the various objects are manifested within it, but the mirror is without any mind that can manifest them.[155]

This is the basis for the *JTAHY*'s statement that the illumination of the mirror and the illumination of the eye are identical.[156] The sun and, of course, the mind itself could also be made members to this equation. In other words, this text does not aim simply at the recognition of the primacy of the immanence of the Buddha Nature, but at the activation of that Buddha Nature; not merely at the transformation of the Buddha Nature into the governing principle of one's existence, but the transformation of one's own being into an unqualified expression of that

Buddha Nature.

9. The Use of the Mirror in Early Ch'an Texts

References to the mirror occur very frequently in early Ch'an texts. Some of these references, such as that in the Platform Sūtra anecdote introduced at the beginning of this paper (if, that is, we accept the traditional interpretation for the time being), use the mirror in a fashion analogous to the metaphor of the sun and clouds discussed in conjunction with the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. According to this usage, the "bright mirror" is equated with the constantly shining sun, while the dust that occurs on the mirror's surface, obscuring its reflective capacity, corresponds to the "clouds and mists of the eight directions" that block the light of the sun. In other instances, however, references to the mirror or the images which appear on its surface are based on a more active image of the mirror's functioning. In these instances, the question of dust simply does not arise.

The mirror referred to in most Ch'an texts is an idealized version of the round metal mirrors so common in exhibitions of Chinese art (where emphasis is placed on the beautifully ornamented reverse sides rather than the reflective surface). The difference between the real artifacts and the idealized prototype is indicated in the passage translated just above, which mentions a "crystal mirror suspended in an elevated building." In other words, this mirror is made out of a special substance that lacked the metallic distortion of most ancient Chinese mirrors.

Even more important than its perfectly reflective substance, however, is the fact that this mirror is mounted in a very special location where all phenomenal reality is somehow reflected on its sur-

face. The purpose of this idealized conception of the mirror should be immediately obvious: to make the mirror a fitting match for the mind of the Buddha, whom the Chinese regarded as omniscient.

For reasons that I do not completely understand, most of the references in early Ch'an texts to the metaphor of the mirror are rather brief. Considered individually, these references are sometimes so fragmentary as to be almost incomprehensible. Taken together, they describe a logical or metaphorical construct that is very well-integrated and comprehensible. The different aspects of this extended metaphor may be explained as follows:

> The mirror functions constantly and with inherent perfection. It reflects any object that is place before it, doing so immediately and without any distortion or fatigue. The mirror reflects images, but it does not become attached to them -- when the object is no longer present, the image disappears. The images are essentially unreal, being neither part of the object nor part of the mirror. Most important, they neither interfere with each other nor exert any influence on the mirror.

In the background of this understanding of the mirror is, of course, the Yogācāra doctrine of the "great perfect mirror wisdom" (ta yüan-ching chih, corresponding to the Sanskrit ādarśa-jñāna). One of the four wisdoms possessed by enlightened beings and representing the transformation of what in unenlightened persons is the "storehouse consciousness" (ālaya-vijñāna), the "great perfect mirror wisdom" and the other three wisdoms are not unknown in Northern School literature. Nevertheless, most references to the mirror in the literature of this School are more generalized than this technical usage, referring to any perceptive function or the sage's mind in general rather than to the enlightened equivalent of one of the eight vijñānas of Yogācāra philosophy.

It should be apparent that the mirror as defined above is an apt metaphor for the mind of the sage, which is constantly functioning on

behalf of sentient beings but at the same time essentially inactive. In addition, the images that appear on the surface of the mirror are used to describe the illusoriness of phenomenal reality and the mutual non-interference or non-hindrance of its individual elements. One text describes the mirror and its images in a parallel fashion by saying that "the bright mirror never thinks 'I can manifest images,' while the images never say 'I am generated from the mirror.'"[157]

10. The Sun, the Mirror, and Bodhidharma's Treatise

These, then, are the two most important metaphors of early Ch'an: the sun and clouds and the mirror and its images. They are only rarely explained or stated completely. Instead, the tendency is for texts to mention only one aspect of either in any given context, this being especially true in the case of the latter metaphor. It seems best to approach these metaphors, not as rigid devices of unchanging implication, but as conceptual matrices that provide a logical framework for the expression of several different viewpoints. Reference may be made to the irreality of the images on the mirror, for example, without any explicit mention of the mirror itself. In such fragmentary citations it is important to remember the full ramifications of the mirror as a conceptual model: the gradualistic interpretation of the *Platform Sūtra* verses should not be applied indiscriminately.

It is significant that these two conceptual matrixes of early Ch'an doctrine may be correlated so easily with the Two Entrances of Bodhidharma's *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun*. The parallel between the Entrance of Principle and the metaphor of the sun and clouds is obvious and needs no discussion. Although the meditation practices of Bodhidharma and his

immediate associates cannot be ascertained with any precision, the techniques outlined in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun constitute a very simple yet sophisticated response to the religious dilemma implied by the paradigm of the immanent Buddha Nature and adventitious obfuscation by the illusions.

The comparison between the Entrance of Practice and the metaphor of the mirror is not nearly so obvious, but both are directed toward the active expression of one's enlightenment in the context of the actitivities of daily life. The highest sense of the Entrance of Practice, the reader will recall, was the ability to undertake all activities in accordance with the dictates of the principle of śūnyatā. One was to practice the Perfection of Charity, for example, without allowing any conceptualized admission of the existence of recipient, donor, and gift. This is congruent with the mirror's ability to reflect images without becoming attached to them or affected by them.

I believe that it is possible to associate the metaphor of the sun and clouds with the simpler doctrines of the East Mountain Teaching and that of the mirror with the more complex formulations of the Northern School. This distinction is, however, a didactic conceit of only general validity. As we have seen with the JTAHY, the ideas that underly both of these metaphors can occur in one and the same text. It is probably the case that the simpler East Mountain Teaching antedated the Northern School ideas, but the dynamics of philosophical evolution are no longer apparent. Nevertheless, since there are only one or two explicit instances of later doctrinal elaboration on Bodhidharma's Two Entrances,[158] it is very interesting to note that his treatise contains a primitive expression of the two most important logical constructs of

early eighth century Ch'an doctrine.

CHAPTER III

SHEN-HSIU AND THE RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY OF THE NORTHERN SCHOOL

1. Introductory Remarks

There are three works that must be studied closely in this Chapter because of their relationship to Shen-hsiu and the development of Northern School religious thought. The first of these is the *Kuan-hsin lun* or *Treatise on the Contemplation of the Mind*. This text was once thought to have been written by Bodhidharma, to whom it is attributed in some manuscripts. Its authorship by Shen-hsiu has been established beyond question by evidence from a contemporary T'ang manual.[159]

The *Kuan-hsin lun* is generally thought to have been compiled during Shen-hsiu's period of residence at Yü-ch'üan ssu, i.e., during the last quarter of the seventh century, if only because Chih-i once lived at the same monastery and wrote a treatise by the same name. Although this argument is by no means definitive — there is no overt similarity between the two treatises — the style and content of Shen-hsiu's text suggests that it is earlier than the two other works to be studied here. That is, it includes both a foundation of East Mountain Teaching ideas and a rough intimation of the more complex religious ideal of the Northern School.

Because of the prolixity of the *Kuan-hsin lun*, I will limit myself to the quotation of relevant passages in the analysis below. The

second text to be discussed here, however, can only be appreciated on the basis of a close reading of its entire contents. This is the _Yüan-ming lun_ or _Treatise on Perfect Illumination_. This title was probably not the original one, which must have been something like _Yüan-chiao fang-pien yao-chüeh lun_, or _Treatise on the Oral Determination of the Expedient Means of the Perfect Teaching_.[160]

The _Yüan-ming lun_ is attributed in one Tun-huang manuscript to Aśvaghoṣa, the well-known author of the _Buddhacarita_, an early biography of the Buddha and, supposedly, the _Awakening of Faith_. This attribution is obviously spurious, and I will argue in the analysis below that the _Yüan-ming lun_ is probably taken from a lecture or lectures by Shen-hsiu, perhaps given to introduce a written treatise or commentary. The resulting transcription does not appear to have undergone much, if any, editing for presentation in written form. Not only does it contain the repetitions, inconsistencies, and obscure pronouncements typical of oral presentations, but the original Tun-huang manuscripts suffer from numerous lacunae. In spite of these problems, this text is important as the most comprehensive statement of the teachings of the Northern School.

The third text to be included in this discussion is the _Wu fang-pien_ or _Five Expedient Means_. This simplified title is used to refer to a handful of Tun-huang manuscripts that contain similar material but different titles: _Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men_ (_The Expedient Means of [Attaining] Birthlessness in the Mahāyāna_) or _Ta-sheng wu fang-pien — pei-tsung_ (_The Five Expedient Means of the Mahāyāna — Northern School_). In the original the last two characters of the latter title are slightly smaller in size than the preceding five, implying that they were added as a footnote to the original title for ease of

identification. Other manuscripts bear different, less relevant titles. There are major differences in the content of the various manuscripts.[161]

The English version presented here is a composite text that includes as much material as possible from each of the five subjects without reproducing too much meaningless or repetitive detail. This composite is thus potentially misleading, in that it (1) does not include all the available material, (2) organizes what material is included in a more coherent fashion than that of any single manuscript, and (3) ignores the possibility of any significant textual development within the entire group of manuscripts. These potential objections have been overlooked due to the limitations of space, out of consideration for the reader's convenience, and because of the lack of any generally accepted set of criteria for establishing the relative age of the various manuscripts.[162]

2. The Treatise on Perfect Illumination (Yüan-ming lun)

Chapter One: Elucidation of the Causes and Results of Mind and Form

Chapter Two: The Expedient Means of the Essential Teaching

Chapter Three: Elucidation of the Causes and Results of Cultivating the Path[163]

Chapter Four: Explanation of the Reverse and Direct Contemplations of the Three Vehicles

Chapter Five: Distinguishing the Conditions of Heresy and Generating the Fundamental[164]

Chapter Six: Explanation of the Causes and Results, the Correct and the False, and [the Remainder of the] Five Teachings of Entering the Path[165]

Chapter Seven: The Manifestations[166] of One's Own Mind

Chapter Eight: Distinguishing False Thoughts[167]

Chapter Nine: Elucidation of the Essence of Sound

Chapter One: Elucidation of the Causes and Results of Mind and Form

A) "When first entering the Path,[168] one must understand[169] mind and form. Mind and form each have two types: The first is the mind [and form] of generation and extinction (i.e., impermanence; sheng-mieh hsin).....[170] false thoughts. Prior to this (?), the non-eradication of conditional mentation (yüan-lü)[171] is called 'false [thoughts'].... is called True.

"You do not approve of this doctrine?[172]..... is called 'generation and extinction.' If you perceive that the True Mind (chen-hsin) is originally without false thoughts, then you have attained the True Nature. You must constantly (?) be enlightened to [the fact that the mind of generation and extinction] is the mind of conditional transformations (yüan-ch'üan hsin) and that the mind is actually motionless. By accomplishing this understanding, one realizes (ming) that, whether walking, standing still, sitting, or lying down, one is constantly in..... This is called 'emancipation of the mind' (hsin chieh-t'o).[173]

B) "'Form' means the body. From whence are the characteristics[174] of the body generated?..... First, they are generated from the beginningless influences (chün-hsi, or vāsanā) of false thoughts. Second, [they are generated] from the present causes and conditions of sensory reality (hsiang-wei, lit., "smells and

tastes"). [As to] generation from the influences, those influences are the cause and the body is the result. The influences (?) are the [cause of] the characteristic (?) of form..... If the influences were without characteristics, then the body would not be the characteristic of form. Why? If the cause were without characteristics, the result would likewise (?) [be without characteristics].....

C) "You do not approve of this doctrine? It is said [by some people] that the body is generated of its own Self nature. If it arose[175] through the influences of causes and conditions, then one would know it to be [non-substantial. If the cause] were non-substantial, then the result would also be non-substantial. Although the inference of its existence (?) is dependent on sensory reality ("smells and tastes," as above), there would not [really] be any body. Why is this? Form derives its sentience (ming) from sensory reality..... food and [drink].

"Also, food does not [in itself constitute] form. Just as a person's food and drink are transformed into impurities (i.e., bodily wastes) and do not become form, the least bit of sensory reality..... The sensory reality of causes and conditions become the sensory reality of physical form. If 'being' (yu) materializes[176] form, then the body is 'being.' Sensory reality is fundamentally non-substantial, [however, so] the body is also non-substantial. If 'being' creates form, form is thus 'being.' If 'non-being' (wu) creates form, then you should clearly understand that form is non-substantial.

"If one contemplates (?) mind and form as non-dual, their Fundamental Natures universally 'same' (p'ing-teng), this is called Suchness (chen-ju). When you attain this teaching of non-dual universal 'sameness,' you have comprehended mind and form."

Chapter Two: The Expedient Means of the Essential Teaching

A) "There are many approaches to cultivation of the Path, which lead one differently to enlightenment.....[To put it most succinctly,] there are three types of teaching: First, the Gradual Teaching; second, the Sudden Teaching; and third, the Perfect Teaching.

"You do not approve of this doctrine? Each [person] falsely grasps[177] his own place, his disposition not matching the enlightenment of others (?). Each [person thus creates] errors and mistakes (?). If it matched their dispositions,[178] the purport..... teachings, one can distinguish the Gradual, Sudden, and Perfect, making them separate. If one does not understand, one says they are identical. I (yü) now [say] that they are not identical. One must verify this by asking: The enlightened are as numerous as grains of sand,[179] so how could [their experiences] be identical?

B) "I will now briefly enumerate the teachings for you, so that you will understand them to be separate. What is the Gradual Teaching? The understanding of ignorant people is completely dependent on the scriptures. Although the scriptures are without error, they must be understood according to one's disposition, which does not [necessarily] match the enlightenment of other people.

"There are three types of dispositions:..... spiritual compatriot. According to this understanding, those who contemplate the body and mind as neither internal nor external and who achieve [understanding of the doctrine of] anātman (?)[180] are Hīnayānists. Realizing that dispositions are either Mahāyānist or Hīnayānist, [such people] claim that their understanding represents a Mahāyāna contemplation.

"There are also those..... who understand that the realms [of sensory reality] (ching-chieh) are all the product of one's own mind of false thoughts. If one is without false thoughts, [they feel,] then ultimately [there are no (?)] realms. When performing this contemplation, there are no limits of before and after. [Although] they do not reside in nirvāṇa, [such people] become attached to this understanding and claim that this is an understanding (?) of the Sudden Teaching. This is [actually] the Gradual Teaching, not the Sudden.

C) "What is the Sudden Teaching? The Sudden Teaching is to realize the locus [of origin (?)] of physical characteristics and the essence of the mind (shen-hsiang hsin-t'i). Physical characteristics are originally generated from the mind of false thoughts. Those false thoughts are originally without [essence]."

[Question: "If the mind is] said to be without essence, how can it be the fundamental source (pen) of the body?"

Answer: "The mind is without essence. It is also not the fundamental source of the body. Why is this? The mind does not know its own location,[181] nor does it know the generation of the body. If the mind knew its own location, then it would be able to generate itself(?) from physical characteristics.[182] Since the mind does not know its own location and does not know the locations of its going and coming, neither does it know from what location it accepts (shou) the body's.... is generated from what location.

"If the body and mind knew each other, it could be said that the body is generated from the mind. The mind could also say that it generates the body. Since the body and mind do not know each other and do not know the locations of their coming and going, then how could they generate each other? According to this understanding, whose body is the body? Whose mind is the mind? Also, if the mind does not know its own location, how can it be the fundamental source of the body?

"[If] body and mind do not know each other, then they are fundamentally unable to generate each other. Why is this? The 'maddening' of the eye by [hallucinations of] flowers in mid-air..... the body is not the body. Understand that the eye is non-substantial. Because it makes 'being' out of non-substantiality, 'being' is also non-substantial. Therefore, to say that the eye..... makes the mind [out of] non-substantiality, the mind is also non-substantial.

"It is like making a vessel out of clay. The vessel is also [clay]..... If the vessel were not clay, the body and mind would be 'being.'[183] If you now realize that there really are no three periods of time, then afterwards this.... The so-called wise men and sages and [Bodhisattvas of the Ten] Stages are all said [by me] to have been created out of non-substantiality. Within non-substantiality there is no arising and extinction [of things] (ch'i-mieh). Therefore, it is said [to be non-substantial (?)]. To achieve this understanding is called enlightenment. The mountains, forests, earth, sun, moon, stars, planets, and sentient beings..... emptiness, waves [upon the (?)] Dharma Nature. Therefore, this is called Sudden. The contemplation of anātman is therefore different.

D) "I have now explained the Gradual [and Sudden types of] enlightenment. What about the Perfect? The principle of the Perfect Teaching cannot be understood by foolish, ordinary people. There are ten meanings to the [Perfect Teaching]. What are these ten?

"First, one must understand the realms of sentient beings (chung-sheng chieh).

"Second, one must understand the worlds (shih-chieh).

["Third,] one must understand the meaning of the dharmadhātu (fa-chieh i).

"Fourth, one must understand the Nature of the dharmadhātu (fa-chieh hsing).

"Fifth, one must [understand] the Five Oceans (wu hai).[184]

"Sixth, one must understand the meaning of.....

"Seventh, one must understand the essence of the realms of sentient beings (chung-sheng chieh t'i).

"Eighth, one must understand the essence of the worlds (shih-chieh t'i).

"Ninth, one must understand the essence (?) of the dharmadhātu (fa-chieh t'i [?]).[185]

["Tenth, one must understand[186]] the essence of the expedient means of the Buddhas (chu-fo fang-pien t'i).

E) "These ten teachings are not identical. He who distinctly comprehends [each one of] them understands the Perfect Teaching..... In the Sudden Teaching, the power of meditation (ting-li) is great, but the function of samādhi (san-mei yung) is slight. In the Perfect [Teaching], the function of samādhi is great. Probably, those who do not [understand the Perfect Teaching (?)] cannot be said to have 'comprehended the meaning' (liao-i), even though they possess the two teachings of meditation and practice (ting-hsing erh men). Such people are fools and cannot ..... truly enlighten themselves and later enlighten others.

"This doctrine is from the Lotus Sūtra, [in which] the Buddha reprimanded students of the Path for [failing to] discern the meaning of the Perfect Teaching.[187] I (yü) will now explain the terms of it for you in minute detail. I will also impart its essence and cause your practices [to have] a basis (?).[188]

F) "What are the realms of sentient beings? There are three types of realms of sentient beings. What are these three? [The first is] the characteristic of sentient beings.... The second is that transmigration through the three periods of time is also the characteristic of sentient beings. The third is that the sensory realms (ching) are also the characteristic of sentient beings. These characteristics take the Dharma Nature as their essence.

"The Mind Nature of sentient beings originally has (?) the characteristics of the five skandhas. It arises originally from causes and conditions. When an individual sense impression (ch'en [?]) is conjoined [with sense organ and consciousness (?)] it has no Self Nature. When conditions have not yet conjoined [as above], fundamentally..... These causes and conditions originally take the Dharma Nature as their essence. Therefore, the realms of sentient beings all arise on the basis of the Dharma, all on the basis..... 'being.' The realms of sentient beings are originally the pneuma of nirvāṇa (nieh-p'an chih ch'i)."

G) [Question]: "If they arise on the basis of nirvāṇa, then are..... essence?"

Answer: "If they are the pneuma of nirvāṇa, how can one continue to say sentient.....[189] when together, this is also neither the realm of sentient beings, nor not the realm of sentient beings; neither the realm of nirvāṇa, nor not the realm of nirvāṇa. Therefore, it is said that there is no distinction between them. Therefore, which is the [realm of] sentient beings, and which is the [realm of] nirvāṇa? Therefore, I say it is neither Sudden nor Gradual and call it the Perfectly [Accomplished].

"In the Teaching of the Perfectly Accomplished (yüan-

ch'eng chih fa) there ultimately is no sentient being who eradicates his afflictions (fan-nao, or kleśa). If one is deluded as to nirvāṇa, one appears as a sentient beings and possesses afflictions. If there are afflictions, then there is consciousness and the [distinction of] interior and exterior. If there are interior and exterior,[190] then there is disputation.

H) "To say that the mind is within [the body] is the teaching of a fool. If it were within it would be impermanent and equivalent to the afflictions and birth-and-death. It would also be [like a] monkey.[191] It would also be the laxity of men and gods, as well as fear. There being a past, there would be a future, there would be a present, there would be saṁsāra.

"If there were saṁsāra, this would not be the Buddha Nature. The essence of the Buddha Nature is without generation and without extinction, neither transitory nor permanent, not going and not coming. [Within the Buddha Nature] there are no three periods of time, not past, not future, [not present]. Only True Suchness (ju-ju shih-chi) can be called the Buddha Nature — how could generation and extinction be the [Buddha] Nature?

I) "I (yü) have achieved this understanding on the basis of the sūtras and meditation (ching-wen chi ch'an-kuan): to be equivalent to space, which permeates the dharmadhātu, is the True Nature (chen-shih hsing). [To say] that the mind is exterior [to the body] is an elementary teaching (ch'u-chiao). It is called exterior because of enlightenment to the mind of the dharmadhātu.[192] If it is equivalent to space, then it fills up the interior of one's [physical] form, so how could form and mind obstruct [each other]? Mind and form are non-obstructing, so how could they not penetrate space? They are the function of the dharmadhātu.

J) "[Let me give the] interpretation of the 'worlds of sentient beings' within the Perfect Teaching (yüan-tsung). The Perfect Teaching is based on the explanation (fan)[193] of the 'realms of sentient beings.' According to this understanding [of Buddhism]... realms of sentient beings...[194] Each sentient being is a single world. A great sentient being is a great world, and a small sentient being is a [small world. These worlds] are each different according to the alloted energies [of individual sentient beings].

"It is like the [domain of a] king, the boundaries of which may be more than ten thousand li on all four sides. The boundaries of the provinces are within the boundaries of the king's [domain]. The boundaries of the counties are within the boundaries of the provinces. The boundaries of the towns are within the boundaries of the counties. The boundaries of the villages are within the boundaries of the towns. The boundaries of the houses are within the boundaries of the villages. The boundaries of the rooms are within the boundaries of the houses.

"According to this contemplation (kuan, i.e., this analysis), from the [domain of the] king [on down] they are each contained within each other, each attaining the function of a [separate] world. On the basis of this understanding, [the realms of] men and gods and all sentient beings are variously dependent on each other, each attaining [a state of existence] according to one's natural allotment and without mutual interference."

K) Question: "What is the essence of these worlds, which are in the same locations, such that they do not obstruct each other?"

Answer: "The essence of the Great World is originally Vairocana Buddha (Lü-she-na fo), the ingenious expedient means of the Bodhisattvas, the strength of their vows of Great Compassion, and samādhi [itself]. Samādhi takes space as its essence. Because space is without obstruction, it can generate the Wisdom of Unobstructed Dharmadhātus. Because the Wisdom of the Dharmadhātus is unobstructed, it can generate the Wisdom of Un-[obstructed] Samādhi. Because Samādhi is unobstructed, it can generate Vairocana Buddha, whose unobstructed and limitless body is offered to all sentient beings as the basis of their existence, so that their worlds are fundamentally unobstructed. Therefore, [it is said that the worlds] are unobstructed.

"The human body is also a domain on which sentient beings rely. Why? Because within each human [body] there are eighty thousand worms, and within each of these are various small worms. Each depending on the other to form its own world, each [of these worms] may be said to be a world. According to this understanding, all these are worlds — where else could the worlds of sentient beings occur?

L) "All this is ultimately non-substantial: there are no sentient beings. If one searches for the essence [of the entire system] in one's contemplation, it is all originally the 'water of the Dharma' (fa-shui). The separations of the flow of this water form the [various] worlds, the worlds all being the 'water of the Dharma.' According to this understanding, they are neither the worlds of sentient being, nor not the worlds of sentient beings. They are not worlds and not not worlds. When one achieves this contemplation, one is said to have penetrated the 'meaning of the worlds.'"

Chapter Three: Elucidation of the Causes and Results of Cultivating [the Path]

A) "Those who cultivate[195] the Path must understand its causes and results. If they do not understand these, they will fall into heretical views like a big, stupid fish.[196] Therefore, one must clearly understand the causes and results [of the Path]."

A critic said: "The portion above of this Treatise on the Oral Determination of the Essential [Teaching] (Yao-chüeh lun) defined (li, "to posit") the 'worlds,' each [sentient being] being a world [unto himself]. This definition was not complete -- will it not be [completed] here? The essences of sentient beings and the..... [essences] of the Buddhas are non-substantial."[197]

[The critic continued]: "As defined in the text above, the essences of sentient beings, the essence of the dharmadhātu, and the essence of the expedient means of the Buddhas: all these take space as their essence. Because it is space, they must be without essence. Therefore, know [that someone might take] the ascriptive view of a stupid and lowly person [in saying as follows]: 'Space, having no cause, would have a result without a cause. How could this result possibly occur? According [to this interpretation], who is the creator of space? If space had a creator, then the myriad dharmas would have cause and result. If..... space had no creator, then the myriad dharmas would be without cause and without result.'"

"On the basis of this, the Dhyāna Master has (i.e., "you have") defined 'essence' in such a way that someone might generate doubts [and such an] unwarranted criticism. I only beseech the Dhyāna Master to have Great Compassion and to eradicate these doubts and help us gain emancipation."

B) Answer: "Such doubts are eminently worthy of hesitation (i.e., consideration). [I] always have the compassion to try to eradicate the doubts of sentient beings and will therefore explain [the answer to] this criticism for you. This essence has no fundamental (pen) and no derivative (mo). There actually is no cause and no result. Why is this? [This statement] is based solely on the [Perfection of] Wisdom Sūtra (Pan-jo ching), which says:

> Cause is also non-substantial, result is also non-substantial, practicing is also non-substantial, not-practicing is also non-substantial, and not-not-practicing is also non-substantial. To explain this in its entirety, the Buddha is also non-substantial, the Dharma is also non-substantial, the Saṃgha is also non-substantial, and even the sages are also non-substantial.[198]

"On the basis of these lines from the Sūtra, the above

criticism [is answered] as follows: Although each individual sentient being has existed from beginningless time within a body of physical form, smells, and tastes, this [body] is not generated through unconditioned transformation (wu-wei hua). If it were generated by unconditioned transformation, then [it could be born] of a lotus flower rather than [actual human] parents. Because sentient beings are born of parents, one knows clearly that the beginningless influences have completely 'perfumed'[199] that body. If the afflictions are not eradicated, the 'influences' have not been exhausted.

"In the explanation of the meaning of the essence of the dharmadhātu above it was always held that [sentient beings] depended on Buddhas other [than themselves] and the text of the [Perfection of] Wisdom in attaining enlightenment, not that they made effort and attained enlightenment on their own. If they made effort and attained enlightenment [on their own], their bodies would be like dead ashes, without the blood [of life]. Even if they had blood it would be the color of snow. Since [sentient beings] are not this way, one should clearly know that one who does not believe in cause and result is replete with afflictions."

C) At that time another person with a criticism bowed himself in elegant humility and, believing profoundly in cause and result, asked: "What is the cause? What is the result?"

Answer: "You must reside in meditation and wisdom with the contemplation of non-substantiality having been achieved (chu ch'an pan-jo k'ung-kuan ch'eng-chiu). Not residing in 'being' and 'non-being,' the body and mind are universally 'same,' like space. Never quitting during walking, standing still, sitting, and lying down, [you should] save beings whenever possible (sui-yüan, lit., "in accordance with conditions").[200] Saving the weak and helping the downfallen, having pity for the poor and love for the aged, one should think on the suffering of sentient beings within the three lower modes of existence and the difficulties of the poor among mankind. One should always act tirelessly to save them, [even to the point of] discarding one's own life.

"One should always undertake such practices while in meditation, for the duration of three great immeasurable [kalpas].[201] One's vows must always be made on behalf of sentient beings rather than for oneself. One must complete these vows, not as if they are one's own vows. Such practices are called the cause."

Question: "What is the result?"

Answer: "The result does not transcend (i.e., is no different from) the cause. Merely reside in wisdom; do not reside in the conditioned. Therefore, in the salvation of sentient beings, never think of [your task] as finished. Just practice this practice without any period of limitation or

completion. In laying down one's life to save beings, do not generate the [false] thought of self and other. Why? The Samādhi of Non-substantial Meditation (k'ung-ch'an san-mei) is without any practice [that distinguishes] self and other. It is not something that Bodhisattvas enter [in a preconceived fashion]. In your long kalpas of difficult effort, do not get any mistaken ideas! Always practice this practice without positing any thought of having completed it.

"If you practice like this, the beginningless influences will be automatically extinguished. There is only the practice of non-substantiality (k'ung-hsing). Therefore, the performance of this practice, in which the influences are all extinguished and one does not reside in [the dualism of] 'other' and 'self,' is provisionally called the result. The result occurs automatically when the practices are fulfilled, hence the names 'cause' and 'result.'

"When the result is completely [attained], one's wisdom also fills space, one's practice also fills space, one's body also fills space, one's [Buddha]-realm and nirmāṇa-kāya also fill space. Although they are [said to be] equivalent to space, they are no different from space.

D) "If one generates such a body on the basis of non-substantiality, then that body is also non-substantial. If one generates such a practice on the basis of non-substantiality, that practice is also non-substantial. One's Buddha-realm and expedient means are also as space. Why? Because the dharmadhātu arises fundamentally on the basis of space, it is no different from space.

"It is like waves on water. Fundamentally, the waves arise on the basis of the water. The waves actually are water and the water no different from its waves, likewise the nirmāṇa-kāya.[202] If [both] principle and practice (li-hsing) are realized, it is called 'cause and result.'[203] Therefore, it is called 'cause and result.'"

E) [Question]: "If it is called cause and result before the influences are extinguished, how can it be called cause and result after they are extinguished?"

[Answer]: "There are no cause and result. Why? There is only the practice of non-substantiality and the salvation of beings, but no additional intention whatsoever. It is called result because it is like an apparition, etc. [The term] 'result' is used in speaking to practitioners — the principle of this cannot be understood with the ordinary person's way of thinking or by reading a text.[204]

"You must make effort for many a day, dispensing with conventional toils and sitting quietly in meditation (ching-tso ssu-wei).[205] You cannot understand the principle of this through

an [insight] into a text [gained] during recitation. There is no mutual relationship [between that kind of insight and the realization referred to here]. This is an understanding [based on something] other than one's own efforts. This is a practice [based on something] other than one's own practice.[206] By meditating thus you will avoid such errors."

Chapter Four: Explanation of the Reverse and Direct Contemplations of the Three Vehicles

A) "If you want to understand the differences between the Three Vehicles, then you must realize that their causes and conditions (yin-yüan) are not the same. First, there is the Direct Contemplation (shun-kuan) of the Four Elements and second, the Reverse Contemplation (ni-kuan) of the Four Elements. Both Reverse and Direct [methods of contemplation can result in a] complete attainment of the principle; [practicing either one allows you to be] equivalent to space and realize the fruit of Arhatship. Direct Contemplation leads you directly to the fruit of Arhatship. Reverse Contemplation leads you through the four fruits of sagehood to the fruit of Arhatship.

"There are also Reverse and Direct [Contemplations] within the contemplation of causality. Although equal to space, [those who succeeded in this Contemplation] were said to have realized [the state of] pratyeka-buddha. By this we can infer that the people of that day did not understand the doctrine [propounded here]. Everything is called the Mahāyāna (i.e., the Great Vehicle), no matter what the size [of the Vehicle] or the proximity [to the ultimate goal], but [these distinctions] are actually not the Mahāyāna, but all the Hīnayāna (i.e., the Small Vehicle).

"When a Hīnayānist undergoes conversion [to the Mahāyāna and decides to] enter the Path of the Bodhisattva, he hopes that there are 'influences' stored within his eighth consciousness (i.e., the ālaya-vijñāna) that will generate that Path of the Bodhisattva [for him], as well as [enable him to] practice the Six Perfections (?). When an ordinary person encounters the skilfully handled expedient means of a spiritual compatriot and, through the Thirty-seven Requisites of Enlightenment,[207] practices the Six Perfections, he practices long on the basis of some teaching and achieves the enlightenment of a Bodhisattva and the fruit of Buddha-hood.

"Further, there are different [methods of] teaching, such as first explaining the cause and only afterwards the practice of the Path of the Bodhisattva. With the converted Hīnayānist above and the ordinary person who enters the Path, the cause was explained first and afterwards the result. Within this teaching, the person who has long planted the roots of goodness achieves an enlightenment that is different from that of the ordinary person. But by lengthy practice of the Path of the Bodhisattva, both

achieve entrance [into enlightenment]."

B) Question: "I do not understand the [cases of the] converted Hīnayānist and the ordinary person who enters the Path. I do not know on the basis of which practice does someone practice long the [Path of the] Bodhisattva? I wonder if his long practice of the [Path of the] Bodhisattva is the practice of the Six Perfections?"

Answer: "He may either practice or not practice [anything]. Therefore, within the non-practice of compassion he must practice the Six Perfections, enter into samādhi, and enter the teaching of the dharmadhātu.[208] Within these practices he cannot manifest the Six Perfections. If you wish to understand the teaching of the dharmadhātu, you must first understand the meaning of the 'worlds.' If you do not understand the worlds, then you will have no basis for entering the teaching of the dharmadhātu. Therefore, you must first understand the worlds."[209]

C) Question: "What is the meaning of the worlds?"

Answer: "A single sentient being is a single world. A great sentient being is a great world and a small sentient being a small world."

Chapter Five: Distinguishing the Conditions of Heresy and Generating the Fundamental

A) "Direct Contemplation of the Four Elements is for ordinary persons of great ability who have long planted the roots of goodness and are of excellent intelligence. The Buddha preaches the teaching of causality for them, revealing to them the principle of non-substantiality. It is on this basis that Direct Contemplation is preached.

"Reverse Contemplation is for ordinary people who are stupid and unable. They cannot see the mysterious teaching, but only forms, smells, tastes, and tangible objects, to which they become incorrectly attached. It is for this [kind of] ordinary person that Reverse Contemplation is preached. If there were no gifted and unable persons, there actually would be no preaching of Reverse and Direct Contemplation. This is doubly true for the very stupid.

"The ordinary person's Reverse Contemplation traces sounds, smells, tastes, and tangible objects to their most minute entities (wei-ch'en, or paramāṇu), then traces that to non-substantiality. Generating (ch'i) neither form nor mind but grasping at [the status of] Bodhisattva, they achieve the fruit of Arhatship.

"The ungifted person attains results (= fruits) such as this, but the Reverse Contemplation of the gifted person is

different. He successively contemplates sounds, smells, tastes, and tangible objects, but rather than tracing them to their most minute entities, he [realizes them to be] manifestations of his own mind's false thoughts.

B) Question: "What are these manifestations of the false thoughts of one's own mind?"

Answer: "All sentient beings have six senses. What are they? They are the eighth consciousness' senses of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind."

[Question]: "Where do they come from? [To say] that they occur of themselves would be a heretical view and not Buddhism. But if they do not occur of themselves, then they must have some location from which they come. They must come from somewhere, but from where?"

Answer: "They do not occur of themselves, but all come from somewhere. They all come from within the ālaya-vijñāna. The ālaya-vijñāna is like the earth and the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind are like the seedlings of the various plants. If there were no earth, on what would the plants and trees grow? The seeds of the plants and trees are all maintained by the earth, without the exception of [a single] seed. The eye, ear, nose, and tongue are the pneuma of the ālaya-vijñāna.

"In its Fundamental Nature the ālaya-vijñāna has no form, but the senses and the body do. Nowadays people do not perceive that the ālaya-vijñāna is their fundamental source (pen), but say that their parents gave birth to them. This is to falsely perform the contemplation of the physical body, tracing [its components] to their most minute entities and eventually to non-substantiality, falsely grasping the fruit of Arhatship. If one knows that fundamentally the body is generated on the basis of the ālaya-vijñāna, then there are no eye, ear, nose, and tongue.

"How does one know that the consciousness is originally without form and materiality? There are only the 'four resemblances.' What are the four resemblances? The four resemblances are resembling sense organs, resembling sense data, resembling a self, and resembling a consciousness. Searching within each of these resemblances [will show] that there fundamentally is no consciousness, no sense organ, etc. — they are all images within the ālaya-vijñāna.

"The ālaya-vijñāna is in its Fundamental Nature without generation and extinction, so one must dispense with the ascriptive view of the existence of senses. Why? Because fundamentally there are no senses, because they are all objective aspects (hsiang-fen) of the seeds within the fundamental consciousness. As objective aspects of the fundamental consciousness, they lack the fundamental [reality] of eye, ear,

such as senses and consciousnesses, only the 'resemblance' thereof. The essence of these resemblances is non-substantial; in tracing them, they extend into nothingness. It is only that [people] do not perceive the fundamental consciousness, but say that the eye, ear, nose, and tongue are generated of themselves.

"In its essence this fundamental consciousness has only these 'resemblances,' but is without materiality. Being without materiality, it is said that [the senses, etc.] are images of one's own mind. Being images of one's own mind, how can there be a self? If there is no self, who grasps the fruit (= the result, i.e., enlightenment)? If there is no grasping of the fruit, then [one's understanding] differs from that of the ungifted ordinary people who trace the Four Elements into emptiness (or "space") and grasp the fruit."

C) Question: "What is the error in grasping for the fruit?"

Answer: "Grasping for the fruit implies the error of [positing a] self. If an Arhat enters samādhi he is like a corpse, or like dead ashes. After a thousand kalpas he comes out of samādhi again, and after coming out of samādhi he is just like an ordinary person, with the same [sorts of mistaken] discrimination. This discrimination — where does consciousness come from again? A consciousness is generated, and one should clearly understand that it was maintained by the fundamental consciousness. Therefore, when he comes out of that samādhi he will have never ever eradicated a single bit of his afflictions. Because of this error there is such a catastrophe, merely because he did not see that his body was an image of the fundamental consciousness.

"If one realizes that the body is an image of the fundamental consciousness, then[210] one must neither eradicate the afflictions nor realize nirvāna. By not eradicating the afflictions one transcends the [mistaken concept of a] self. Because of this anātman, who is there to grasp nirvāṇa? It is only that one's 'influences' are not yet exhausted. The Bodhisattva knows within himself that his influences are not yet exhausted.

D) "One should remember [the plight of] sentient beings [in general], who are replete with limitless fetters, and generate[211] Great Compassion. Because of this there is this teaching of the practice of the Bodhisattva. Although one generates the practice of the Bodhisattva, this is different from the practice of the ordinary person, [which is based on the] ascriptive view of a self. The nirmāṇa-kāya and saṁbhoga-kāya generated through this [teaching] are generated on behalf of ordinary people. They do not exist of themselves. If they existed of themselves, this would [imply a concept of the] self. Because they are generated on behalf of ordinary people, this transcends [the notion of a] self."

Chapter Six: Explanation of the Causes and Results, the Correct and the False, and [the Remainder of the] Five Teachings of Entering the Path

A) "All those who undertake cultivation of the Path must first learn of cause and result; second, must learn the two teachings of false and correct; third, must generate their practice on the basis of understanding; fourth, must constantly contemplate without cease; and fifth, must know the profundity or shallowness of their own stage of practice. These Five Teachings are cultivated by all the Buddhas of the three periods of time. They are not now preached [by me] alone.

B) "First, the clarification of cause and result: What ordinary people say is a religious person must be understood as [based on] conventional understanding and thus devoid [of truth]. Those who do not understand this will often lose the Path. If you understand it, then contemplate your own body from head to foot to see if you have the extra-ordinary marks [of a Buddha]. If you live with lesser people and think of yourself as the best; if you live with people [in general] and have a standing in the marketplace; if you are an official, or if people look at you thinking that you are beautiful: know that in previous lives you cultivated forbearance and restraint from anger, that you also decorated Buddhist statues and fulfilled all the precepts, thus achieving this [favorable] result.

"If you contemplate this body from head to foot [and discover that] there is nothing at which to be looked, that people do not admire you, that you have no standing in the marketplace, that when you walk by no one notices you, and when you sit no one thinks you are beautiful, that your clothing does not cover your body and you have neither enough to eat, nor clothing, nor transportation: then you should know that in previous lives you did not practice forbearance but were filled with stinginess and craving and have never had good fortune. According to this contemplation, you should be deeply [ashamed] and realize your own inadequacies. You must plant [the seeds of] good fortune. This is called cause and result.

C) "Second, you must understand the two teachings of false and correct.[212] The rationales used by ordinary people [as the bases of their morality] may be profound or shallow. There are those who maintain the five precepts without transgression and think that the religious merit [accruing thereby] is complete, hoping to be equal to the Buddhas. Such people, of whom there are not simply one [or two], do not go on to seek the untainted Noble Path. This is called 'false.' [Such people] are not disciples of the Buddha.

"If you understand this you will realize the Correct Path. If you wish to realize the Correct Path, then you must first understand the fundamentals of the mind, and second,

understand form. Why? Ordinary people do not attain the Noble Path because [they do not realize] that sentient beings are all amalgams of mind and form. They only escape their fetters by understanding this [here and] now. Therefore, you must understand the origin (yüan).

"There are two types of the mind's fundamentals. The first is the Mind of Truth (chen-shih hsin). The second is the Mind of False Thoughts (wang-hsiang hsin). The generation and extinction of ordinary people is based completely on the [Mind of] False Thoughts and has nothing to do with the [Mind of] Truth. You must understand the [Mind of] False Thoughts [here and] now. Ordinary people, in their stupidity, cannot comprehend the [Mind of] False Thoughts, but claim that Mind to be real. [The Mind] which is contemplated (i.e., understood) by the wise is originally without essence. If you understand, you will know its essencelessness.

D) "If you wish to understand the correct and the false, then sit upright in meditation, contemplating the activity of your [Mind of] False Thoughts. Whether from near or far, the objects of your concentration[213] all arrive (i.e., occur) as conditions [of your mental being]. Although we say 'arrive as conditions,' they actually do not 'arrive.'[214] Therefore, [by practicing meditation] you will understand that they do not arrive.

"It is truly because of not contemplating the false and true [aspects of the mind] that one says the mind is existent (yu, i.e., a part of "being"). If you contemplate the mind during its 'going,' then [you will realize that] if the mind were 'going' the body would die. If it were 'going' it would have to be conjoined with a previous [moment of] sense data. Why should [the mind] only have things of the past as its conditions and not know any new things?

"If you understand this, then realize clearly that [conditions] do not arrive at one's focus of concentration. The things of the past cease because things of the past cease. Being without realms [of perception]. The realms are false. How can the so-called 'conditions' be anything but false? Know hereby that this is the false.

E) "It is also incorrect to say that the mind is within the abdomen. Why? If it were in the abdomen it would know each and every affair of the five organs. Since it is completely ignorant [of these matters], this shows that the mind is not located within [the abdomen]. Since it is not located within, then there is no self, no 'going' to external sense data, no self and other. Self and other being non-substantial, the mind is said to be without [the distinctions of] 'this' and 'that.' Therefore, this is called the 'mind emancipated' (hsin chieh-t'o).[215] Why? Because of not residing in the two extremes [of exterior and interior]. When performing this contemplation the mind is serene

and like space. This is called 'to comprehend the mind' (liao-hsin).

F) "In contemplating form, form is also of two kinds. The first is external form. The second is internal form. The mountains, rivers, and earth are external form, while the Five Skandhas and Four Elements are internal form.

"In first contemplating the external Four Elements, the mountains, rivers, and earth which are the support of all the myriad beings, this earth is called 'earth' because it is a thickly layered collection of the most minute particles [of matter]. But before those minute particles collected [to form the earth], they were fundamentally non-substantial. Only in response to the force of sentient beings' karma do these minute particles from from space. If that force of karma of sentient beings did not exist, those minute particle would also be non-substantial (k'ung, i.e., non-existent). Even when collected all together [as the earth], they are still minute particles. Why? If you examine the earth you will get particles, not the earth itself. There is no earth that transcends (li) those particles. Realize therefore that prior to the collection together of those minute particles, the earth is fundamentally non-substantial.

"If the earth is non-substantial, realize also that the minute particles are non-substantial. Why? Space is without [any Self] Nature and [yet] generates the minute particles. The particles are without [any Self] Nature and [yet] generate the earth. If you [go from] space to earth in your contemplation[216] [you will see that] the minute particles [which form the basis of material reality] are fundamentally non-substantial. When performing this contemplation, you will clearly learn that the Five Skandhas and Four Elements are similarly [only] empty names.

"As to the explanation of internal form, the generation of the internal Four Elements of the body is completely dependent on the external Four Elements. Since the external Four Elements are non-substantial, so are the internal ones. Why? People live on food, and food and clothing are generated from the earth. The earth is non-substantial, so food and clothing are also non-existent. Since food and clothing are non-existent, how could internal form exist (lit., "be posited," li)? Since internal form does not exist, it is obvious that it is non-substantial.

"Contemplation of the mind [reveals that it is] neither internal nor external. Form is also the same. That mind and form are neither internal nor external is called 'serene' (chi). Serene, with nothing existing, it is therefore called nirvāṇa. This understanding is called 'Correct' (cheng). It distantly transcends mistaken views and is also called the Correct View, also called Correct Meditation, and also called Correct Action. Also, this teaching is called the Correct Teaching. All the Buddhas of the three periods of time attain the other shore [of nirvāṇa] on the basis of this teaching, which is called the

Correct Path.

G) "[Third], although you may be able to achieve this understanding, you must practice on the basis of it or else enter a heretical path or the class [of persons with] false ascriptive views. If you [decide to] practice on the basis of this understanding [you must accept the fact that] the 'perfuming' of the ordinary person's illusions is not [just] a present-day [affair, but] has been accumulating since beginningless time, so it cannot be exhausted suddenly in an instant.

"Also, if you achieve enlightenment according to this understanding [you must remain] constantly aware of your present situation and not let the illusions of ignorance arise again. This is called the 'practice of the cause' (yin-hsing). When the 'influences' and illusions are all exhausted, you must not allow them to be conjoined again to the realms and data of sensory experience: only then is this called 'completely eradicated.'

H) "He who knows within himself that [his illusions] are not yet exhausted must constantly [maintain] the illumination of contemplation (kuan-hsing chüeh-chao) and [like] a Bodhisattva practice the Six Perfections, extending the benefits of compassion everywhere, being direct with oneself and circumspect with others, allowing sufficiency to others and insufficiency for oneself. Why? In the previous contemplation [it was seen that] mind and form are non-substantial and without self, thus being equivalent to space. If space possessed form, then would not form have a self? Since the self is non-substantial, who would have whom? Since space is without self, then one must practice the compassion of non-substantiality (wu-cheng tz'u).[217] If one does not do so, then principle and practice (li-hsing) will be mutually contradictory. This would not be the practice of the Bodhisattva. Therefore, I say to generate practice on the basis of one's understanding.

I) "Fourth, you must contemplate constantly, without interruption. If you do not accomplish (i.e., make effort in) [both] principle and practice (pu tso li-hsing), then your associated contemplation will probably [suffer from] errors. Therefore, you must contemplate constantly, without interruption.

J) "Fifth, understanding one's stage of practice is to not, on the basis of this interpretation [of Buddhism], immediately say that you are equal to a Buddha, with whom you do not share the same realms [of existence]. The first of the stages are the wise men who cultivate faith, not persons of the ultimate [goal]. I point this out because if you do not know your own stage [of progress], you will certainly commit the blasphemy [that Buddhism preaches] no cause and result."

Chapter Seven: The Manifestations of One's Own Mind

A) "According to the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, all the dharmas are established [on the basis of] the principle of the self-enlightened sagely wisdom and are all the manifestations of one's own mind.[218] In explaining this idea, it is not false to say that the mountains, rivers, earth, and even one's own body are all [the manifestations of] one's own mind.

"I have discussed [the fact that] the body is made up of the Four Elements and is a response (kan) to the [external] Four Elements. Why are there not Five Elements making up the world? And with regard to the four disks upon which [the world] rests, why are there not five disks? What advantage is there in this?

"The commentary says: 'These actually are manifestations of one's own mind. This is not mistaken.'[219] Know therefore that [all dharmas] are manifested by one's own mind. I have discussed the Four Elements of the body, because within the body there are four kinds of false thoughts. The response to these [four kinds of false thoughts molds] the Four Elements [into] a body, and hence there are not Five Elements, [but only Four].

"Why? The element earth exists as [part of] the body in response to the internal false thought of heaviness. The element water exists as [part of] the body in response to the internal false thought of wetness. The element fire exists as [part of] the body in response to the internal false thought of burning. The element wind exists as [part of] the body in response to the internal false thought of blowing. Therefore, it is known that these are all the manifestations of one's own mind."

B) Question: "The body may be understood [this way] without error, but how do you know that the mountains, rivers, and earth are [all the manifestations of] one's own mind?"

Answer: "They too depend on the internal mind. Why? The mountains, rivers, and earth are not level in response to the false thought of elevation. The earth is 360,000 li thick and is called the earth-disk. Beneath the earth is water, also 360,000 li thick. This is called the water-disk and is just under the earth-disk. Beneath the water-disk there is a great fire, which is also 360,000 li thick. [As with the] above, it is just under the water-disk. Under this great fire-[disk] is a wind-disk, which is also 360,000 li thick. The four disks connect with each other above and below so that the earth exists [on top]. This is called the 'world' (shih-chieh).

"Underneath the wind-disk is empty space with nothing in it. Why? There are only four disks, not five or six. This is because the inner mind of sentient beings has four kinds of false thoughts. The earth-disk exists in response to the internal false thought of heaviness. The water-disk exists in response to

the false thought of wetness. The fire-disk exists in response to the false thought of burning. The wind-disk exists in response to the false thought of blowing. According to this meditation, the entire [world-system] is a manifestation of one's own mind. There is not a single dharma outside of the mind."

C) At this time a person asked: "The innumerable dharmas of this world are based solely on one's failure to be enlightened. The various dharmas are [manifestations of] the mind. According to this explanation (yin-yüan), if there is doubt then the various dharmas appear. They are existent [and then] non-existent. This explanation thus implies the blasphemy of 'being' and 'non-being.' Because it eradicates the various dharmas it [also] generates the blasphemy[220] of disputation."

[Answer]: "If you understand the responses of the mind, [the dharmas] are all one's own mind. Originally there are no dharmas. If there were dharmas then you could say 'being' and 'non-being,' but since the dharmas originally are one's own mind and do not exist, how can there be any error? By this understanding one escapes the blasphemies relevent to the various dharmas."

D) Question: "The mountains, rivers, and earth are inanimate, while humans are animate. How can one say that all the inanimate realms are [manifestations of the human] mind? It is very difficult to believe this."

Answer: "It is like a husband and wife, both witless fools and argumentative toward each other, who were making liquor on which to get drunk.[221] When the liquor had finished fermenting the husband went to look at it and, seeing his own reflection in the clear liquid, he became angry and hit his wife. The wife [demanded] an explanation, [saying]: 'What have I done?' The husband then said: 'Why are you hiding another man in the [liquor]-urn?' The wife did not believe him and looked in the urn herself. Seeing her own reflection, she became very angry herself and said to her husband: 'Why did you hide a woman in the urn without telling me?' Then, not understanding that it was their own reflections, they began hitting each other, hitting each other with deadly intent.

"When the entire village came to stop them and asked what it was all about, they explained as above. When the person who broke up the quarrel explained [about the reflections] they still did not believe, so he took the husband and wife to the urn to look at the reflections. They saw the reflections of three people, but still did not believe: 'If these are reflections [of us] they should be outside of the urn [just as we are]. Why are they within the urn?' The arbitrator said: 'If they are not your reflections then you two and I are all in that urn together!'

"[The arbitrator then said to the wife]: 'You see [the

reflections of] three people. You should realize that that is your husband's reflection.' At that, the wife got even angrier and said: 'There's a man bringing him a woman!' and began hitting [her husband] again and would not stop. In the end they never could believe that those were their own reflections.

E) "Ordinary people are like this [in not realizing] that the mountains, rivers, and earth, sun, moon, and stars are all manifestations of the karma of their own minds, all reflected images of their own minds. Why do ordinary people not call [all this] the product of the mind and never believe? It is like the husband and wife who fought over their reflected likenesses and never believed that those [likenesses] were their own images.

"The actual reflections within the urn are a metaphor for the mountains, rivers, and earth's being manifestations of one's own mind. If they were not manifestations of one's own mind, then when you see lightning and it vibrates through space and hear the thunder, you should realize that the sound is non-substantial. Further, when you see carriages on the earth, although they vibrate the earth and make a sound, you should realize that without space there would be no sound. The sound itself is also non-substantial. According to this understanding, all the _dharmas_ are all [identical with] space.

"Originally, there are no _dharmas_. It is only that ordinary people, whose false thoughts are not exhausted, see the mountains, rivers, and earth. If those false thoughts were exhausted they would never see them. The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, whose activities are unobstructed, do not see the mountains, rivers, and earth because their false thoughts have been exhausted. [Therefore], you should realize that the myriad _dharmas_ are all manifestations of the karma of the mind."

Chapter Nine: Elucidation of the Essence of Sound

A) "As for sound, the understanding of sound by people nowadays as something perceived by the ear is greatly mistaken. To say that sound arrives at the ear is also greatly mistaken."

Question: "How should one understand this so as to be in agreement with Buddhism?"

[Answer]: "If you wish to understand the true source of sound you must first understand the conditions (_yüan_) and essence of sound."

Question: "What are the conditions and essence [of sound]?"

Answer: "The bell-clapper and the human effort [of striking the bell] are conditions. The spaces within and without the

bell are its essence. In producing the sound it is the essence (i.e., those spaces) that sound, not the bell."

Question: "The essence, [space,] is located everywhere. Why does [the sound] only extend to ten *li* and not a hundred *li*?"

Answer: "The conditions may be either small or great. Although the sound does not extend through space, it is like the greatest of earthquakes which shake everything: does the earth [really] flow [as it seems to]? (?) If you think about it, although the earth vibrates, it never flows. Thus it is motionless, and sound is likewise: although conditioned by the striking of lightning, space vibrates and makes a sound, but it does not flow [anywhere itself]. Not flowing, it is motionless. It is thus not generated and not extinguished.

B) "As to the doctrines of the Five Oceans and Ten Wisdoms,[222] these are the foundation of the great practice of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. If you do not appreciate the doctrines of the Five Oceans and Ten Wisdoms, then you will have no way to understand the Perfect Teaching.

"What is this Perfect Teaching? The Perfect Teaching is that sentient beings are the Buddhas and the Buddhas are sentient beings. They have always been so, not just through their present enlightenment. This is not the same as the [idea of the] Bodhisattva in the Three Vehicles. Further, to explain the idea of the Perfect Teaching, this is not the realm of sentient beings and also not the realm of *nirvāṇa*.[223]

3. The Five Expedient Means (Wu fang-pien)

Introduction

A. Number One: Comprehensive Explanation of the Essence of Buddha-hood

Number Two: Opening the Gates of Wisdom and Sagacity

Number Three: Manifesting the Inconceivable Dharma

Number Four: Elucidation of the True Nature of the Dharmas

Number Five: The Naturally Unobstructed Path of Emancipation (II.Int.1:167)[224]

B. "Each kneel with palms together. I will now have you recite the Four Great Vows:

I vow to save the innumerable sentient beings.
I vow to eradicate the limitless afflictions.
I vow to master the infinite teachings.
I vow to realize the insurpassable enlightenment of Buddha-hood.

"Next request the Buddhas of the ten directions to be your preceptors.

"Next request the Bodhisattvas and Buddhas of the three periods of time [to be your witnesses (?)].

"Next I will ask about the Five Capabilities. First, can you reject all bad associates from now until the time of your enlightenment?"

"I can."

"Second, can you become close to spiritual compatriots?"

"I can."

"Third, can you maintain the precepts without transgression even in the face of death?"

"I can."

"Fourth, can you read the Mahāyāna scriptures and inquire of their profound meaning?"

"I can."

"Fifth, can you [strive] to the extent of your own power to save sentient beings from their suffering?"

"I can."

"Next, each must say his own name and repent his transgressions, saying:

I now profoundly repent with all my heart all the karma of body, speech, and mind, and the ten evil transgressions [committed by me] during past, future, and present. I hope that my transgressions will be eradicated, never to occur again.

"The obstacles of the five major transgressions [should be repeated] according to the above."

"It is likened to a bright pearl submerged in muddy water, the water becoming clear through the pearl's power. The virtuous efficacy of the Buddha Nature is also like this, the muddy water of the illusions being completely clarified [thereby]. Since you have finished your repentences, your three types of action (i.e., body, speech, and mind) are pure like pure lapis lazuli. The brightness [of your purity] penetrating within and without, you are now ready to take the Pure Precepts.

"The Bodhisattva Precepts are to maintain the precepts of the mind. This is because the Buddha Nature is the 'nature of the precepts' (chieh-hsing). If the mind is activated (ch'i) for the briefest instant, this is to go counter to the Buddha Nature, to break the Bodhisattva Precepts.[225] This is to be explained thrice."

"Next each of you should sit in lotus position." (II.Int.2:167)

C. Question: "O disciples of the Buddha, your minds are peaceful and motionless. What is it that is called purity?[226] Disciples of the Buddha, the Tathāgatas have a great expedient means for entrance into the Path (or, "into enlightenment"). In one instant you can purify your mind and suddenly transcend to the stage of Buddha-hood."

The Preceptor strikes the wooden [signal board and everyone] contemplates the Buddha (nien-fo) for a time.

The Preceptor says: "All [phenomenal] characteristics ar uniformly imperceptible. Therefore, the Diamond Sūtra (Chin-kang ching) says: 'All that which has characteristics is completely false.'[227] To view the mind as pure is called 'to purify the mind-ground.' Do not constrict the body and mind and unfold the body and mind -- view afar in expansive release. View with universal 'sameness' (p'ing-teng). Exhaust space with your viewing."

The Preceptor asked: "What do you see (lit., "what thing do you see")?"

The disciple(s) answered: "I do not see a single thing."

Preceptor: "Viewing purity, view minutely. Use the eye of the pure mind to view afar without limit, without restriction.[228] View without obstruction."

The Preceptor asked: "What do you see?"

Answer: "I do not see a single thing." (II.Int.3:168)

D. View afar to the front, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality[229] distinct and clear.

View afar to the rear, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View afar to both sides, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View afar facing upwards, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View afar facing downwards, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View in the ten directions all at once, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View energetically during unrest, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View minutely during calm, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View identically whether walking or standing still, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View identically whether sitting or lying down, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright

and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear. (IIIA.Int.1:190)

E. Question: "When viewing, what things do you view?"

[Answer]: "Viewing, viewing, no thing is viewed."

[Question]: "Who views?"

[Answer]: "The enlightened mind (chüeh-hsin) views."[230]

"Penetratingly viewing the realms of the ten directions, in purity there is not a single thing. Constantly viewing and in accord with the locus of non-being (wu-so),[231] this is to be equivalent to a Buddha. Viewing with expansive openness, one views without fixation. Peaceful and vast without limit, its untaintedness is the Path of Bodhi (p'u-t'i lu). The mind serene and enlightenment distinct, the body's serenity is is the Bodhi Tree (p'u-t'i shu).[232] The Four Tempters[233] have no place of entry, so one's great enlightenment is perfect and complete, transcending perceptual subject and object." (IIIA.Int.2:190)

[Number One: Comprehensive Explanation of the Essence of Buddha-hood]

A. "The attainment[234] of the transcendence of thoughts in body and mind: Not perceiving the mind, the mind is such-like, and the mind attains emancipation. Not perceiving the body, form is such-like, and the body attains emancipation. Function like this forever, without interruption.[235] Like space, without a single thing, pure and without characteristics.

"Never let there by any interruption; from now on forever transcend [all] obstacles. The eye being pure, the eye transcends obstacles. The ear being pure, the ear transcends obstacles. In this fashion, [all] six sense organs being pure, the six sense organs transcend obstacles. All [of them] are without hindrance and equivalent to emancipation. To not perceive any characteristics of the six sense organs, which are pure and have no characteristics, [and to maintain this] constantly and without interruption: this is to be a Buddha."

[Question]: "What is a Buddha?"

[Answer]: "The mind of the Buddha is pure, transcending 'being' and transcending 'non-being.' With body and mind not 'activating,' always maintain the True Mind (shen-hsin pu ch'i, ch'ang shou chen-hsin)."[236]

[Question]: "What is suchness?"

[Answer]: "If the mind does not activate, the mind is

such-like. If form does not activate, form is such-like. Since the mind is such-like the mind is emancipated. Since form is such-like form is emancipated. Since mind and form both transcend [thoughts], there is not a single thing. This is the great Bodhi Tree." (II.Int.5:169)

B. "'Buddha' (fo) is a Sanskrit word from the western country; here it is translated as 'enlightenment' (chüeh)."

[Question]: "Where does enlightenment occur?"

[Answer]: "Enlightenment occurs within the mind."

[Question]: "Where is the mind?"

[Answer]: "The mind is within the body."

[Question]: "Where is the body?"

[Answer]: "The body occurs within false thoughts (i.e., it is a misconception with no true reality)." (IIIA.1.1:191)

C. "'Buddha' is a Sanskrit word from the western country; here it is translated as 'enlightenment.' [The Awakening of Faith says]:

> The meaning of "enlightenment" is that the essence of the mind transcends thoughts. The characteristic of the transcendence of thoughts is equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere. The single characteristic of the dharmadhātu is the universally "same" dharma-kāya of the Tathāgata. "Inherent enlightenment" is preached in relation to the dharma-kāya.

[The same treatise also says]:

> Being enlightened to the initial activation of the mind, the mind is without the characteristic of "initialness." Distantly transcending the most subtle of thoughts, one comprehensively perceives the Mind Nature. The constant maintainence (chu, lit., "residence") of this [Mind] Nature is called the Ultimate Enlightenment.[237] (II.1.3:170)

D. "'Buddha' is a Sanskrit word from the western country; here it is translated as 'enlightenment.' 'The meaning of "enlightenment" is that the essence of the mind transcends thoughts.' 'To transcend thoughts' is the meaning of 'Buddha,' the meaning of 'enlightenment.'

"Briefly, there are three senses to the meaning of 'Buddha.' They are also called the 'expedient means of the mind'

(*hsin fang-pien*)."

Question: "What are these three meanings?"

[Answer]: "Enlightenment of self, enlightenment of others, and complete enlightenment (*tzu-chüeh chüeh-t'a chüeh-man*). The transcendence of mind is enlightenment of self, with no dependence (*yüan*) on the five senses. The transcendence of form is enlightenment of others, with no dependence on the five types of sensory data. The transcendence of both mind and form is to have one's practice of enlightenment perfect and complete (*chüeh-hsing yüan-man*) and is equivalent to the universally 'same' *dharma-kāya* of a *Tathāgata*." (II.1.4:170)

E. "'The characteristic of the transcendence of thoughts is equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere.'"

Question: "What is 'equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere'? What is pervading and not pervading?" (II.1.5:170)

[Answer]: "Space is without generation and extinction, and the transcendence of thoughts is also without generation and extinction. Space is a characterless unconditionality, and the transcendence of thoughts is also a characterless unconditionality. Space neither increases nor decreases, and the transcendence of thoughts neither increases nor decreases. Space is without mind, and the transcendence of thoughts is without mind. Because it is without mind it pervades everywhere. If there are thoughts, there is no pervading; if thoughts are transcended, there is pervading." (IIIA.1.3:192)

F. "As to the 'one characteristic of the *dharmadhātu*,' that which the consciousness (*i*, presumably *manas*) knows is the *dharmadhātu*, the eighteen realms. The eye sees and the consciousness knows, and when thoughts are activated and many ideas generated there is obstruction and no penetration. This is a defiled *dharmadhātu*, the realm of a sentient being.

"When the eye sees, the consciousness knows, and thoughts are transcended, then there is no obstruction. This is a pure *dharmadhātu*, the realm of a Buddha. The 'one characteristic' is without characteristics -- there being no characteristics of unity or duality, this is the True Characteristic. The True Characteristic is equivalent to the 'one characteristic of the *dharmadhātu*.'"[238] (IIIA.1.4:192)

G. [Question]: "What is a 'realm of a Buddha'?"

[Answer]: "As to the 'one characteristic of the *dharmadhātu*,' that which the consciousness knows are *dharmas*, the

dharmadhātu. The eyes see forms, the ears hear sounds, the nose perceives smells, the tongue knows tastes, the body perceives tactile sensations, and the consciousness knows dharmas. The consciousness knows all the other five types of dharmas. If the mind activates in coordination with its conditions, this is equivalent to a defiled dharmadhātu, the realm of an [unenlightened] sentient being. If one does not activate the mind in coordination with its conditions, this is equivalent to a pure dharmadhātu, the realm of a Buddha, the 'one characteristic of the dharmadhātu.'

"There are two [kinds of] eighteen realms, one defiled and one pure. First [I will explain the] defiled [dharmadhātu] and then the pure. The eyes see forms and the consciousness knows this in coordination with its conditions. The eyes and the other five senses depend on sensory data. If defilement is activated in these five locations (ch'u, i.e., the five senses), then all locations are defiled (i.e., consciousness included). If all locations are included, this is a defiled dharmadhātu, the realm of a sentient being." (II.1.8:171)

Question: "What is a pure dharmadhātu?"

[Answer]: "A pure dharmadhātu is to be within the transcendence of thoughts and for the eyes to see forms without discriminating. One thus attains emancipation of the eyes (lit., "at the eye-location"). The other four [senses] are the same. If the five locations are emancipated, then all locations are emancipated. If all the locations are emancipated, then all the locations are pure. This is equivalent to a pure dharmadhātu, the realm of a Buddha."[239] (II.1.9:171)

H. The interpretation of Inherent Enlightenment (pen-chüeh) and Temporal Enlightenment (shih-chüeh):

The transcendence of thoughts is called Inherent Enlightenment -- the absolute Buddha Nature.

The transcendence of form is called Temporal Enlightenment -- phenomenal Buddha Nature.

The transcendence of both form and mind, with Nature and characteristics perfectly melded and absolute and phenomena both inter-penetrating without hindrance, is called the comprehensive consummation of the three meanings of enlightenment. The primary interpretation of the meaning [of this Expedient Means is related to] enlightenment. The secondary interpretation is related to the absolute and phenomena. (I.1.7:163)

"Being enlightened to the initial activation of the mind, the mind is without the characteristic of 'initialness.' Distantly transcending the most subtle of thoughts, one comprehensively perceives the Mind Nature. The constant

maintainence of this [Mind] Nature is called the Ultimate Enlightenment":

this is called the dharma-kāya Buddha.

To know the fundamental motionlessness of the six senses, one's enlightenment becoming suddenly perfect, its brilliance illuminating everywhere: this is called the saṁbhoga-kāya Buddha.

To perfectly illuminate in [all] ten directions, one's sensory realms unhindered and autonomous (tzu-tsai) because the mind has transcended thoughts: this is called the nirmāṇa-kāya Buddha.

Pure and without a single thing: this is called the dharma-kāya Buddha.

Enlightened comprehension bright and distinct: this is the saṁbhoga-kāya Buddha.

Perveptive capacities autonomous: this is the nirmāṇa-kāya Buddha.

The three bodies (i.e., the trikāya) are of one and the same essence. They are one, yet different, and incorporate, yet do not incorporate, each other. (IIIA.1.5:192ctd.)

I. [Question]: "What is the dharma-kāya Buddha?"

[Answer]: "To cultivate morality, meditation, and wisdom while in the causal [stage] (i.e., while still nominally unenlightened), to destroy the thick and layered obstacles of ignorance within oneself (lit., "within the body"), and to create [out of this] the great refulgence of wisdom and sagacity (chih-hui)[240]: this is the dharma-kāya Buddha."[241] (II.1.13:171)

J. Question: "What is 'essence'? What is 'function'?"

Answer: "The transcendence of thought is the essence, and the perceptive faculties (chien-wen chüeh-chih) are the function. Serenity (chi) is the essence and illumination (chao) is the function. 'Serene but always functioning; functioning but always serene.' Serene but always functioning — this is the absolute (li) corresponding to phenomena (shih). Functioning but always serene — this is phenomena corresponding to the absolute. Serene yet always functioning — this is form corresponding to non-substantiality. Functioning yet always serene — this is non-substantiality corresponding to form.

"'Serenely illuminating, illuminating serenity.' Serenely illuminating is to activate the characteristics on the basis of the Nature. Illuminating serenity is to have all the

characteristics revert to the Nature. Serene illumination is the non-differentiation of form from non-substantiality. Illuminating serenity is the non-differentiation of non-substantiality from form.

"Serenity is unfolding; illumination is constriction (lit., "rolling up").[242] Unfolded, it expands throughout the dharmadhātu. Constricted, it is incorporated in the tip of a hair. Its expression [outward] and incorporation [inward] distinct, the divine function is autonomous." (IIIA.1.6:192)

K. Question: "Body and mind being non-substantial, who expresses and who incorporates?"

Answer: "Body and mind being non-substantial, for there to be no expression and incorporation is to be united with the unconditioned (wu-wei). Opening up the unconditioned, one attains the True Characteristic. Body and mind being non-substantial, well does one 'convert' (hui-hsiang, or pariṇāma, usually "to convert [one's own merit to the benefit of others]"). One converts one's enlightenment (?) to realize the true, permanent bliss. One is forever without attachment in relationship to the sensory realms.

"The dependences of defiled and pure are the two dharmas of body and mind: to have thoughts is the dependence on illusions as infinite as the sands of the River Ganges, while to transcend thoughts is the dependence on merit as infinite as the sands of the River Ganges." (IIIA.1.7:193)

L. If one transcends the mind,[243] craving is not activated. If one transcends form, anger is not generated. If one transcends both, stupidity is not manifested.

Transcendence of the mind is escape from the Realm of Desire. Transcendence of form is escape from the Realm of Form. Transcendence of both is escape from the Realm of Formlessness. (I.1.7:193ctd.)

M. Interpretation of Craving, Anger, and Stupidity. Explanation: "The meaning of enlightenment is that the essence of the mind transcends thoughts." Transcending the characteristic of craving, it is "equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere." This is called enlightenment of self. Transcending the characteristic of anger, it is "equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere." This is called enlightenment of others. Transcending the characteristic of stupidity, it is "equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere. The single characteristic of the dharmadhātu is the universally 'same' dharma-kāya of the Tathāgata." This is called complete enlightenment. (I.1.8:164)

Interpretation of the meaning of the Three Realms: The meaning of "enlightenment" is that the essence of the mind transcends desires. The characteristic of the transcendence of the Realm of Desire[244] is "equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere." This is enlightenment of self. The characteristic of the transcendence of the Realm of Form... as above. This is called enlightenment of others. The characteristic of the transcendence of the Realm of Formlessness... as above. This is called complete enlightenment. (I.1.9:164)

Interpretation of the Three Emancipations: Transcending the mind is to enter the Emancipation of Non-substantiality. Transcending form is to enter the Characterless Emancipation. Transcending both is to enter the Emancipation of Wishlessness. (I.1.10:164)

Interpretation of the Three Self Natures: Transcending the mind, the Self Nature of false thoughts is not activated. Transcending form, the Self Nature of conditionality is not activated. Transcending both is the Self Nature of the Perfectly Accomplished.[245] (I.1.12:164)

Further, there are secondary interpretations of the three [meanings of] enlightenment, eradicating the Three Poisons, escaping the Three Realms, entering the "gates" of the Three Emancipations, transcending the Three Natures, attaining the Two [types of] Anātman, realizing the three [types of] birth (?), manifesting the Three Virtues, and completing the Three Bodies.

The primary meaning and secondary interpretation of terms of the First Expedient Means are now completed. This has been called the "Comprehensive Explanation of the Essence of Buddhahood." This has been called "Comprehensive Explanation" because everything has been interpreted according to the transcendence of mind and the transcendence of form. (I.1.18:165)

Number Two: [Opening the Gates of Wisdom and Sagacity]

A. The Preceptor strikes the wooden [signal-board] and asks: "Do you hear the sound?"

[Answer]: "We hear."

[Question]: "What is this 'hearing' like?"

[Answer]: "Hearing is motionless."

[Question]: "What is the transcendence of thoughts?"

[Answer]: "The transcendence of thoughts is motionless.[246]

"This motionlessness is to develop the expedient means of sagacity (hui fang-pien) out of meditation (ting). This is to open the gate of sagacity. Hearing is sagacity. This expedient means can not only develop sagacity, but also can make one's meditation correct. This is to open the gate of wisdom, to attain wisdom (chih). This is called the opening of the gates of wisdom and sagacity.

"If you do not achieve [mastery] of this expedient means, your correct meditation will decline into incorrect meditation, you will become attached to the 'taste of dhyāna' (i.e., addicted to transic states), and you will fall into a Hīnayānist nirvāṇa. If you do achieve [mastery] of this expedient means, you will attain the 'perfect serenity' (i.e., nirvāṇa) through your correct meditation. This is the Great Nirvāṇa.

"The function of wisdom is knowing (chih); the function of sagacity is perception (chien). This is called the opening of the knowing and perception of a Buddha. Knowing and perception are bodhi.[247] (II.2.1:172)

Question: "What is motionless?"

Answer: "The mind is motionless. The motionlessness of the mind is meditation, is wisdom, is the absolute (li).[248] The motionlessness of the ears is form, is phenomena (shih), is sagacity. This motionlessness is to develop the expedient means of sagacity out of meditation, the opening of the gate of sagacity." (II.2.2:173)

Question: "What is the gate of sagacity?"

[Answer]: "The ear is the gate of sagacity."

[Question]: "How is the gate of sagacity opened?"

[Answer]: "For the ear to be motionless when hearing sounds is to open the gate of sagacity."

[Question]: "What is sagacity?"

[Answer]: "Hearing is sagacity. The five senses are all the gates of sagacity." (II.2.3:173)

"[This expedient means] can not only develop sagacity, but can also make one's meditation correct. This is to open the gate of wisdom."[249]

Question: "What is the gate of wisdom?"

[Answer]: "The consciousness is the gate of wisdom."

[Question]: "How is the gate of wisdom opened?"

[Answer]: "For the consciousness to be motionless [when knowing the <u>dharmas</u>] is to open the gate of wisdom."

[Question]: "How is this?"

[Answer]: "One achieves wisdom by transforming knowing into wisdom."

"This is called the opening of the gates of wisdom and sagacity. I have now finished [explaining] for you the opening of the gates of wisdom and sagacity." (II.2.4:174)

B. "[The <u>Lotus Sūtra</u> says]: 'Having the power to save sentient beings.'[250] The body, hands and feet [included], is serenely peaceful and motionless." (II.2.5:174)

[Question]: "What are sentient beings? What is power?"

[Answer]: "Motionlessness is power. False thoughts are sentient beings. For the body and mind to be motionless is called 'to save sentient beings.'" (IIIA.2.2:194)

Question: "What is motionlessness?"

Answer: "The blowing of the Eight Winds is motionless."

[Question]: "What are the Eight Winds?"

Answer: "Success and failure, defamation and praise, honor and abuse, and suffering and pleasure."[251]

Question: "How many of these are unfavorable and how many are favorable?"

Answer: "Four are unfavorable and four are favorable. Failure, defamation, abuse, and suffering are unfavorable, while success, praise, honor, and pleasure are favorable. The mind of the Bodhisattva is unmoving during [both] unfavorable and favorable [winds]." (IIIA.2.3:194)

C. Question: "How many types of people can open the gates of wisdom and sagacity?"

Answer: "There are three types of people."

[Question]: "Who are they?"

[Answer]: "Ordinary people, Hīnayānists, and Bodhisattvas. Ordinary people hear when there is a sound, but when there is no sound or when a sound stops they do not hear. Hīnayānists never hear, whether there is a sound or there is no sound and when a sound stops. Bodhisattvas always hear, whether there is a

sound or there is no sound and when a sound stops."[252] (II.2.7:174)

Question: "Bodhisattvas should be able to hear when there is a sound, but how can they hear when there is no sound?"

Answer: "Because the essence of their hearing is constant." (IIIA.2.4:194ctd.)

Question: "What is the essence of hearing?"

Answer: "Motionlessness is the essence of hearing. Hearing is like the surface of a mirror, which illuminates when there is a form [in front of it] and also when there is no form. Therefore, [the Bodhisattva] hears when there is a sound and also hears when there is no sound." (IIIA.2.5:194)

D. Question: "If these three types of people uniformly open the same gates of wisdom and sagacity, why do the Hīnayānists become attached to the taste of dhyāna and fall into a Hīnayānist nirvāṇa?"

[Answer: This is because of the manner in which] the Hīnayānists open the gate of sagacity. This sagacity must be realized as the sagacity of hearing in relation to the ears. Because they now hear what they did not hear before, [the Hīnayānists] hear and generate joy in their minds. Joy is motion. Fearing motion, they grasp at motionlessness, extinguish the six consciousnesses, and realize a nirvāṇa of empty serenity. Whether there is a sound or there is no sound and when a sound stops, [since they are in this state] they never ever hear. Thus they become attached to the taste of dhyāna and fall into a Hīnayānist nirvāṇa.

"When Bodhisattvas open the gate of sagacity [they realize that] hearing is sagacity. This sagacity must be realized as the sagacity of hearing in relation to the ears, [and so they] know that the six senses are fundamentally motionless. They always hear, whether there is a sound or there is no sound and when a sound stops. Their spiritual practice is always in accord with motionlessness. By the attainment of [the mastery of] this expedient means, their correct meditation is equivalent to the attainment of 'perfect serenity.' This is the Great Nirvāṇa." (II.2.8:175)

E. "The Nirvāṇa Sūtra (Nien-p'an ching) says: 'Not hearing and hearing, not hearing and not hearing, hearing and hearing.'"[253]

Question: "What is 'not hearing and hearing'?"

[Answer]: "Hearing what one has not heard before is 'not

hearing and hearing.'"

[Question]: "What is 'not hearing and not hearing'?"

[Answer]: "After hearing [the Hīnayānist] generates joy in his mind. Joy is motion. Fearing motion, he grasps at motionlessness, extinguishes the six consciousnesses, and realizes a nirvāṇa of empty serenity. He is 'not hearing and not hearing,' whether there is a sound or there is no sound and when a sound stops. This is 'not hearing and not hearing.'"

[Question]: "What is 'hearing and not hearing'?"

[Answer]: "The Hīnayānist hears when he comes out of meditation, but within meditation he does not hear. The Hīnayānist has no sagacity when he is in meditation -- he cannot preach the Dharma and cannot save sentient beings. When he comes out of meditation he preaches the Dharma in an unconcentrated state of mind. This absence of the nurturing moisture of the water of meditation is called 'meditation that is dry of sagacity.' This is 'hearing and not hearing.'"

[Question]: "What is 'hearing and hearing'?"

[Answer]: "Ordinary people have 'hearing and hearing' and Bodhisattvas have 'hearing and hearing.' The 'hearing and hearing' of the ordinary person is motion, motion in coordination with sensory data. The 'hearing and hearing' of the Bodhisattva is motionless, with no coordination with sensory data. The 'softened refulgence' is not 'coordinated with sensory data' (ho-kuang pu t'ung ch'en).'"[254] (II.2.9:175)

F. Question: "What is motionlessness?"

Answer: "Motionlessness is the opening of the [gates of wisdom and sagacity]."

Question: "Who can open the gates of wisdom and sagacity?"

Answer: "The spiritual compatriot can open the gates of wisdom and sagacity. Because of the words of the spiritual compatriot, one is enlightened to the motionlessness of the six senses. This is the 'external' spiritual compatriot."

[Question]: "Who are the 'internal' spiritual compatriots?"

Answer: "Wisdom and sagacity are the 'internal' spiritual compatriots."

[Question]: "What are wisdom and sagacity?"

Answer: "Knowing is wisdom; perception[255] is sagacity. One transforms the consciousness to create wisdom and comprehends perception (or, "sensory consciousness") to create sagacity. These are called the 'internal' spiritual compatriots." (IIIA.2.7:195)

G. [Question]: "What is bodhi?"

[Answer]: "Bodhi is a Sanskrit word from the western country. Here it is translated 'knowing and perception' (chih-chien). Knowing and perception are the function of wisdom and sagacity. Bodhi is the function of nirvāṇa. Knowing and perception are the function, wisdom and sagacity the essence. Bodhi is the function, nirvāṇa the essence. Essence and function [have now been] clarified. (II.2.15:177)

H. "The Sutra says: 'Bodhi cannot be attained with the body and mind. Extinction is bodhi, since all characteristics are extinguished.'"[256]

Question: "Why is it that this 'cannot be attained with the body and mind?'"

Answer: "Since the mind is motionless and thoughts are transcended and not activated, bodhi cannot be attained by the mind. Since form is motionless and thoughts are transcended and not activated, bodhi cannot be attained by form. Body and mind both being motionless is equivalent to 'extinction is bodhi, since all characteristics are extinguished.' Also, the transcendence of both body and mind is equivalent to perfect and complete bodhi." (II.2.16:177)

I. Question: "[The Sūtra says]: 'Non-correspondence (pu-hui) is bodhi, because the āyatanas (ju, i.e., the sense organs and sense data) do not correspond [with each other].'[257] Is this non-attainment in body and mind?"

Answer: "The six senses being motionless, the āyatanas do not correspond [with each other]. This is equivalent to perfect and complete bodhi. Also, the senses and sense data being undefiled, all the 'locations' (ch'u, also equivalent to āyatana) are non-corresponding." (II.2.17:177)

Question: "Further, what about [the sūtra's line] 'The impediments are bodhi, because they impede the desires'?"[258]

Answer: "The six senses being motionless, the desires are not generated. This is equivalent to perfect and complete bodhi." (II.2.18: 177)

J. Question: "[What are] motion and motionlessness?"

[Answer]: "If one perceives that there is motion then this is motion. If one perceives that there is motionlessness then this is also motion. To not perceive motion and not perceive motionlessness is true motionlessness."

[Question]: "Can one enter into this state?"

[Answer]: "If one perceives entry then this is motion. If one perceives non-entry then this is also motion. To not enter and not not enter is true motionlessness.

"Hīnayānists perceive motionlessness external to the mind, activate thought, and grasp that motionlessness, rendering the five senses and six consciousnesses inactive. This is the annihilistic motionlessness of the Hīnayānists. Bodhisattvas know the fundamental motionlessness of the six senses, their internal illumination being distinct and external functions autonomous. This is the true and constant motionlessness of the Mahāyāna." (IIIA.2.9:196)

[Question]: "What do 'internal illumination being distinct' and 'external functions autonomous' mean?"

Answer: "Fundamental Wisdom (*ken-pen chih*) is 'internal illumination being distinct.' Successive Wisdom (*hou-te chih*) is 'external functions autonomous.'"

[Question]: "What are Fundamental Wisdom and Successive Wisdom?"

Answer: "Because one first realizes the characteristic of the transcendence of the body and mind, this is Fundamental Wisdom. The autonomous [quality of] knowing and perception and the non-defilement [associated with the enlightened state] are Successive Wisdom.[259] The first realization of the fundamental ... if realization [of the transcendence of body and mind] were not first, then knowing and perception would be completely defiled. Know clearly that the autonomous [spontaneity of] knowing and perception is attained after that realization and is called Successive Wisdom.

"When the mind does not activate of the basis of the eye's perception of form, this is Fundamental Wisdom. The autonomous [spontaneity of] perception is Successive Wisdom. When the mind does not activate on the basis of the ear's hearing of sounds, this is Fundamental Wisdom. The autonomous [spontaneity of] hearing is Successive Wisdom. The nose, tongue, body, and consciousness are also the same. With the Fundamental and Successive [Wisdoms], the locations (*ch'u*) are distinct, the locations are emancipated. The senses do not activate and the realizations are pure. When successive moments of mental [existence] are non-activating, the senses are sagely (*sheng*)."

[The above is] the primary interpretation [of the Second Expedient Means]. (IIIA.2.10:196)

K. "Located in the world, like space, like a lotus blossom that does not touch the water, with mind pure and transcending [the distinctions of 'this' and] 'that,' I bow my head in obeisance to the unsurpassed Honored One."[260]

"Located in the world" — What is this? The mind is the locus (ch'u); the Five Skandhas are the world. The mind is located within the Five Skandhas.

"Like space" — Space is the mind. The mind is thus wisdom.

"Like a lotus blossom" — The lotus blossom is form. Form is thus sagacity.

["With mind pure and transcending (the distinctions of 'this' and) 'that'] — Wisdom and sagacity pure and transcending that [set of] five senses. This is to transcend 'that.'

"Bow [my head]" — This is respect.

"Obeisance" — This is accordance (shun).

To always practice in accordance with wisdom and sagacity — this is the "unsurpassed Honored One."[261] (II.2.27:180)

Sūtra of the Lotus Blossom of the Wondrous Dharma (Miao-fa lien-hua ching): What is the "Wondrous Dharma"? The mind is the "Wondrous Dharma." The mind is thus wisdom. Form is thus sagacity. This is a Sūtra of Wisdom and Sagacity.[262]

Sūtra of the Flower Garland of the Great and Vast Buddha (Ta fang-kuang fo hua-yen ching): "Great and Vast" is the mind. "Flower Garland" is form. The mind is thus wisdom. Form is thus sagacity. This is a Sūtra of Wisdom and Sagacity.

Diamond Sūtra (Chin-kang ching): "Metal" (chin) is the mind. "Hard" (kang) is form. The mind is thus wisdom. Form is thus sagacity. This is a Sūtra of Wisdom and Sagacity. (II.2.28:181)

Lotus Blossom of the Wondrous Dharma: What is the "Wondrous Dharma"? Meditation and sagacity (ting-hui, usually translated as "meditation and wisdom") are the "Wondrous Dharma." The "Lotus Blossom" is a metaphor. It is as if meditation and sagacity exist in the world but are not defiled by the world. Clearly understand that meditation and sagacity are the "Wondrous Dharma." The lotus blossom is located in water but is not defiled by the water. The autonomous functioning of knowing and perception is [likewise] not defiled by the six sense objects.

Just as when the lotus blossom opens and releases its fragrance and is enjoyed by men and gods, so does the use of this metaphor cause those who have not yet attained meditation and sagacity [now] to attain meditation and sagacity.[263] (II.2.29:181)

At that time, the World-honored One preached the Mahāyāna Sūtra's teaching of the Bodhisattva and the thoughts (nien, i.e., "mindfulness") maintained by the Buddha. Having completed the preaching of this Sūtra, he sat in lotus position and entered the Samādhi of the Locus of Incalculable Meanings (wu-liang i ch'u san-mei), with body and mind motionless.[264]

[Question]: "What is the [teaching of] the 'Mahāyāna Sūtra'?"

Answer: "Wisdom and sagacity are the teaching of the 'Mahāyāna Sūtra.'"

"Bodhisattva" -- The dharmas wisdom and sagacity.

"thoughts maintained by the Buddha" -- To maintain the original transcendence of thoughts.[265]

"Having completed the preaching of this Sūtra, he sat in lotus position" -- Expressing the motionlessness of body and mind.

"entered the Samādhi of the Locus of Incalculable Meanings" -- If there is mind, then there is calculation. If there is no mind (wu-hsin), there is no calculation.

"Sam-" (san) -- This is 'correct.'

"-ādhi" (mei) -- This is 'mind.' To practice with a correct mind and enter[266] (i.e., to be enlightened to) the meaning of the one True Characteristic -- this is called "entered the Samādhi of the Locus of Incalculable Meanings, with body and mind motionless." (IIIA.2.20:200)

"Then the World-honored One arose peacefully from his samādhi and said to Śāriputra: 'The wisdom and sagacity of the Buddhas is profound and incalculable.'"[267]

Question: "What is it for wisdom and sagacity to be 'profound and incalculable'?"

[Answer]: "The Tathāgata's ocean of wisdom is bottomless -- this is called 'profound.' His sagacity can transcend the six types of sense data -- therefore it is called 'incalculable.'"

"This 'gate' of wisdom and sagacity is difficult to understand and difficult to enter. All the śrāvakas and pratyeka-buddhas (i.e., the Hīnayānists) are unable to recognize it.

"The minds of Hīnayānists possess [the characteristics of] generation and extinction — [this is] 'difficult to understand.' The minds of śrāvakas possess attachment and motion — [this is] 'difficult to enter.' The Bodhisattva is without attachment and without motion and can easily understand and easily enter.

"The five classes of śrāvakas[268] "cannot comprehend the wisdom of the Buddha. Exhaustively thinking and calculating about it, they still cannot understand it."[269]

Question: "Why can they not understand?"

Answer: "They cannot understand because they have minds of desire (ssu-ch'iu hsin)."[270]

[Question]: "How can they become able to understand?"

[Answer]: "They will be able to understand when they are without minds of desire."

Question: "What should one do with desire?"

Answer: "One should transform desire within the mind (i) into wisdom." (II.2.33:182)

L. "Dāna-pāramitā" is a Sanskrit word. Here it is translated as "charity." [To practice] charity oneself and perceive another's lack of charity is to have contempt of others. In the Supreme Teaching, one neither perceives charity nor perceives the lack of charity. When the two characteristics are equal (i.e., when both charity and non-charity go unperceived), contempt will not arise. On the basis of such dāna one can transcend excessive contemptuousness. This is called "Excellent dāna-pāramitā."[271]

"Śīla-pāramitā" is a Sanskrit word. Here it is translated as "precepts."... (II.2.35:183)

[Number Three: Manifesting the Inconceivable Dharma]

A. "[In the Vimalakīrti Sūtra] Vimalakīrti said: 'Verily, Śāriputra, the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas possess an emancipation that is called inconceivable and inexpressible (pu k'o ssu-i.'"[272]

Question: "What is 'inconceivable and inexpressible' (pu-ssu pu-i)?"

Answer: "the mind does not conceive and the mouth does not express. When the mind does not conceive, the mind is suchlike, the mind transcends fetters, the mind attains emancipation.

When the mouth does not express, form is such-like, form transcends fetters, form attains emancipation. For mind and form both to transcend fetters is called the 'inconceivable and inexpressible emancipation.'" (II.2.1:185)

"At that time Śāriputra"[273] -- The beginner.

"saw that in this space (k'ung)" — [The beginner's] locus of intentionality.

"there were no seats." — The emptiness of the dharmas.

"Generating this thought," -- The beginner is deluded as to the principle of non-substantiality.

"thinking 'Where will the congregation of Bodhisattvas and great disciples sit?'" — The dharmas being non-substantial, by what can one achieve Buddha-hood?

Vimalakīrti — The essence of purity (ching-t'i).

Śāriputra -- The beginner. The essence of purity illuminates the beginner (or "the initial [activation of the] mind").[274]

"When you have come for the Dharma, why are you seeking seats?" -- conceivability and inconceivability[275] manifested together.

"I have come for the Dharma, not for a seat." "If one seeks the Dharma, one cannot desire [even] life." — Truly, this is the moment of the correspondence of inconceivability, when no life is manifest. No feelings, perceptions, impulses, or consciousness are manifest. No Buddha, Dharma, and Saṁgha are manifest. No suffering, accumulation, extinction, and Path[276] are manifest. No nirvāṇa is manifest. No grasping is manifest. No attachment is manifest." (IIIA.3.2:204)

B. "Vimalakīrti said: 'Well come, Mañjuśrī!'"[277]

Vimalakīrti -- The essence of purity.

Mañjuśrī — Wondrous sagacity.

When the essence of purity and wondrous sagacity correspond, the mind does not activate — This is "well," this is meditation.

Consciousness is not generated — This is "come," this is sagacity. Therefore it is said "well come!"

"Characterized by non-coming, yet coming."

"Characterized by non-coming" -- The mind not activating, this is meditation.

"yet coming" -- The [sensory] consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

"Characterized by non-seeing, yet seeing."

"Characterized by non-seeing" -- The mind not activating, this is meditation.

"yet seeing" -- The consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

Therefore, Mañjuśrī's wondrous sagacity is sagacity developed out of meditation. **From the inner, facing the outer.**[278] **This is the teaching of serene illumination.**

"Mañjuśrī said: 'O Layman'" -- When wondrous sagacity and the essence of purity correspond.

"If you complete coming (i.e., come all the way to one's destination), do not come anymore; if you complete going, do not go anymore."

"If you complete coming" -- The consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

"do not come anymore" -- The mind not being activated, this is meditation.

"If you complete going: -- The consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

"do not go anymore" -- The mind not being activated, this is meditation.

Therefore, Mañjuśrī's wondrous sagacity develops meditation out of sagacity. **From the outer, facing the inner.** This is **the teaching of illuminative serenity.** Why? The previous instant introduces the succeeding instant.

"Coming, without any point of departure; going, with no destination."

"Coming" -- The consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

"without any point of departure" -- The mind not being activated, this is meditation.

"Going" -- The consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

"without any destination" -- The mind not being activated, this is meditation.

"Visible" — The consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

"and again not visible" -- The mind not being activated, this is meditation. **This is when serene illumination and illuminative serenity correspond.**[279] (IV.4.3-1:222)

C. Question: "What is meditation? What is sagacity?"

Answer: "To not 'eye' (i.e., to not conceptualize the existence of the eye) is meditation, and yet to 'eye' (i.e., to allow the eye to function) is sagacity. To not 'ear' is meditation, and yet to 'ear' is sagacity. Nose, tongue, body, and mind; forms, sounds, smells, tastes, tangible objects, and dharmas; knowing and perception -- all are understood as above.

"To not 'eye' is sagacity, and yet to 'eye' is meditation. To not 'ear' is sagacity, and yet to 'ear' is meditation. Nose, tongue, body, and mind; forms, sounds,smells, tastes, tangible objects, and dharmas; knowing and perception -- all are understood as above." (IV.4.3-2:224)

Question: "What is meditation? What is sagacity?"

[Answer]: "The non-activation of mind is meditation; the non-generation of the consciousnesses is sagacity.

"Transcendence of Self Natures is meditation; transcendence of the Realm of Desire is sagacity.

"The Ultimate Truth is meditation; the provisional truth is sagacity.

"Great Wisdom is meditation; Great Compassion is sagacity.

"The Absolute (li) is meditation; Phenomenality (shih) is sagacity.

"The Unconditioned (wu-wei) is meditation; the Conditioned (yu-wei) is sagacity.

"Benefit of self (tzu-li) is meditation; benefit of others (li-t'a) is sagacity.

"Nirvāṇa is meditation; saṁsāra is sagacity.

"The transcendence of transgression is meditation; the maintainence of the dharmas is sagacity." (IV.4.3-3:224)

D. If a Bodhisattva resides in this emancipation, he can insert the broad top of Mount Sumeru into a mustard seed without any enlargement or contraction, and the original characteristics of Sumeru, the king of mountains, will be as they were before (i.e., the size of the mountain will be unchanged).[280]

Question: "How can Mount Sumeru be inserted into a mustard seed without any enlargement or contraction?"

Answer: "Sumeru is form and the mustard seed is also form. When the mind does not conceive (pu-ssu), the mind is such-like. Sumeru and the mustard seed are both 'form being such-like' (se-ju). Having exactly the same characteristic(s), they are 'without any enlargement or contraction, and the original characteristics of Sumeru, the king of mountains, will be as they were before.' It is only those who cross [to the other shore of nirvāna] who perceive Mount Sumeru to be inserted into the mustard seed without any enlargement or contraction."

[Question]: "What about 'the original characteristics of Sumeru, the king of mountains, will be as they were before'?"

Answer: "Sumeru does not contract and the mustard seed is not enlarged. There being no enlargement or contraction, this is called 'the original characteristics of Sumeru, the king of mountains, will be as they were before.'" (II.3.2:186)

[Question]: "'If a Bodhisattva resides in this emancipation, he can insert the broad top of Mount Sumeru into a mustard seed without any enlargement or contraction.' What is the meaning of this?"

Answer: "If there is conceiving, then there is thought. If there is thought, then there is obstruction. If there is obstruction, thne there is impediment. If there is no conceiving, then there is no thought. If there is no thought, then there is no falsity. If there is no falsity, then there is no obstruction. If there is no obstruction, then there is no impediment. If there is no impediment, then there is emancipation. With no conceiving and no non-conceiving, no thought and no non-thought, Sumeru is originally non-substantial, the mustard seed is originally without impediment, [so that] the eye of sagacity distinctly sees the two enter into each other without any obstruction. If there is no conceiving and no thought and the characteristics of the two [objects] are identical, then this is 'inconceivable.'" (IIIB.32:219)

Yet the four Heavenly Kings and the gods of the [Heaven of the] Thirty-three are unaware of the entrance [of Sumeru, on which they reside, into the mustard seed], nor were any sentient beings [below] inconvenienced.

Question: "Where do the Four Heavenly Kings live?"

Answer: "They live on Mount Sumeru."[281]

[Question]: "Why are they unaware of the entrance of Sumeru into the mustard seed]?"

Answer: "Because they possess conceiving and expression, they are unaware of it."

[Question]: "How can they become aware of it?"

[Answer]: "If they are without conceiving, they will become aware of it."

[Question]: "Who are those who have crossed [over to the other shore]?"

[Answer]: "Being without conceiving and expression, they have crossed over (i.e., transcended) conceiving and expression."

[Question]: "What about 'see Sumeru enter into the mustard seed'?"

[Answer]: "If the mind does not conceive, then one does not see the characteristics of size in Sumeru and the mustard seed. One also does not see entrance, nor does one see non-entrance. To perform this kind of seeing is called True Seeing (chen-chien).

"If there is no conceiving, then there are no characteristics. If there are no characteristics, then there is no 'entrance' and no 'non-entrance.' Being afraid of this, Śrāvakas eradicate [all] mental calculation.[282] Śrāvakas are not yet enlightened, so that they see the characteristics of size of Sumeru and the mustard seed. When Śrāvakas are enlightened, they see that Sumeru and the mustard seed are in their original nature non-substantial, so how can the two 'enter' or 'not enter'? This is to see Sumeru within the mustard seed, which is called 'residing in the inconceivable emancipation.'" (II.3.3:186)

[Number Four: Elucidation of the True Nature of the Dharmas]

A. The Sūtra of [the God] Ssu-i (Ssu-i ching) says:

"The god Ssu-i said to Tsung-ming Bodhisattva: 'What is the True Nature (cheng-hsing) of the dharmas?' Tsung-ming said: 'Transcending the Self Natures and transcending the Realm of Desire are the True Nature of the dharmas.'"[283]

Question: "What are the Self Natures? What is the Realm of Desire?"

Answer: "When the mind activates[284] knowing and

perception, the Five Skandhas each have Self Natures. When the consciousness (shih, or vijñāna) is conditioned by the eye's seeing, this is the Realm of Desire. When the consciousness is conditioned by the ear's sounds, the nose's smells, the tongue's tastes, and the body's tactile sensations, this is the Realm of Desire. If the mind does not activate, it is constantly without characteristics and is pure. This is the True Nature of the dharmas."

Question: "What is it to transcend the Self Natures and transcend the Realm of Desire?"

[Answer]: "The Preceptor [Bodhi]dharma's Explanation (Ta-mo ho-shang chieh) says: 'for the mind not to activate is to transcend the Self Natures. For the consciousness not to be generated is to transcend the Realm of Desire. For both mind and consciousness not to activate is the True Nature of the dharmas. Just as when a river's great flow is exhausted waves no longer arise (ch'i, "are activated"), so when the mind and consciousness (i-shih, or mano-vijñāna) are extinguished the various types of [sensory (?)] consciousness (shih) are not generated.'"[285] (IV.4.2:222)

[Number Five: The Naturally Unobstructed Path of Emancipation]

A. Within the dharmas that are without characteristics, there is no differentiation and no discrimination. Because the mind is without discrimination, all the dharmas are without differentiation. There is no difference between long and short, no difference between self and other, ordinary person and sage, saṁsāra and nirvāṇa, emancipation and bondage, intimate and remote, suffering and pleasure, reverse and direct, the three periods of time, stupidity and wisdom -- all these are without differentiation. [This is to] comprehend the Path of the Undifferentiated, Natural, Unhindered Emancipation.

"All the unhindered persons escape saṁsāra by one Path." "It is neither long nor short that the emancipated person practices."[286] (IV.5.1:228)

B. Question: "What is the Path of Non-hindrance? What is the Path of Emancipation? What is the Path of Non-abiding?"

Answer: "When the senses do not hinder the sense data and sense data is transcended, this is the Path of Non-hindrance. When sense data does not hinder the senses and the senses transcend defilements, this is the Path of Emancipation. Transcending sense data and transcending defilement, this is the Path of Non-abiding...

"Equivalent to the mind, not the mind, and not not the

mind — this is the Path of Non-hindrance. Equivalent to the body, not the body, and not not the body — this is the Path of Emancipation. Equivalent to the sense realms, not the sense realms, and not not the sense realms — this is the Path of Non-abiding." (IV.5.2:228)

C. Utilizing the mind (yung-hsin) but not postulating (li, the usage here being tantamount to "generating") mind or mental states (hsin hsin-so) and having contemplation of neither sense realms nor the absolute — this is the dharma-kāya Buddha.

The [enlightened] perception[287] of contemplation being serene and motionless, able to be born in the Land of Motionlessness — this is the sambhoga-kāya Buddha.

Knowing and perception unhindered, born out of the dharma-kāya — this is the nirmāṇa-kāya Buddha.

The dharma-kāya has a frozen permanence[288] (ch'ang, elsewhere rendered as "constant"), the sambhoga-kāya has a continuous permanence, and the nirmāṇa-kāya has an uninterrupted permanence. The three permanences are one, the one permanence is threefold, neither threefold nor unitary, neither permanent nor impermanent. Frozen, continuous, and uninterrupted — these are the three permanences. (IV.5.3:230)

[Question]: "Why is there one [permanence]?"

[Answer]: "Because the essence of permanence is unitary."

[Question]: "What is the one permanence that is threefold?"

[Answer]: "The essence of permanence is the Tathāgata's Great Samādhi. From this Great Samādhi is manifested Inherent Enlightenment. From Inherent Enlightenment is developed brilliant sagacity. From brilliant sagacity is realized the immediate present (i.e., phenomenal reality). This is the one permanence that is threefold."

[Question]: "What is the neither threefold nor unitary?"

[Answer]: "Not mind, not body, and not the sense realms — these are not threefold. Being not imperceptible is the not unitary. The not unitary is True Non-substantiality (chen-ju)."

[Question]: "What is the neither permanent nor impermanent?"

[Answer]: "The non-extinction of the Nature(s ?) is the impermanent. The extinguished Nature's perfect melding [into the myriad dharmas (?)] is the not-impermanent. The not-impermanent

is Wondrous Existence (*miao-yu*).

"When the eye sees form and the mind is not activated — this is True Non-substantiality. When form does not defile the sense organ and vision is autonomous — this is Wondrous Existence." (IV.5.4:230)

D. "When one enters meditation (*cheng-shou*) in the eye, form arises out of (i.e.. leaves the state of) *samādhi*. This indicates the inconceivability of the Nature of Form, which [ordinary] humans and gods cannot know."[289] ...Ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind are understood as above. (IV.5.6:231)

E. The Great Path of the Unconditioned is level — it is only that practitioners either traverse it or not. If you desire the fruit of Buddha-hood, then make effort in illuminating. Investigate your sense organs, penetrate their substance! Cultivate minutely!

Cultivate, cultivate, cultivate (*yen-yen-yen*).

Mysterious, mysterious, mysterious (*hsüan-hsüan-hsüan*).

Wondrous, wondrous, wondrous (*miao-miao-miao*).

There are no Middle and no Extremes. If you do not cultivate in this lifetime, you will not reappear [from the lower modes of existence (?)] for an [entire] *kalpa*. (IV.5.10:232)

[Conclusion]

A. Question: "Why should one study these Expedient Means?"

Answer: "In order to achieve Buddha-hood?"

Question: "By what means can one achieve Buddha-hood?"

Answer: "One achieves Buddha-hood with the Essence of the Pure Mind."

[Question]: "What is the [Essence of the] Pure Mind?"

[Answer]: "The Essence of the Pure Mind is like a bright mirror. Although it has forever manifested a myriad images, it never has become attached [to any of them]. If you now wish to discern this Essence of the Pure Mind, then study these Expedient Means." (IV.Concl.1:232)

Question: "What is the Essence of the Pure Mind?"

Answer: "The Enlightenment Nature (*chüeh-hsing*) is the

Essence of the Pure Mind. Since one has formerly not been enlightened, the mind has commanded (shih) enlightenment. Because of becoming enlightened now, enlightenment commands the mind. Therefore, command [the mind so that it] views the limits [of space]. Facing forward and facing backward, above and below and in the ten directions, in quiet and confusion and light and dark, during walking, standing still, sitting, and lying down — in all cases, view. Therefore, you should understand that enlightenment is the master (chu) and the mind is the servant (shih).

"Therefore, to study these Expedient Means of commanding the mind, to penetratingly view the worlds of the ten directions, and to be without defilement — this is the Path of Bodhi (p'u-t'i lu)." (IV.Concl.2:232)

B. The Buddha is the Path of Bodhi. Non-abiding is the seed of bodhi. The serenity of mind is the cause of bodhi. Subjugation of demons is the power of bodhi. The transcendence of subject and object is the progress of bodhi. The transcendence of saṁsāra is the benefit of bodhi. Enlightenment (chüeh) is the master of bodhi. That which is equivalent to space is the essence of bodhi. Serene yet constantly functioning — this is the function of bodhi. The Samādhi of the Unconditioned True Characteristic — this is the realization of bodhi. (IV.Concl.3-1:233)

Without the cause, the seed will not develop. Without the condition, the cause will not mature. Without the power, the condition will not grow. Without progress, the power will not harden. Without benefit, the progress will not become valiant. Without the master, the benefit will not be collected. Without the Path, the master will not become exlusively [in control]. Without the essence, the Path will not penetrate [to enlightenment]. Without the function, the essence will not be bright. Without realization, the function will not be autonomous. (IV.Concl.3-2:233)

C. The Five Teachings are:

First, Comprehensive Explanation of the Essence of Buddha-hood, also called the Teaching of the Transcendence of Thoughts

Second, Opening the Gates of Wisdom and Sagacity, also called the Teaching of Motionlessness

Third, the Teaching of Manifesting the Inconceivable [Dharma]

Fourth, the Teaching of the Elucidation of the True Nature of the Dharmas

Fifth, the Naturally Unobstructed Path of Emancipation (IV.Concl.6:235)

4. Shen-hsiu and the Teachings of the Northern School

The texts introduced above display much greater internal complexity, in both doctrinal and stylistic terms, than those presented in previous Chapters. Rather than immediately attempting to grapple with the many different ideas, metaphors, and formulae contained in the *Yüan-ming lun* and the *Wu fang-pien*, it will be better to begin with some observations about the background of these two important but difficult texts. To be specific, let us see if the appreciation of Shen-hsiu's career developed in the previous Section can be of help in the understanding of the doctrines of the Northern School.

We know that Shen-hsiu was the most important figure of the Northern School. What predictions can be made about his teachings from what we have already learned about his historical situation at the end of the seventh and very beginning of the eighth centuries? How might his teachings have contributed to some of the events that occurred after his death, i.e., P'u-chi's apparent hubris, Shen-hui's virulent anti-Northern School campaign, the attitudes and fabrications of the *Platform Sūtra* and the *LTFPC*, and the eventual demise of the Northern School? Obviously, these developments were not solely the result of Shen-hsiu's religious philosophy, but it is important to consider how that philosophy made them possible.

Our knowledge of Shen-hsiu's success at court at the beginning of the eighth century is enough to yield several inferences about his teachings, even before we consider the doctrinal evidence per se. Obviously, those teachings must have been true to his own conception of the East Mountain Teaching of Hung-jen and Tao-hsin, but this inference is not very useful in itself.

More important for this inquiry, Shen-hsiu's teachings must have conformed to certain guidelines in order to have been accepted at the court of Empress Wu. They must have avoided any hint of the elements that caused the suppression of the Teaching of the Three Stages (_san-chieh chiao_), which was perceived as a challenge to the moral and economic authority of the imperial state.[290] On the other hand, Shen-hsiu must have displayed enough intellectual sophistication and conformity with the traditional perception of Buddhism to satisfy the highly literate members of the court.

Next, even while meeting these very basic requirements, Shen-hsiu's teachings must have been original enough to inspire real interest. They had to be unique and, in their own way, superior to all the other theories that had been presented to the court in previous years. Judging from the historical record, Shen-hsiu and his associates attempted to surround themselves with a certain mystique, an aura of supernaturalism — or, at least, this is how some of their contemporaries tended to view them. In view of the discussion of "questions about things" in Section Two, Chapter V, Parts 14 and 15 above and Shen-hsiu's identity as the "verifier of the Ch'an meaning," it seems fair to suggest that Shen-hsiu attempted to bolster or at least to match this public image in his style of teaching.

In addition, even while appearing innovative to Empress Wu and her courtiers and remaining true to his memory of the East Mountain Teaching, Shen-hsiu's teachings must have incorporated some flaw or flaws that made possible the criticisms of Shen-hui and the misrepresentations of the _Platform Sūtra_. Actually, these hypothetical flaws may not have been so obvious in Shen-hsiu's teachings as in those of P'u-chi

and Chiang-ma Tsang, who bore the brunt of Shen-hui's attacks. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suggest that these two students of Shen-hsiu's may have only inherited and perhaps exaggerated weak points latent in their master's doctrines and style of practice.

Finally, from a broader and more positive perspective, it is necessary to admit that Shen-hsiu's teachings must have somehow contributed to the development of Ch'an as a unique approach to the practice of Buddhism, independent of the "doctrinal" approach of the earlier and more conventional schools. Even though the Northern School was severely criticized by Shen-hui, that monk's innovations would have been impossible without the foundation laid by the Northern School.[291] It is important to remember that the historical importance of the Northern School does not depend on the accuracy or inaccuracy of Shen-hui's criticism, which do not address the most important contributions of the Northern School to the subsequent development of Ch'an.[292]

The criteria just stated imply that Shen-hsiu's teachings would have to have been conventional yet original, orthodox yet iconoclastic, and inspired yet flawed. This would seem to be an impossible list of mutually contradictory stipulations, requiring an excessive degree of variability. In fact, even though his teachings may have been complex or variable according to the text or teaching situation, all these conditions are satisfied by one didactic technique of the Northern School: the extensive use of metaphor or "expedient means" (fang-pien) in order to radically redefine the teachings of Buddhism. This technique is also referred to as "contemplative analysis" (kuan-hsin shih).

5. The Use of Extended Metaphor in the Writings of the Northern School

The use of metaphor is no doubt so prevalent within the literature of human civilizations as to be a universal. Certainly, the texts of both Indian and Chinese Buddhism are filled with numerous instances of this technique. Some of these, such as Nāgasena's analysis of the composition of a cart and the image of the burning house in the Lotus Sūtra, are among the best-remembered passages of Buddhist literature. Hence, the mere use of metaphor, even its extensive use, is not noteworthy. It is the way in which the device is used in Northern School texts that must be the focus of our attention.

Just as in other Buddhist contexts, the members of the Northern School considered their metaphors as teaching devices. Although there is no single quotation that will directly prove the point, they apparently considered the metaphors and other formulaic usages such as those found in the Kuan-hsin lun and the Wu fang-pien as part of their arsenal of "expedient means." (Meditation techniques and various elements of intimate, personal interaction were also subsumed under this term.[293])

An important part of the mission of the Northern School was the proselytization of new members. This required written explanations of the School's teachings, as it would with any other expanding religious movement. Although "converts" were no doubt welcomed from among those with little or no prior experience in Buddhism, much of the energy of early Ch'an seems to have been directed at convincing other Buddhists (or at least those with some knowledge of Buddhism) that the Northern School approach to the religion was the most, or even the only, authentic one. This task required that the Northern School trace its doctrine back to the scriptures and prove that it was the highest teaching of the

Buddha.

Since their message was in many ways at variance with the letter and spirit of Indian Buddhism, the members of the early Ch'an School often had not only to cite the scriptures, but to re-interpret them to fit their own purposes. As is said in the Yüan-ming lun, the sūtras could not be incorrect, but one had to understand their true meaning.[294]

The metaphors found in Northern School texts are thus not quite the same as those in earlier Buddhist scriptures. The examples of the sun and clouds and the mirror notwithstanding, most of these metaphors are not intended merely to explain some aspect of Buddhism to the listener or reader, but to redefine some component of traditional Buddhist philosophy into a statement of Northern School doctrine. In a word, the Northern School used the device of metaphor to transform all of Buddhism into an allegory for the practice of the "contemplation of the mind."

The Kuan-hsin lun is a very good example of ths basic function of Northern School metaphoric usage. This text does not say that much about the techniques and guidelines of mental contemplation itself. It is not, in fact, a very well-integrated text: the doctrinal statement at the beginning of the text (see Part 8 of this Chapter) is not complete in itself, and there is no explicit indication of the relationship between it and the extensive set of metaphors that follows. Even the implication of those metaphors is not always clear. For example, on the basis of this text alone it is not certain whether Shen-hsiu was in favor of a traditional configuration of Buddhist practice, including maintainence of the precepts, etc., or whether he had something else in mind.[295]

The point is that the Kuan-hsin lun was not designed to explain the complete ramifications of the "contemplation of the mind," only to point out that such practice was the very crux of the Buddhist religion. Thus literal readings of standard Buddhist technical terms and scriptural passges are rejected as the superficial understanding of the unenlightened in favor of interpretations that relate solely to contemplation.

The following is a summary of the metaphors used in the Kuan-hsin lun:

1. The six consciousnesses associated with the different human sensory capabilities are defined as Six Bandits which cause the attachment to different sensory phenomena, the creation of evil actions, and the obfuscation of Suchness.

2. The Three Poisons of craving, anger, and stupidity are correlated with the Realms of Desire, Form, and Formlessness, respectively. Light and heavy excesses of craving, etc., also determine one's rebirth into any of the Six Modes of existence, i.e., either as a human, god, or animal, etc.

3. The three immeasurable kalpas during which a future Buddha strives for enlightenment are redefined as the Three Poisons. Eradication of those Three Poisons is thus the passage of the three immeasurable kalpas, or transcendence of infinite numbers of illusions.

4. The Bodhisattva's practice of the Three Groups of Pure Precepts and Six Perfections are explained as the suppression of the Three Poisons and purification of the six senses.

5. The "three t'ou and six sheng"[296] of milk that the historical Buddha drank before attaining enlightenment does not refer to the defiled product of this world, but to the "milk of the pure Dharma of Suchness." It refers, in fact, to the Three Groups of Pure Precepts and the Six Perfections. In addition, the cow that produced this milk was actually Vairocana Buddha himself, who out of great compassion causes the Precepts and Perfections to flow out of his dharma-kāya like milk from a cow.

6. The religious activities enjoined in the scriptures are re-interpreted as follows:

A. Temple repair: The Chinese transliteration for saṁgha-ārāma is defined as a "pure ground," so that the eradication of the Three Poisons, etc., is equivalent to the

repair or "cultivation" of such a monastery.

B. Casting and painting of images: The Buddha was not interested in the creation of mundane images, but was instructing the true practitioner to "make his body a forge, the Dharma its fire, and wisdom the craftsman. The Three Groups of Pure Precepts and Six Perfections become the mold for casting within his own body the Buddha Nature of Suchness.

C. Burning of incense: The incense referred to here is that of the true, unconditioned Dharma, which "perfumes" the tainted and evil karma of ignorance and causes it to disappear.

D. Offering of flowers: The Buddha is said never to have advocated the injury of live flowers, but refers in the scriptures to the "flowers of merit" imbued with the essence of Suchness. Such flowers are permanent and never wilt.

E. Burning of memorial lamps: The explanation of this metaphor, which is structurally similar to that of the casting of images above, will be given in English translation in the Conclusion of this paper.

F. Circumnambulation of stūpas: The body is equated with the stūpa and the ceaseless circulation of wisdom throughout the body and mind is defined as circumnambulation.

G. Holding of vegetarian feasts: Through the manipulation of homographs, the phrase "to hold vegetarian feasts" is interpreted as the ability to make the body and mind equally regulated and unconfused.

H. Obeisance: Through the manipulation of transitive and intransitive equivalents of the Chinese characters involved, obeisance is defined as the suppression of errors.

7. A short scriptural passage extolling the virtues of bathing[297] is introduced and re-interpreted as "burn[ing] the fire of wisdom to heat the water of the Pure Precepts and bathe the Dharma Nature of Suchness within one's body." The seven dharmas of the bath are given as follows:

A. Clean water: Just as clean water (ching-shui) washes away the dusts of this world, so do the Pure Precepts clean away the defilements of ignorance.

B. Fire: The fire that heats the bath water is actually wisdom, with which one contemplates or examines one's internal and external being.

C. Soap powder: The soap powder used to clean away dirt is actually the ability of discrimination by which one

can ferret out the sources of evil within oneself.

D. Toothpicks: The "sticks of willow" used to eradicate mouth odor are nothing less that the Truth, by which one puts an end to false speech.

E. Pure ashes: The ashes or powdered incense rubbed on the body after bathing is Endeavor (vīrya), by which one puts an end to doubt-laden ratiocination.

F. Oil: Rather than softening one's skin, the oil referred to here is meant to soften dispositional stiffness, or bad habits.

G. Underwear: The clothing which is kept on within the bath is actually the sense of shame that inhibits evil actions.

8. The practice of the "mindfulness of the Buddha" (nien-fo) in order to seek the Pure Land is redefined as the contemplation of mind and body. The empty recitation of the Buddha's name is specifically and emphatically rejected.

The Kuan-hsin lun concludes as follows:

Therefore, know that the types of merit cultivated by the sages of the past were not explained as external [activities], but only [with respect to] the mind. The mind is the fountainhead of all goodness, the mind is the lord of the myriad evils. The permanence and joy of nirvāṇa is born of [one's own] mind; also does the saṁsāra of the Triple Realm arise from the mind.

The mind is the gateway to the transcendence of this world; the mind is the ford to emancipation. How could one who knows the gateway worry about the difficulty of success? How could one who recognizes the ford be saddened about not having attained [the goal]?

My own view is that [Buddhists of] nowadays are shallow of understanding and only know the virtue of formalistic effort. They waste a lot of money and inflict injury on the countryside in their incorrect [manner of] constructing images and stūpas. They waste human labor in piling up wood and earth and in painting [their monasteries] blue and green. They expend all their mental and physical energy [in this pursuit], destroying themselves and misleading others. Having no understanding of the shamefulness [of their actions], how could they ever be enlightened?...

If you can only concentrate the mind and illuminate your inner [being], then with the enlightened contemplation constantly brilliant you will extirpate the Three Poisons, so that they will be forever dissolved, and block out the Six Bandits, so that they will not attack [ever again]. Every single one of the infinite

number of merits, the various ornamentations and innumerable doctrines will be naturally fulfilled, [including the] transcendence of the unenlightened state and realization of the state of sage. Witnessing this is not distant; enlightenment is in the instant. Why worry about your white hair (i.e., about your age)?

6. Northern School Metaphors as "Contemplative Analysis"

Although it is not used in the early Ch'an texts themselves, modern scholars sometimes use the term "contemplative analysis" (*kuan-hsin shih*, or *kanjin-shaku* in Japanese) to refer to the occasionally bizarre formulations of the Northern School. This term originally derives from Chih-i's four criteria for commenting on the *Lotus Sūtra*. The first three of these criteria concern the relationship between the Buddha and his audience, the doctrinal implications of a given line or term, and the alternative interpretations based on either the ultimate Mahāyāna doctrines or the more limited Hīnayāna. Contemplative analysis approaches each line of scripture as a function or component of the "contemplation of the principle of the True Characteristic of the one mind." For example, Chih-i interprets the term "Vaiśālī" not as a place name, but as a metaphor for one's own mind.[299]

The term "contemplative analysis" is thus quite appropriate to Shen-hsiu, who is known to have expounded on the "Ch'an meaning" of different scriptures. It is entirely fitting that the basis of this method of scriptural re-interpretation might be some form of meditative intuition. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that something more than pure religious inspiration was involved here. To understand the importance of such additional factors, we will have to look at the diversity and background of this didactic technique.

In addition to the numerous metaphoric usages of the *Kuan-hsin*

lun, the Wu fang-pien contains many examples of contemplative analysis. This text frequently adverts to the definition of the Buddha as the Enlightened One in its formula "The Buddha is enlightenment." It is through the economy of the Chinese language that the idea of enlightened person can be forgotten in favor of "enlightenment of self, enlightenment of other." The last part of the second Expedient Means includes redefinitions of the titles of several sūtras that can only be understood as artificial and forced readings. Finally, the phrase-by-phrase commentary on the Lotus and Vimalakīrti Sūtras in the second and third Expedient Means (see sections K and A-C, respectively) interprets these texts in terms of typical Northern School parameters, but in a way that clearly superimposes new meaning on the texts.

In addition to these examples, it is necessary to mention another early Ch'an text which contains a great number of metaphors and other unusual usages. This is a commentary to the Fo-shuo fa-chü ching (Sūtra of the Stanzas of the Dharma Preached by the Buddha), a text that was written in medieval China but which takes the translation name of a much, much older work: the Dhammapada, a famous and oft-translated collection of Pali verses on the ascetic path. The Fo-shuo fa-chü ching is an interesting text in its own right, quite readable in comparison with other Buddhist texts and eloquent in its dramatic expression of the teachings of Buddhism closest to the hearts of students of Ch'an.[300] At present, however, it is the commentary on this text that is of greatest interest.

There are actually two commentaries on the Fo-shuo fa-chü ching known to modern scholarship through the Tun-huang collections. One of these (Pelliot manuscript no. 2325) is a straightforward commentary

devoid of any particular importance in the present context. The second (Pelliot manuscript no. 2192) was abstracted from the great bulk of still poorly-indexed Tun-huang materials by Tanaka Ryosho. The Tanaka commentary is quite long (some 1500 lines) and contains a large proportion of material not really related to the Sūtra itself. Due to internal evidence, it is clear that this commentary derives from roughly the same period of Northern School development that saw the composition of the Wu fang-pien.[301]

The following are only a few of the metaphorical constructions of the Tanaka commentary, chosen for their similarity to other examples of Northern School contemplative analysis:

1. Concerning the explanation of the character ching or "sūtra" in the title of the Fo-shuo fa-chü ching, a character that also means the warp of a fabric, the commentary suggests:

> "The body of the skandhas is the loom, the six senses are the warp, the six consciousnesses are the woof, the six types of sense data are the shuttle, the mental states of grasping and rejecting are the thread (?), and the conditionalities of craving are the weave. With these each sentient being weaves his own karma of rebirth in hell or heaven..." (3:20/70)[302]

2. Distinctions are made between the "exterior" or conventional and "interior" or intuited definitions of terms. For example, the exterior definition of upāsikā is a laywoman who maintains the five precepts, etc., but the interior definition is "the sun of understanding blocked off (i.e., from outside influences [?]), the six types of sense data purified, and the attachments of craving transcended." (8:20/222) Similarly, the interior definition of a heavenly dragon (t'ien-lung) is given as follows:

> "'Heaven' means 'to purify.' Disporting the mind in elevated purity and subjugating the poisons of craving, anger, [and stupidity], the dragon does not create [ordinary] rain [but rather] the rain of wisdom, which rains upon the fields of the mind so that the Dharma will grow." (8:23/225)

3. Two definitions are given for the term ch'u-chia, "to leave home [to become a monk]." "Superficial leaving home" is the conventional meaning of the term, while "mental leaving home" (hsin ch'u-chia) is

to leave the home of the Five Skandhas, six consciousness, and eighteen realms. In form one may be monk or layperson, but one's practice is without preparation, without virtue, without advantage, and without benefit. With sensory realms and wisdom both destroyed and that destruction then destroyed, one leaves discrimination. Phenomena and principle (shih-li) both being purified, this is called the "essential monk." This is the unconditioned leaving of home.[303]
(9:27/269)

4. A definition of nirvāṇa, which in Chinese is transliterated as nieh-p'an, is given as follows:

Nieh is extinction (= death). P'an is generation (= birth). Extinguishing but not extinguishing is called nieh. Not generating in generation is called p'an. Therefore, "nieh" but not dying, "p'an" but not being born, birth-and-death (i.e., saṁsāra) and nirvāṇa serenely identical..."
(22:9/641)

5. On the standard Mahāyāna metaphor of an echo in an empty valley, the commentary suggests that the human form is the object of reference: "The skull is like the mountain and the ears are empty, like the valley." (22:18/650) It goes on to say that the sounds that resonate within the head are fundamentally non-substantial, like those in a mountain valley.

6. A long list of metaphors for a spiritual compatriot or kalyāṇa-mitra is given. Many of these are quite conventional, i.e., to consider one's teacher as one's parents, one's eyes, feet, a ladder, or food, etc. The analogy that a spiritual compatriot is like fire, however, is made by saying that the six types of sense data are the fuel, the six consciousnesses the fire, and Six Perfections the flame, etc. Similarly, in the analogy of the spiritual compatriot as a bow and arrow, meditation is the bow, wisdom the arrow, and illuminating the mind the action of shooting the arrow. (26:12/755)

7. The Tanaka commentary defines the ten precepts in the context of a reference to a Bodhisattva killing his "father," ignorance. For the sake of brevity, I will list only the first four:

If the slightest bit of mind is generated, to illuminate and extinguish it is called "murder." To secretly practice the Path without other people knowing about it is called "theft." To make good use of expedient means to penetrate the enlightenment of Buddha-hood is called "licentiousness." To use metaphors in preaching the Dharma, causing spiritual benefit for sentient beings is called "lying." (40:22/1184)

8. The Six Perfections are correlated individually with

the six modes of existence (the heavens, world of humans, asuras, etc.), the performance of each Perfection blocking off one avenue of possible rebirth. (42:21/1244)

A close examination of the metaphors given above reveals certain differences of implication from those of the Kuan-hsin lun. Generally speaking, the Tanaka commentary is much more inclined to use an apophatic rendering, emphasizing the fact that all instructions pertaining to religious practice must be carried out without breaking the more fundamental injunction against conceptualized and wilfully undertaken activity. The Kuan-hsin lun, on the other hand, states its interpretations more emphatically and without such frequent remonstrations against false conceptualization.

In spite of the typological similarity of their metaphoric usages, there is no apparent relationship between the specific constructions presented in the two texts. Although not quoted above, at one point the Tanaka commentary declines even to consider the three immeasurable kalpas of the Buddha's practice on the grounds that such a concept was the expression of the Gradual Teaching.[304] Since the redefinition of the three immeasurable kalpas appears prominently in the Kuan-hsin lun, it is clear that it was the process of making such metaphors that was important, not any dogmatic attachment to the metaphors themselves.

7. Possible Antecedents to the Use of Contemplative Analysis in the Northern School

To understand the full dimensions of the process whereby the metaphors of Northern School contemplative analysis were generated, it is necessary to turn our attentions to one of the oldest texts of Chinese Buddhism, the *An-pan shou-i ching* or *Sūtra on the Mindfulness of Breathing*. This archaic document is listed as the work of the translator An Shih-kao, but a substantial amount of commentatorial material is included in the extant version of the text.[305] What is interesting at present is the type of effort made to explain the subject of the text. The following, which must derive from the commentatorial interpolations rather than the original translation, are only some of the correspondences given in this text and its preface by K'ang Seng-hui:

> 1. *An* is "body"; *pan* is "breath." (*An-pan* is a transliteration of *ānāpāna*, or "breathing.") *Shou-i* (lit., "guarding the consciousness") is "enlightenment" (*tao*, also "the Path"). *Shou* is "to prohibit" as well as "not to break the precepts"...*I* is the "consciousness of breathing," and also "enlightenment" (*tao*).
>
> 2. *An* is "to be born," and *pan* is "to be extinguished (i.e., to die)." *I* is "causes and conditions." *Shou* is "enlightenment."
>
> 3. *An* is "to count," and *pan* is "to follow." *Shou-i* is "to stop" (*chih*).
>
> 4. *An* is "to be mindful of enlightenment," and *pan* is "to release one's fetters." *Shou-i* is "not to fall into transgression."
>
> 5. *An* is "to escape transgression," and *pan* is "not to enter into transgression." *Shou-i* is "enlightenment."
>
> 6. *An-pan shou-i* means "to guide the consciousness to the attainment of the unconditioned (*wu-wei*)."
>
> 7. *An* is "being," and *pan* is "non-being." By being mindful of neither being nor non-being, one's consciousness practices in accord with enlightenment in response to the meditation of non-substantiality.

8. Of the six facets of the mindfulness of breathing, counting the breaths is the earth, following the breaths is the yoke, contemplating the breaths is the seed, reverting to pure mindfulness is the rain, and purifying the consciousness is the walking ([?] or the furrow, <u>hsing</u>, also meaning "practice").[306]

There are many more such schema posed in the <u>An-pan shou-i ching</u>, a good number of which are much more faithful to the actual meanings of the terms involved. Nevertheless, it is the most apparently unreasonable of the lot which are most interesting, since they imply the existence of an archetypal process of Chinese intellectual endeavor. That is, such seemingly arbitrary correlations are a by-product of the Chinese attempt to understand this new religion from the West, evidence of their efforts at experimentally applying this new message to standard, pre-existent themes of Chinese thought, and vice versa.

There are other indications of similar sorts of experimentation, the most famous of which is the practice of <u>ko-i</u> or "matching the meanings." The exact dimensions of this practice are unclear, but it somehow involved the correlation of native and foreign terms and lists of terms.[307] It is possible that the style of correlation involved resembled the examples given above from Northern School texts and the <u>An-pan shou-i ching</u>.

Better documented is the practice of correlating the five Buddhist precepts with the five cardinal virtues of Confucianism. Although Michihata Ryōshū and Kenneth Ch'en both refer to these correlations as evidence of the sinification of the imported religion,[308] from the present vantage-point it is also valid to observe that they were more basically a means by which the foreign religion could be understood by those already steeped in Chinese culture. In other words, the apparently arbitrary use of category correlation, extended metaphor, and the

interpretation of compound Chinese terms by breaking them down into their individual characters are standard concomitants of the Chinese effort to understand and assimilate something new and different.

Although the dimensions of this phenomenon are still quite vague -- the systematization of the Five Elements (wu hsing) by the Han philosopher Tung Chung-shu and Chih-i's "ten such-likes" (shih ju-shih) might also be considered related sorts of conceptual manipulation and wordplay[309] -- the task at present is to determine the significance of such correlations and extended metaphors within the context of the Northern School.

My tentative conclusion is as follows: Similar to the examples above from the An-pan shou-i ching, the use of contemplative analysis within the Northern School represents a manifestation of Ch'an's struggle to understand and express its own message. This is true not only of the more outlandish examples, such as the explication of the standard metaphor of a sound within an empty valley with reference to the skull as a mountain and the ears as its valleys, but also of the almost incredible number of more reasonable doctrinal formulations that occur in early Ch'an texts.

Even from the limited sample of materials translated here, the reader should be struck with the fact that so many such formulations are posited and then forgotten almost at once. The very number of these quickly forgotten doctrinal statements implies that the Ch'an School was forced to hammer away at the bulwark of traditional "doctrinal" Buddhism again and again, stating and restating different facets of its own message in terms that were increasingly appropriate as time went on.

It was impossible at the very first to step completely outside

this bulwark of traditional Buddhist expression -- the followers of Ch'an would not have known what to say that would have been understood and at the same time considered legitimately Buddhist. No, at the beginning it was necessary to infiltrate and erode that bulwark from within, as it were, transforming it from an expression of the current Buddhist establishment, with its emphasis on intellectual effort and material offerings, etc., into an expression of the teaching of meditation.

Shen-hsiu's role in this effort was of paramount importance, for it was he who digested the sum of traditional Buddhist studies and developed a unique explanation for individual spiritual endeavor. Shen-hsiu's approach was at once the rationalization of a new style of religious practice and at the same time a unique and reasonable interpretation of the original intent of Buddhism. This is the reason his teachings could have been both traditional and innovative at the same time.

8. The Construction of Shen-hsiu's Thought

The *Kuan-hsin lun* must be the initial focus of this discussion because of the unquestionable fact of its authorship by Shen-hsiu and possible composition before that monk's journey to Lo-yang at the very beginning of the eighth century. The opening lines of this text read as follows:

> Question: "If a person wanted to seek the enlightenment of Buddhahood, what would be the most quintessential *Dharma* he could cultivate?"
>
> Answer: "Only the single *Dharma* of contemplating the mind, which completely encompasses all practices, [may be called] the most quintessential."
>
> Question: "How can one *Dharma* encompass all practices?"
>
> Answer: "Of [all] the myriad *Dharmas*, the mind is the

fundamental one. All the various Dharmas are simply the product of the mind. If one can comprehend the mind, then the myriad practices will all be accomplished. It is like the branches, flowers, and fruit of a large tree, all of which depend on the roots for their existence. If the tree is cut down and the roots done away with [the branches, flowers, and fruit] will definitely die.

"If one's spiritual cultivation [is aimed at] comprehension of the mind, then success will occur easily and with little effort. Spiritual cultivation [not aimed at] comprehension of the mind means wasted effort and no benefit. Therefore, know that all good and evil derives completely from one's own mind. To seek somewhere else outside of the mind [and have any success] -- this is an utter impossibility."

Question: "How can contemplation of the mind be referred to as 'comprehensive'?"

Answer: "When a great Bodhisattva practices the profound Perfection of Wisdom he comprehends that the Four Elements and the Five Skandhas are fundamentally non-substantial and without self. He comprehensively sees that his own mind has two types of different functions (ch'i-yung). What are these two? The first is the Pure Mind (ching-hsin). The second is the Defiled Mind (jan-hsin).

"The Pure Mind is the mind of untainted Suchness (wu-lou chen-ju). The Defiled Mind is the mind of tainted ignorance. These two types of mental dharmas are both naturally and fundamentally existent -- although they are provisionally conjoined, they do not generate each other. The Pure Mind always desires the causes of goodness, while the Defiled Mind always thinks of evil actions. One who is himself enlightened to Suchness is unaffected by defilements and is called a Sage. [Such a one] is eventually able to distantly transcend suffering and to realize the joy of nirvāṇa. One who acts in accord with the defiled is subject to its attachments and obscurations and is called an ordinary person. [Such a one] sinks helplessly within the triple realm and is subject to various kinds of suffering. Why is this? Because the Defiled Mind obstructs the essence of Suchness."[310]

The similarity between the Kuan-hsin lun and the Hsiu-hsin yao lun attributed to Hung-jen should be obvious. Just as that text touted shou-hsin or "maintaining [awareness of] the mind" as the ultimate Buddhist endeavor, here kuan-hsin or "contemplation of the mind" is represented as the "most quintessential Dharma to be cultivated, the one Dharma that encompasses all Buddhist practices." Shen-hsiu's text

actually goes one step beyond that attributed to Hung-jen in that it is more explicit in claiming that success in kuan-hsin is not merely tantamount to the achievement of Buddha-hood, but actually equivalent to the performance of all Buddhist practices. As Shen-hsiu says later on in the text, "every single one of the infinite number of merits, the various ornamentaions and innumerable doctrines, will be naturally fulfilled."[311]

Another similarity to the Hsiu-hsin yao lun is the citation of the spurious passage from the Shih-ti ching or Sūtra on the Ten Stages describing the metaphor of the sun and clouds. (See Chapter II, Part 4 above.) In the present case, however, there is no attempt to advocate anything like shou-hsin, the unique approach to meditation that combines a gentle and energetic style of practice with symbolically sophisticated techniques. There are actually two differences between the Kuan-hsin lun and Hsiu-hsin yao lun on this subject: first, Shen-hsiu's text is less explicit on the actual techniques of "contemplation of the mind," and second, it emphasizes the penetration of the fundamental irreality or non-substantiality of the Defiled Mind and its attendant illusions rather than the nurturing of the Buddha Nature within oneself.

On the other hand, there are two points which are stated very clearly in the Kuan-hsin lun. First, the practice of the contemplation of the mind is to be maintained constantly, during all one's activities. The text reads:

> Further, "spiritual practice throughout the six periods of time" (i.e., of the day) means to constantly practice the enlightenment of Buddha-hood all the time within the six senses. "Buddha" means "enlightenment" (chüeh). Thus to cultivate the various practices of enlightenment (chüeh-hsing) by regulating the six senses and making them pure, doing this without cease at all times during all activities, is called "spiritual practice throughout the six periods of time."[312]

Second, the actual achievement of enlightenment occurs instantaneously. The treatise does use language referring to the control or subjugation of the ignorant aspects of mind, but close reading indicates that such control does not refer to the suppression or restriction of sensory activity per se. "To purify the six sense organs" means "to first subjugate the Six Bandits." Those Bandits are not the functions of sensory perception, but represent the impact of avidyā or ignorance upon the senses.[313] Nor is one enjoined to progressively rid oneself of an ever-greater proportion of one's defilements or illusions. On the contrary, control of the defilements occurs in a sudden, all-at-once fashion when the Defiled Mind is eradicated.

Shen-hsiu's appreciation of the instantaneous nature of the experience of ultimate realization and emphasis on the constancy of practice are neatly expressed in the following two statements from the conclusion of the Kuan-hsin lun:

> "Witnessing this [realization of the state of sage] is not distant; enlightenment is in the instant."
>
> * * *
>
> "How could one who knows the gateway worry about the difficulty of success? How could one who recognizes the ford be saddened about not having attained [the goal]?[314]

These, then, are the themes which will form the nucleus of our discussion of Northern School doctrine: the positing of defiled and pure aspects of mind, dedication to the penetration of the non-existence or non-substantiality of the defiled mind and its illusions, the emphasis on constancy of practice, and the recognition of the suddenness of enlightenment.

9. The Identity of the Yüan-ming lun

The Yüan-ming lun is a very provocative work. Its major intent is very conventional Mahāyāna Buddhism -- to convince its audience to train in such a way as to insure their own enlightenment and the salvation of others. Although the general orientation of the text is beyond reproach, some of the specific declarations made are strikingly unconventional. The important ontological role played by the entity space is unparalleled in Buddhist literature, so much as to require an explicit refutation of a hypothetical accusation of heresy. In addition, the description of the world-system as comprised of four disks of equal size contrasts with the orthodox system of three disks of decreasing thickness and different diameters.[315] (See Chapters Two, part K; Three, parts A, C, and D; and Seven, part B of the translation.)

It would be unfair to simply reject these peculiarities as heretical deviations from traditional Buddhist dogma. Instead, they should be approached as indications of creative speculation which coalesced native Chinese themes with ideas from several traditions of Buddhist doctrine. Together with the traces of the Hua-yen, Mādhyamika, and Yogācāra traditions that can be detected in this text, the peculiarities just mentioned can only add to our appreciation of the manner in which one medieval Chinese Buddhist, probably Shen-hsiu, rationalized his own religious practice.

I have suggested above that it was Shen-hsiu whose teachings fill the Yüan-ming lun. In the absence of a colophon or any citation in other sources, the attribution of this text must be inferred on the basis of the following points:

1. The Yüan-ming lun occurs at the very beginning of an extremely important anthology of East Mountain Teaching/Northern

School material, in which the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and CFPC are also included.[316] Hence, it must be assumed at the outset that the author of this work was a member of the Northern School.

2. Not only is the author or speaker of this text referred to as a Dhyāna Master, he is addressed with a measure of respect that is unequalled in any early Ch'an text. (See Chapter Three, Parts A and C.) If the text is the transcription of an oral presentation, as I suspect, the speaker was clearly an eminent figure rather than an anonymous idealogue.

3. The author/speaker justifies his theories by stating that they are based on his reading of the scriptures and his experience in meditation, a position identical to that known to have been held by Shen-hsiu. (See Chapter Two, Part I.)

4. The emphasis on the Perfect Teaching (yüan-tsung) and the doctrine of the "perfectly accomplished" (yüan-ch'eng) is reminiscent of the title of one of Shen-hsiu's lost works, the Miao-li yüan-ch'eng kuan or Contemplation of the Wondrous Principle and the Perfectly Accomplished. Although nothing in the Yüan-ming lun matches the few excerpts of this text that are still extant, it is still possible that the work translated here was originally intended as a brief public introduction of the other, longer treatise.[317]

5. Although most of the subject matter of the Yüan-ming lun differs from that of the Kuan-hsin lun — a fact that has little bearing because of the incredible fluidity of early Ch'an doctrinal formulations in general — the two texts are alike in positing pure and defiled aspects of the mind and in emphasizing the importance of constancy in religious practice.[318]

6. Similarly, in spite of the stylistic differences between this work and the Wu fang-pien, we may note comparable and possibly related expressions, such as those concerning space, the nature of the apprehension of sound, and the defiled and purified realms of ordinary and enlightened beings.[319]

At the very least, it is legitimate to approach the Yüan-ming lun as a potential link between the Wu fang-pien and the other, earlier works of the East Mountain Teaching and Northern School.

10. The Gradual, Sudden, and Perfect Teachings in the *Yüan-ming lun*

One of the first surprises of the *Yüan-ming lun* is the discussion of the Gradual, Sudden, and Perfect Teachings that occurs very close to the beginning of the text. As far as I know, this is the only early Ch'an work to discuss these three teachings conjointly. As such, it is an important precursor to Shen-hui's use of the terms "sudden" and "gradual." More to the point, it is a potential indicator of the relationship between the doctrines of the Northern School and contemporary religious thought, particularly that of the Hua-yen School, which also positied definitions of these three teachings in its *p'an-chiao* or "dividing the doctrine" theories.[320]

Because of the severely damaged state of the manuscript at this point, it is not always possible to decipher the specific statements about each of these teachings. The general argument runs as follows:

1. The Gradual, Sudden, and Perfect Teachings are all different. Those who claim that they are identical do not understand them.

2. The Gradual Teaching seems to be limited to the doctrine of *anātman*, a basically Hīnayāna idea which its proponents mistakenly claim to be Mahāyānist in nature. (Presumably, this includes the doctrine of *anātman* as applied to individual *dharmas*, rather than merely to living beings.)

3. Some people are alleged to believe that the Sudden Teaching is based on the idea that the realms of human sensory perception are the product of false thoughts, so that when one is without false thoughts one also rids oneself of the realms. The *Yüan-ming lun* treats this understanding as too facile and superficial.

4. The real Sudden Teaching is to achieve an understanding of "physical characteristics and the essence of the mind" (*shen-hsiang hsin-t'i*). Although this phrase would seem to imply that the body is a superficial manifestation and the mind a more fundamental basis of human existence, the text devotes quite a few lines to the refutation of this interpretation. Its ultimate resolution of the issue is that neither mind nor body can be adequately described as dependent on the other. Instead, both

> are non-substantial. Rather than the extirpation of false thoughts, then, the Sudden Teaching may be described as the comprehension of non-substantiality.

There is no explicit attempt to distinguish this correct interpretation of the Sudden Teaching from the more advanced Perfect Teaching. This latter Teaching is circumscribed by a list of ten meanings, the adumbration of which takes up the balance of the text. The fact that not all ten are explicitly defined is a measure of the informal, un-edited nature of the text as it now stands.

11. Constant Practice and the Perfect Teaching

To understand the Perfect Teaching, we must thus understand the balance of the *Yüan-ming lun*. Perhaps it will be easiest to begin with the conventional aspect of the text's basic message, the existence of which has already been mentioned above. The following is the most concise statement of the text's fundamental position on religious practice, which is immediately recognizable as a faithful expression of the Bodhisattva ideal:

> You must reside in meditation and wisdom with the contemplation of non-substantiality having been achieved. Not residing in "being" and "non-being," the body and mind are universally "same," like space. Never quitting during walking, standing still, sitting, and lying down, [you should] save sentient beings whenever possible. Saving the weak and helping the downfallen, having pity for the poor and love for the aged, one should think on the suffering of sentient beings within the three lower modes of existence and the difficulties of the poor among mankind. One should always act tirelessly to save them, [even to the point of] discarding one's own life.
>
> One should always undertake such practice while in meditation, for the duration of three great immeasurable [*kalpas*].[321]

Other passages in the *Yüan-ming lun* indicate that this description of the unflagging meditator and tireless benefactor of other living beings is predicated on the same vision of the essential emptiness or

non-substantiality, śūnyatā, of all things as in traditional Mahāyāna writings. References to this concept occur throughout the text: the denial of the existence of sentient beings in Chapter Two, part L; the ascription of non-substantiality to cause and result in Chapter Three, parts B and E, in the latter of which the term "practice of non-substantiality" (k'ung-hsing) is used (similar terms occur scattered throughout the text); and the reference to "non-practicing" in Chapter Four, part B. Even the prescriptions for actual meditation practice that occur in Chapter Six, parts D and F, are in fact a method for realizing the essential non-substantiality of all things.

Speaking solely with regard to the Buddhist tradition in China, this emphasis on non-substantiality may have something to do with Shen-hsiu's emphasis on performing the ultimate practice right here and now, in this lifetime, as soon as one hears and understands it. That is, since there actually are no illusions to be purified, all that is necessary is to realize this fact, cease discriminating in the manner of ordinary, unenlightened people, and initiate the practice of the Bodhisattva as indicated above.[322]

The Yüan-ming lun does posit certain stages of practice, which we will discuss presently, but its main purpose is to induce its audience to begin meditation practice, achieve this transformation, and continue on with the continuous activity of the Bodhisattva. Its fundamental purpose is thus identical to that of the Kuan-hsin lun.

In the Yüan-ming lun the immediate goal is to achieve a transformation of one's "world" from that of a "small" sentient being to that of a "great" one. This transformation, the sudden experience of which is intimated in Shen-hsiu's earlier text, the Kuan-hsin lun, could be

accomplished simply by putting an end to all false discrimination within oneself. This transformation differs from that indicated in the false definition of the Sudden Teaching given above in that the realms of perception are not destroyed, but transformed into a different form of reality. (Of course, neither false thoughts, the realms of perception, nor the great or small worlds of sentient beings can be said to exist in an ultimate sense.)

This transformation may be simply described, perhaps, but its accomplishment was no doubt a difficult task for real practitioners with real problems. It is thus not surprising that the Yüan-ming lun requires energetic effort both before and after the moment of realization.

Actually, here and in all other Northern School texts, the emphasis is so much on the problems of initiating and continuing practice that the actual moment of realization -- if such a single moment can actually be said to exist -- is almost completely ignored. Like the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, this text refrains from using the promise of enlightenment as a reward to motivate its audience.

12. The Reverse and Direct Contemplations in the Yüan-ming lun

The Yüan-ming lun is not particularly detailed on the subject of meditation practice per se. Nevertheless, it does make definite statements about two contrasting approaches to meditation, the so-called Reverse and Direct forms of contemplation (ni-kuan and shun-kuan).

Reverse Contemplation is defined in terms that are reminiscent of the Ch'eng-shih lun or Treatise on the Completion of Truth, a text that was popular during the Six Dynasties period. This text eventually fell

out of favor after being criticized for defining *śūnyatā* through a process of reductionism, whereby phenomenal reality was analyzed into ever-smaller conglomerations of particles until at last the very smallest of them dissolved into nothingness. This method was thought to be distinctly inferior to the Mādhyamika approach, which used a dialectical method that was completely unrelated to the specific size of the particles or their conglomerates, but was based on the analysis of the origin, transformation, and disappearance of the particles themselves.[323] (See Chapters Four and Five.)

It is unlikely that the *Yüan-ming lun* argues directly against the *Ch'eng-shih lun*. It may have borrowed the argument against Reverse Contemplation from some source within the Chinese Mādhyamika tradition that was originally stated with reference to the other text, but in the *Yüan-ming lun* these criticisms are directed at all traditional forms of Buddhist meditation. In general, traditional Buddhist meditation theory required the practitioner to trace each object of his contemplation back to its individual constituents. This requires a certain amount of analysis by the meditator, not to mention the restricted viewpoint (to borrow the early Ch'an sense of values) that the emptiness of reality could be understood only by comprehending its multiplicity and the lack of ontological integrity of any of its most basic components.

The discussion of the Gradual Teaching, in which the doctrinal distinctions normally thought to be Mahāyānist in nature are relegated to the province of Hīnayāna Buddhism, may have some bearing here. That is, the analysis of reality into its component parts, no matter how minute, only yields a Hīnayānist understanding such as that indicated, for example, in Nāgasena's analysis of the cart.[324] Such a pluralistic

understanding of reality, implicitly if not explicitly, still grants real existence to the components of the cart or to the most minute particles of phenomenal existence.

Direct Contemplation avoids this problem completely by rejecting any suggestion that reality should be so atomized as a preliminary to understanding. Instead, non-substantiality is to be apprehended on the basis of a very simple analysis of human cognitive behavior: that perceptions do not actually come to the mind when they occur or go anywhere when they disappear, that the mind itself cannot be fixed in any one location, and that the mind is actually without the distinctions of "this" and "that."

In one passage, the text suggests that the student could appreciate the emptiness or non-substantiality of all reality by contemplating the derivation from space of the infinite minute particles that comprise that reality. Although this stipulation of the role of space is exceptional within the context of Buddhist philosophy, as already mentioned above, it is clear that the non-substantiality of phenomenal reality is based on the essential non-substantiality of its component *dharmas*, not merely because of the transitory nature of the combinations of those *dharmas*. (See Chapter Six of the translation.)

Although Direct Contemplation is not described with any particular eloquence in the *Yüan-ming lun*, this is not so important as the underlying idea of that practice: that contemplation of one's own cognitive existence exactly as it might be at any given time was sufficient grounds to prove to oneself the truth of non-substantiality. No painstaking feats of yogic concentration and mental analysis were required -- only the immediate apprehension of the underlying reality of

each facet of one's normal existence.

13. Shen-hsiu's Instructions on Meditation

The following passage, which is found in the miscellaneous material attributed to Shen-hsiu in the same anthology of East Mountain Teaching/Northern School material mentioned above, is much more explicit than the Yüan-ming lun on the practice of meditation:

> "If you wish to cultivate contemplation, you must proceed first from the contemplation of the external. Why is this necessary? Because the external sensory realms constitute the causes and conditions of the generated mind, the locus of the activated illusions. Also, because ordinary people are so crude and shallow in determination, they generally have difficulty in proceeding to the profound and excellent region [of the absolute, separate from sensory input]. Therefore, one enters the profound and excellent region by first undertaking contemplation of the external.
>
> "[In this contemplation] one must understand that the various dharmas are fundamentally and in their essential nature universally 'same' and without any distinctive characteristics. The various dharmas exist only as a phantasmagorical creation of the beginningless perfumings. They have no real essence. According to this principle of the dharmas' universal 'sameness' and phantasmagorical creation through causes and conditions, [the dharmas] are fundamentally non-existent and without birth and death, positive and negative, long and short. They are only the illusions of beginningless ignorance.
>
> "Through non-comprehension of this principle, one perceives people and dharmas where there are no people and dharmas, one falsely perceives 'being' and 'non-being' where there are no 'being' and 'non-being.' One falsely generates attachment, grasping at people and grasping at dharmas, creating various kinds of karma and circulating throught the six modes of existence. These individuals and dharmas, birth and death, and 'being' and 'non-being' are only the False Mind. Outside of this [False] Mind there is not a single dharma that can be apprehended (te).
>
> "Understanding this principle, one must simply follow each and every [object upon which the] mind is conditioned, investigating it intimately. Know that there is only this mind and no external realms. Perform this investigation purely and attentively always making the mind [stay] focussed (yüan, "conditioned") on this principle of the empty falsity [of all dharmas].
>
> "When you can maintain the mind [on this subject] for

some time, then you must 'counter-contemplate' (chieh-kuan, i.e., turn around and contemplate) this False Mind [itself]. Whether it is existent or non-existent, [whether it is generated or] extinguished, [the discriminatory mind] is ultimately not apprehendable, [no matter how one may attempt] various methods of searching for it. The mind of the future is still in the future, the mind of the past is in the past, and the mind of the present is not maintained [beyond the immediate moment]. Also, because [every] two [states of] mind are dissimilar, when one realizes the generation of [one state of] mind one does not realize the extinction [of another state of] mind (?).

"In discussing the generation of the mind one must postulate causes and conditions. Since it is only through the accumulation of causes and conditions that the mind is generated, if those causes and conditions did not accumulate how could there be any 'generation'? This 'generation' is 'non-generation' (wu-sheng, "birthless," a synonym for nirvāṇa) and this 'extinction' is 'non-extinction.' [Therefore,] one must 'counter-contemplate' this mind."

Question: "This mind being the mind of wisdom, the enlightened mind, why must one contemplate it?"

Answer: "Although this mind is the mind of wisdom, the enlightened mind, it is because of the flowing capacities (liu-lei) of the mind that there is generation and extinction and the non-annihilation of the characteristics of the sensory realms."

Question: "Does not this style of contemplation imply a subject and an object of contemplation (i.e., an inherent duality)?"

Answer: "What I am here calling 'counter-contemplation' is only to be constantly mindful of the contemplating mind's counter-contemplation of itself — there is no subject and object. [Just as] a knife cannot cut itself and a finger cannot point at itself, the mind cannot contemplate itself [dualistically]. When there is no contemplation (i.e., when you are just trying to imagine what this practice might be like), subject and object of contemplation exist, but when actually counter-contemplating there are no subject and object of contemplation. This [practice] transcends words and characteristics, the path of words being eradicated and the locus of mental activity extinguished."[325]

Question: "Does not the mind enter [a state of] blankness (wu-chi) [through this practice]."[326]

Answer: "During [this practice the Buddha] Nature develops of itself and becomes increasingly bright and vast. How could this be blankness? What was referred to above as the 'entrance into the profound and excellent region'[327] is a contemplation in which subject and object are both purified (i.e.,

> rendered non-substantial, hence non-existent) and which cannot be interpreted either in words or with the active mind. As said just above, the more profound and vast, the more great and bright [one's contemplation] becomes.
>
> "One who hears this and decides to cultivate enlightenment according to this principle [must realize that this point] cannot be attained through effort. How can it be reached? When the [true] practitioner hears this, he cultivates this realization through meditation."[328]

As Shen-hsiu's longest statement on the practice of meditation, this passage is interesting for a number of reasons. First of all, it is noteworthy that he counsels the student to begin with "external" subjects of concentration, which here refers to sensory impressions of the external world. This approach is justified on the dual bases of the role played by such external sensory realms in the operation of the unenlightened mind and the lack of aptitude and determination of most meditators.

Northern School literature, especially the _Wu fang-pien_, abounds in dualistic formulations. (Indeed, the writings of virtually all phases of Ch'an use the statement and resolution of dualities as a basic technique of religious expression.) When discussing the _Wu fang-pien_ below, it will be interesting to recall that Shen-hsiu defends at least this one dualism of "interior" and "exterior" on such practical grounds -- and that he uses it to lead to the transcendence of subject and object.

Second, although it is fair to label Shen-hsiu's teaching of meditation as gradualistic because it requires some effort and a progression from external to internal objects of contemplation, this gradualism is mitigated by the very nature of the contemplation itself. Although one's object of contemplation changes, the goal of that contemplation never does. From beginning to end, the point is to comprehend

the non-substantiality of one's object of concentration. There are no preliminary excercises required and, indeed, no specific instructions on exactly how *śūnyatā* might best be apprehended. Even the distinction between internal and external objects of concentration would be eliminated, at least in theory, were one to recall the *Yüan-ming lun*'s position on external reality being solely a manifestation of the mind. Effectively, the mind can do nothing else but contemplate itself — either directly or through the intermediary of its own manifestations.

The explicit stipulation that "counter-contemplation" represents a form of practice that is without the subject-object dichotomy is tantamount to the position that in such a meditative state one achieves contact or identity with the ultimate, undifferentiated state of mind. Above, when discussing the *Yüan-ming lun*, it was necessary to postulate a specific moment of enlightenment, the instant in which the meditator first transformed himself by the eradication of all his illusions. In the present case the first achievement of counter-illumination would have to constitute such a moment — although Shen-hsiu himself is absolutely silent on the issue.

Third, the only explicit mention of gradual improvement refers to a point after the initiation of counter-illumination, when one's "[Buddha] Nature develops of itself and becomes increasingly bright and vast." This is a very pregnant assertion, in that it provides a link that joins this passage to the *LCSTC*, the *Yüan-ming lun*, and the *Wu fang-pien*. The first of these texts — including the *JTAHY* contained therein — frequently refers to the increasingly "bright and pure" (*ming-ching*) state of the meditator's mind.[329] More significantly, the notion that the meditator's mind becomes somehow increasingly expansive

in a spatial sense is distinctly reminiscent of the Yüan-ming lun. That text, as we have just seen, is emphatic about the importance of space as the creative substrate of all reality, suggests that the contemplation of the role of space be a part of the aspirant's meditation practice, and even outlines a system of inter-penetrating "worlds" of great and small sentient beings. The significance of these positive references to space and expansive states of mind will become crystal-clear when we consider passages from the Wu fang-pien that refer to meditation practices designed to either simulate or generate such states of mind.

14. The Construction of the Wu fang-pien

The Wu fang-pien or Five Expedient Means has long been one of the most perplexing of all the early Ch'an works discovered at Tun-huang. In addition to the many textual problems alluded to in the first Part of this Chapter, the style of expression used in this text is very difficult to understand. This style is absolutely unique within the annals of Ch'an literature, even within that of Chinese religious literature as a whole -- a distinction that is not necessarily to the credit of either the Wu fang-pien or the Northern School. Some parts of the text are clear and concise, but the bulk of it is devoted to the reproduction of endless variations on a small number of paradigmatic formulae. The repetiveness of this material, together with the absence of any clear indication of how these formulae are to be interpreted, leads on different occasions to the conflicting impressions of banality and impenetrability.[330]

My own conjecture is that the Wu fang-pien was primarily a teachers' manual and not meant for general circulation among students. Evidence for this consists of the presence of initiation or ordination

rituals at the beginning and the frequent use of abbreviation throughout the text. Unfortunately, this supposition does not immediately bring us any closer to the understanding of the contents of the text. Even after several decades of scholarship on early Ch'an, there are still many aspects of the Wu fang-pien that elude our comprehension.

Although the five different Expedient Means of the Wu fang-pien are clearly enumerated at the beginning and again at the end of the translation above, it will be convenient to repeat them here along with the titles of the scriptures on which they are said to depend:

1. Comprehensive Explanation of the Essence of Buddhahood, or Teaching of the Transcendence of Thoughts: The Awakening of Faith

2. Opening the Gates of Wisdom and Sagacity, or the Teaching of Motionlessness: The Lotus Sūtra

3. Manifesting the Inconceivable Dharma: The Vimalakīrti Sūtra

4. Elucidation of the True Nature of the Dharmas: The Sutra of [the God] Ssu-i

5. Naturally Unobstructed Path of Emancipation, or Teaching of the Comprehension of Non-differentiation: The Avataṁsaka Sūtra[331]

This arrangement of scriptures is immediately reminiscent of the five-fold classifications of the p'an-chiao tradition.[332] In spite of this superficial similarity, there is nothing within the text of the Wu fang-pien itself to indicate that the five Expedient Means are arranged in any kind of hierarchical progression. Indeed, even a quick perusal of the text reveals that the Lotus and Vimalakīrti Sūtras are not necessarily the sole bases of the second and third Expedient Means, respectively.

More important, even though the Avataṁsaka Sūtra holds the distinction of occurring at the final and presumably highest position in

such an inferred hierarchy, it is actually the *Awakening of Faith* that is related in the most integral fashion to the construction and message of the text. According to the normal standards of the *p'an-chiao* tradition, the *Awakening of Faith* would normally be considered less important than the other four texts because it stands at the very beginning of the *Wu fang-pien* and because it alone is a treatise rather than a *sūtra*.

Unfortunately, the fourth Expedient Means is represented so incompletely in the extant manuscripts, as well as in Tsung-mi's résumé of the text,[333] that it is impossible to say much of anything about it. The same is almost true for the fifth, while the third Expedient Means is merely an interesting application of the paradigms of the first two on lines from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*. As a result, we will pay close attention only to the first two Expedient Means.

15. The First Expedient Means and the Awakening of Faith

In order to understand the *Wu fang-pien* we must first understand at least part of the theoretical basis of the *Awakening of Faith*. As explained in an excellent modern commentary by Hirakawa Akira,[334] this text espouses a certain kind of idealism, the "mind-only" (*yuishin*, or *wei-hsin* in Chinese) theory, the fundamental orientation of which is different from the better-known "consciousness-only" (*yuishiki*, *wei-shih*, or *vijñapti-mātra* in Sanskrit) theory.

Whereas the consciousness-only theory begins with an analysis of the nature of human sensory perception and mental activity, from which it draws conclusions about man's ignorance and the chain of events necessary for his emancipation, the mind-only theory assumes the simultaneous existence of innate wisdom and ignorance and proceeds by

analyzing the ramifications of the relationship between the two.

The consciousness-only theory thus devotes a great deal of attention to the identity and interaction of the various components of human cognitive reality, i.e., the sense organs or sensory capabilities, sense data or objects of sensation, and the associated types of consciousness. Although the fundamental assumptions of the two theories are thus radically different, the mind-only theory of the _Awakening of Faith_ in large part adopts the terminology and definitions of the consciousness-only theory, which was systematized long before the text in question appeared.

In the _Awakening of Faith_ the wisdom that is innate within us all is referred to variously as Suchness (_chen-ju_), the Mind that is Pure in its Self Nature (_tzu-hsing ch'ing-ching hsin_), the _tathāgata-garbha_ (_ju-lai tsang_), and Enlightenment (_chüeh_). The variety of names exists because of the differing ways in which the same entity may be approached. As Hirakawa explains these different terms:

> Even though "Suchness" does not transcend the mind, because it is the Suchness of the Mind it is described as the nature of true reality. That is, the theoretical aspect prevails in this usage. In other words, the true reality that pervades the entire universe has been expressed within the context of the mind-only theory as the Suchness of the Mind.
>
> In contrast to this, the Mind that is Pure in its Self Nature may be described as the personification of Suchness. It is Suchness manifested as man. Because the Suchness of the Mind is the fundamental nature of the mind, it is grasped in this instance within the context of the individual human being. In a religious sense it is quite natural that this should be the case...
>
> The point is that the fundamental nature of the mind is equivalent to the changeless nature of true reality. To say "Suchness" is to emphasize the aspect of principle (_li_), while to say "mind" emphasizes that of wisdom (_chih_). At the very least, it would be difficult to understand mind solely as principle. Because of this, the position of the _Awakening of Faith_ may be understood as one of the non-duality of principle and wisdom.

Principle is not simply principle, but necessarily becomes active as wisdom.

> Because wisdom is the manifestation of the principle, it cannot be though of other than as corresponding perfectly to true reality. Therefore, wisdom is equivalent to enlightenment, the wisdom of the Buddha, and the *dharma-kāya* or the *Tathāgata*. The idea that principle becomes active as wisdom is an important characteristic of the *Awakening of Faith*.[335]

Ignorance is understood within the *Awakening of Faith* as the tendency to mental dichotomization, to the unwarranted distinction between subject and object or between self and other. Any moment of thought, as long as it involves such pre-conceived dualities, is a moment of ignorance. At one point, the treatise declares that "suddenly, thoughts arise" (or, to conform with the usage throughout this paper, "suddenly, thoughts are activated," *hu-jan nien ch'i*).[336] This is not meant to imply that there is any point in time at which an individual's ignorance may be said to have begun. Rather, the term "suddenly" is used to indicate the fact that no reason can be given for the existence of ignorance, which is referred to as beginningless. The whole thrust of the mind-only theory rests on the logically prior (but not temporally prior) existence of ignorance, for it is on this basis that one's entire realm of existence is manifested.

Because of the conjoint inherence of wisdom and ignorance, the *Awakening of Faith* is constrained to posit two different types of enlightenment. The first is Inherent Enlightenment (*pen-chüeh*), which, as the term implies, is equivalent to the wisdom immanent within us all. This type of enlightenment exerts a constantly beneficial influence, inspiring its possessor to good works and propelling him up the spiritual ladder toward enlightenment.

Because Inherent Enlightenment is neither fully functional nor

apparent in ordinary people, there is also posited Temporal Enlightenment (shih-chüeh). It is only by spiritual self-cultivation that one approaches and finally achieves the actual experience of realization, or Temporal Enlightenment. At the very highest level of achievement, i.e., Buddha-hood, these two types of enlightenment become identical. At lower stages of progress, one's level of understanding may be described either as "enlightenment" or "non-enlightenment," depending on the perspective.

Having presented some of the basic ideas of the *Awakening of Faith*, I can now introduce the passage from which the *Wu fang-pien* draws its own material. The lines actually quoted in the Northern School work are underlined in the translation below:

> The meaning of "enlightenment" is that the essence of the mind transcends thoughts. The characteristic of the transcendence of thoughts is equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere. The single characteristic of the dharmadhātu is the universally "same" dharmakāya of the Tathāgata. "Inherent Enlightenment" is preached in relation to this dharmakāya.
>
> Why is this? The meaning of Inherent Enlightenment is explained in juxtaposition with that of Temporal Enlightenment, so that Temporal Enlightenment is identical to Inherent Enlightenment. Because Temporal Enlightenment is based on Inherent Enlightenment and because there exists non-enlightenment, Temporal Enlightenment is explained on the basis of that non-enlightenment.
>
> Further, to be enlightened to the Mind Source (i.e., the mind which is the source of all illusions) is called Ultimate Enlightenment. When one is not enlightened to the Mind Source, one has not [achieved] Ultimate Enlightenment.
>
> What does this mean?
>
> [1] An ordinary person may realize the evil activated by a previous thought, become able to calm the subsequent thoughts, and make them refrain from the activation of [such evil]. Even though this is called enlightenment, this [achievement is only] based on the non-enlightenment [of the previous thought].
>
> [2] As with the contemplative wisdom of Hīnayānists,

when Bodhisattvas who have only just generated the intention [to achieve Buddha-hood] are enlightened to the differentiation of [successive moments of] thought, their thoughts are without the characteristic of differentiation. Because they have eliminated the characteristic of the grasping of gross discrimination, this is called fascimile enlightenment.

[3] When Bodhisattvas of the dharmakāya are enlightened to the abiding of thoughts, their thoughts are without the characteristic of abiding. Because they have transcended the characteristic of discrimination and gross thoughts, this is called partial enlightenment.

[4] Bodhisattvas who have completed the [Ten] Stages fulfill the Expedient Means and, in a single moment of correspondence, are enlightened to the initial activation of the mind, their minds being without the characteristic of initialness. Distantly transcending the most subtle of thoughts, they attain perception of the Mind Nature. When the mind [is in a state of] constant abiding, this is called the Ultimate Enlightenment.

For this reason, the sūtra says: "If a sentient being can contemplate no-thought (wu-nien), then this constitutes the wisdom that approaches Buddha-hood."

Also, to refer to the "knowledge of the characteristic of initialness" even when the activation of the mind is without any characteristic of initialness that can be known is to refer to no-thought.

Therefore, sentient beings in general are not referred to as enlightened. Because they have [experienced] a succession of thoughts since the beginning[lessness of time] and have never been able to transcend thoughts, this is called beginningless ignorance. If they can achieve no-thought, then they will know the mind's characteristics of generation, abiding, differentiation, and extinction — because these are equivalent to no-thought.

However, there actually is no differentiation of Temporal Enlightenment [as in the fourfold classification above]. This is because the four characteristics [of generation, abiding, etc.] all exist at once and are not independent. They are fundamentally equivalent, the one identical enlightenment.[337]

The heart of this passage is the set of four different types of Temporal Enlightenment achieved by different classes of practitioners. These four are correlated in reverse order with the four stages in the life of an individual dharma, the smallest unit of phenomenal reality in traditional Buddhist philosophy. These four stages are the generation,

abiding, decay (here described by the character _i_, meaning "differentiation"[338]), and extinction.

It is significant that the _Wu fang-pien_ focusses solely on the stage of generation, which is correlated with the achievement of the highest level of enlightenment. As indicated above, the reference to the "initial activation of the mind" is not to any temporal occurrence, but rather to the logical origin of ignorance, the root cause of the mind's innumerable cognitive aberrations.

Although in the simplest sense the practitioner perceives the crux of his own ignorance and thereby casts off that ignorance to achieve his own enlightenment, the various terms used by the _Awakening of Faith_ have an intriguing set of ramifications. Since it is axiomatic that to completely understand the problem of ignorance is to achieve emancipation from that ignorance, when the practitioner recognizes the initial activation of the mind, there no longer _is_ any activation of the mind. He is then said to have "transcended thoughts" (_li-nien_) and to have entered the "realm of the transcendence of thoughts" (_li-nien ching-chieh_) or, simply, "no-thought" (_wu-nien_).

It is interesting to note that _li-nien_ can refer both to the action of transcending thoughts and, like _wu-nien_, to the subsequent state in which thoughts have been transcended. Similarly, _wu-nien_ refers both to the moment at which this achievement occurs, because that single moment of thought is absolutely without anything to compare with it, and to the fundamental mind or enlightenment itself, which is like an ocean with no waves.

At the moment of the transcendence of thoughts the practitioner's mental processes come to be completely devoid of the subject-object

dichotomy. Those processes become pure realization (cheng) or pure enlightenment. At the complete achievement of Temporal Enlightenment, the practitioner has gained complete unity with the Inherent Enlightenment within himself and has completely banished the taint of ignorance from his entire being.[339]

It should hardly need mentioning that the most fundamental assumptions of the Awakening of Faith are identical to those of Northern School doctrine. The importance of the "non-activation" of the mind among meditation specialists in the early eighth century has already been documented,[340] while the description of the state of the "transcendence of thoughts" as equivalent to the omnipresence of space corresponds very closely to the peculiar emphasis of space in the Yüan-ming lun. Clearly, the use of the terms li-nien and wu-nien in the Awakening of Faith should be considered the starting point for the understanding of their use within the Wu fang-pien and other early Ch'an texts. In particular, Shen-hui's distinction between these two terms may be seen to be unwarranted, an observation already made by the Hua-yen School figure Ch'eng-kuan.[341]

16. The Unique Aspects of the First Expedient Means

In contrast to the pure and defiled aspects of mind posited in the Kuan-hsin lun and the Yüan-ming lun, the most prominent diad in the first Expedient Means of the Wu fang-pien is that of mind and body. There occur numerous passages in which first the mind, then the body, and finally both mind and body together achieve the transcendence of thoughts, emancipation, or enlightenment, etc. It would be helpful to be able to relate some information about the origin of this fundamental

pattern of Northern School religious doctrine.

Unfortunately, I have only been able to unearth a very scanty amount of all-too-inconclusive evidence. The only passages within early Ch'an literature that give any hint of the ideas contained in the Wu fang-pien's dualism of mind and body are as follows:

> To know that the mind is without mind is constant samādhi. To comprehend that form is without form is to roam constantly in the locus of wisdom (hui-ch'u).
>
> * * *
>
> [The meaning of] "Buddha" is "enlightenment." To be enlightened to the non-substantiality of all dharmas, to be enlightened oneself and to enlighten others — this is called "Buddha."
>
> Enlightened to the internal and external, with comprehension unhindered, and with no "going" and no "coming" — this is called "Tathāgata" (i.e., the Thus-come One).
>
> To know that the mind is without mind is for the mind to be constantly serene. To know that the realms are without realms is for the realms to be equivalent to non-substantiality.[342]

These two brief passages come from a short work circulated with the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and other East Mountain Teaching material under the title Ch'eng-hsin lun or Treatise on the Clarification of the Mind. Sekiguchi Shindai has shown that this text was originally a letter written by Chih-i; it seems likely to me that Chih-i's letter might have been discovered by Shen-hsiu during his quarter-century of residence at Yü-ch'üan ssu.[343]

The significant aspects of these passages are (1) their use of the explanation of the meaning of the word "Buddha" as enlightenment, and especially as the enlightenment of self and others, and (2) their tendency to refer to the pairs mind and body or mind and the sensory realms in extremely similar, if not identical, ways. Both of these aspects are extremely reminiscent of the Wu fang-pien.

The most difficult and intriguing facet of the Wu fang-pien dualism is the occurrence of statements to the effect that form, the body, or the sensory realms could "transcend thoughts" and become emancipated. The only precedents to such an idea that I have been able to find also occur in the works of Chih-i:

> Because the realm is wondrous, wisdom is also wondrous.[344]
>
> * * *
>
> Wisdom, which contemplates, illuminates yet is constantly serene and is called "Mindfulness" (nien). The realm which is contemplated is serene yet constantly illuminative and is called "Foundation" (ch'u). If the realm is serene, wisdom is also serene. If wisdom illuminates, the realm also illuminates...The such-like realm is equivalent to the such-like wisdom. Wisdom is the realm. When speaking of wisdom and the locus of wisdom (chih-ch'u, i.e., Mindfulness and the Foundation), both are called "prajñā."[345]

Actually, the import of these brief passages is different from that of the rhetorical paradigm of the Wu fang-pien. Here the point is that perfect wisdom can only have a similarly perfect object, that in such a state of perfect wisdom there can be no distinction of subject and object, of the function and realm of wisdom. (A similar point regarding the Awakening of Faith is made by Hirakawa, as quoted above.)

In the Wu fang-pien, however, the apparent impact — please do not overlook the word "apparent" -- of the pattern in question is to say that the body is enlightened in the same sense as but independently of the mind. Where Chih-i refers to the indivisibility of the enlightened mind and its objects, thus destroying any vestige of dualism, the Wu fang-pien seems to be doing just the opposite by positing the independent enlightenment of mind and body.

The obvious theoretical possibility that we are faced to consider is whether the body might be able to achieve enlightenment without the

prior or accompanying enlightenment of the mind. Although the Wu fang-pien never considers this possibility explicitly, the implications of this apparent doctrine are so problematic that we must search elsewhere within the text for corroboration or amendment. This leads us to the second Expedient Means.

17. The Second Expedient Means

The major thrust of the second Expedient Means is to divide the compound chih-hui, normally translated as "wisdom," into its individual members chih and hui, each of which is then correlated with a different type of understanding. I have arbitrarily rendered chih as "wisdom" and hui as "sagacity." There are several pairs of correlations made within this part of the Wu fang-pien. These may be summarized as follows:

1. The function of wisdom is knowing (chih), while that of sagacity is perception (chien or, later in the text, shih). Since "knowing and perception" (chih-chien) is given as a translation of bodhi, it is also said that wisdom and sagacity are nirvāṇa or the "essence" (t'i), while knowing and perception are bodhi or the "function" (yung).

2. Wisdom is the motionlessness of the mind, while sagacity is the motionlessness of the senses. Similarly, the mind is the gate of wisdom and the senses are the gate of sagacity.

3. Wisdom — presumably, the object of wisdom — is the absolute (li), while sagacity — or its object — is phenomenality (shih).

4. Wisdom is the consciousness transformed, while sagacity is perception made comprehensive. These two are referred to as one's "internal spiritual compatriots."

5. Although the terms "wisdom" and "sagacity" are not explicitly mentioned in the discussion of Fundamental Wisdom and Successive Wisdom, these pairs could easily be correlated.

6. Finally, some of the passages included later on in the composite text presented above refer to "meditation" (ting) and "sagacity" (hui), a pair that is usually rendered "meditation and wisdom" in Buddhist writings. The use of meditation and sagacity in these passages is indistinguishable

from that of wisdom and sagacity earlier in the text. The later usage is continued in the third Expedient Means.[350]

As with the dualism of mind and body, the origins of this inclination to split *chih-hui* into *chih* and *hui* are obscure. I have only been able to find three earlier passages of possible relevence. The first of these occurs in the *Hui-yin san-mei ching*, which we have discussed briefly above in relation to Bodhidharma's student Seng-fu. In one of this scripture's verses there are references to the "gate of sagacity" (*hui-men*) and the "stage of wisdom" (*chih-ti*). Unfortunately, neither is the distinction between these two clear nor is it maintained in the other translations of the same text.[346]

The second relevant passage occurs in the writings of the Mādhyamika scholar Chi-tsang, whose discussion of the various Chinese translations for *prajñā* and *jñāna* contains the sentence: "The illumination of non-substantiality is sagacity (*hui*); the reflection of being is wisdom (*chih*)." The same distinction is repeated more than once, with slightly different nuances. Therefore, the logical basis of the *Wu fang-pien*'s dichotomized usage of *chih* and *hui* existed during Chi-tsang's time, but was stated in a manner exactly opposite to that of the *Wu fang-pien*. Other sources of the same general period are in accord with Chi-tsang rather than the *Wu fang-pien*.[347]

Although it does not specifically mention the terms *chih* and *hui*, the following passage from the Tanaka commentary on the *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching* is very helpful in the understanding of these terms:

> Further, the Pavilion of the Superior Treasury in the Palace of the Sun and Moon refers to the pavilion [in the] palace on Mount Lanka where [the Buddha] preached the *Dharma*. The names "Superior Treasury" and "Sun and Moon" use the ideas of compassionate explanation to form a metaphor for the body and mind of the sage who has achieved enlightenment and attained the *dharmakāya*.

> When one realizes the dharma-kāya, the body is like space: vast, omnipresent, containing within itself a hundred billion suns and moons. Within it thrive all the four types of living beings, as numerous as the sands of the River Ganges. There is no being not penetrated by it and no dark [corner] not illumined by it. Therefore, it is called the "Palace of the Sun and Moon."
>
> "Pavilion of the Superior Treasury" refers to the realization of Suchness by the mind of the sage. [The sage's mind] illuminates the Triple Realm with the wisdom of a mirror suspended on high, which reflects the myriad dharmas as if storing [precious] jewels. The Superior Teaching is inexhaustible; it is given to all [living beings so that they might] transcend birth and death. It is as if a ruler residing on high were administering it to the masses below. Therefore, the Sūtra says: "in the Pavilion of the Superior Treasury in the Palace of the Sun and Moon." (5:7/149)

Here the subjects being discussed are the body and mind of the true sage, but note how similar the explanation is to that of chih and hui, or wisdom and sagacity, in the Wu fang-pien. The sage's body is infinite in dimension and permeates all things and all living beings. In essence, the body of such an enlightened individual is the dharma-kāya itself. The mind is described as being like a "mirror suspended on high" which illuminates the entire cosmos.

Body and mind are not completely separable, the former having nowhere that is not illumined by it and the latter incorporating the myriad dharmas. In addition, the Superior Teaching, which is the source of both the body and mind and the key to the transcendence of birth and death, is described as being given to, i.e., possessed by, all sentient beings. In other words, this is the Buddha Nature that is immanent within us all.

There is an essential similarity between the diads of the body and mind in the Tanaka commentary and wisdom and sagacity in the Wu fang-pien. Although the former begins with the body as absolute, rather than with the wisdom that knows that absolute, this difference is not

significant. This is because there is of necessity a perfect correspondence between the absolute and pure wisdom, as has been pointed out in quotations from Hayakawa and Chih-i in Parts 15 and 16 above.

The second member of each diad is defined as the ability to comprehend all phenomenal reality without any distortion or imperfection whatsoever. In other words, these two diads are variations on those venerable mainstays of Chinese philosophy, li and shih or the "absolute" and "phenomenality" and t'i and yung or "essence" and "function." In fact, chih and hui are correlated in the Wu fang-pien with each of these pairs, as already noted above.

The implicit correlation of the "transcendence of thoughts" in the mind with chih and that in the body or in form with hui requires an unusual interpretation of the terms shen, "body," and se, "form." That is, we must infer that these do not refer merely to the physical corpus, but to that corpus plus all the sensory capacities that are the concomitants of sentient existence. Although there is no explicit proof of this interpretation within the Wu fang-pien, this is the only interpretation which allows us to understand the transcendence of thoughts vis-à-vis the body in a way that relates to the spiritual experience of the practitioner. This is also the only interpretation of which I am aware which fits with the passage from the Tanaka commentary introduced just above.[348]

We must remember that a body which can transcend thoughts does not belong to just any sentient being, but rather to an enlightened person, a Buddha. The body of such a being is not merely physical, but possesses the extra-ordinary capabilities of the nirmāṇa-kāya and the super-corporeal realities of the saṁbhoga-kāya. Although most of the

formulae of the Wu fang-pien seem to be designed so as to reduce the grandiose terminology of Indian Buddhism to a more approachable level, the converse of this impression is also true. That is, the Wu fang-pien is not only saying "to become a Buddha is as easy as this," but also "by doing this you will actually become a Buddha, with all that that entails."

The proof of this may be found in the text's descriptions of and statements concerning meditation practice. These descriptions and statements occur, for the most part, within the context of the ceremonial material found in the Introduction and Conclusion of the composite text.

18. Descriptions of Meditation Practice in the Wu fang-pien

The first question of interest in this phase of our discussion is the attitude of the Northern School authors toward the necessity of moral training as a prerequisite to meditation practice. The Northern School has a reputation in modern studies for being closely associated with Vinaya School centers, and several of its works imply an advocacy of strict maintainence of the precepts. At one point the Wu fang-pien advocates that the precepts should be maintained without transgression "even in the face of death."[349] Certainly, there is no indication that the members of the Northern School ever advocated anything like the institutionalized rejection of monastic convention, as did the Chung-ching ssu faction of Ch'an in Szechwan.[350]

Nevertheless, the fundamental purpose of the ceremony found at the beginning of the Wu fang-pien was not to start the student off on a long career of purificatory exercises, but rather to justify the

wholesale avoidance of such endeavors. Several different types of vows are included in this ceremony — the Four Great Vows, the Three Refuges, the Five Capabilities, and the repentence of past transgressions -- but all of these take up just a few lines of text and could easily have been accomplished in a half-hour or so. When we recall the rejection of scriptural recitation and other forms of superficial religious practice in the Kuan-hsin lun, the Yüan-ming lun, and other Northern School texts, we must admit that this is a general characteristic of the School's religious teachings.

After an interesting redefinition of morality as the maintainence of the Buddha Nature by the "non-activation" of the mind, the text instructs the students in attendance to sit in lotus position, with legs crossed and each foot resting on the opposite thigh, and engage in a period of nien-fo or "mindfulness of the Buddha."

The Chinese scholar Yin-shun has equated this reference to nien-fo with the Pure Land practice of contemplating the Buddha Amitābha, and it is impossible to categorically deny the validity of this equation. Some of Hung-jen's disciples were known Pure Land specialists, while the CFPC admits -- and criticizes — the use of nien-fo by later patriarchs of Ch'an. On the other hand, the Kuan-hsin lun specifically rejects the empty recitation of the Buddha's name, and it is difficult to believe that the practice of nien-fo within Ch'an would not have been redefined so as to be in accord with the particular religious outlook of the School.[351] Therefore, rather than adverting to some other source, it seems best to define the type of meditation referred to here according to the lines immediately following in the Wu fang-pien itself.

These lines are emphatic on the importance of "viewing afar."

The student is instructed to view in all directions during all his activities and in all situations, doing so with unremitting energy and concentration. This description should immediately remind the reader of the Yüan-ming lun, in which space is defined as the basis of all reality and in which the "worlds" of sentient being are described as either great or small, depending on their level of enlightenment. It is tempting to wonder whether the "viewing afar" exercises of the Wu fang-pien represent instructions for the achievement of such expansive states of existence.

Although there is no reference to such "mind-expanding" exercises, if you will, in the Yüan-ming lun, the plausibility of this hypothesis is bolstered by further analysis of the context and description of the Wu fang-pien exercises themselves. There are two points that can be made about them. First, it is the Pure Mind, the enlightened mind, that does the viewing. This is evident from the very crucial passage contained in the Conclusion to the Wu fang-pien, in which the enlightened state is that in which enlightenment (chüeh) is in control of the mind, rather than vice versa.

In the Introduction to the Wu fang-pien, that which views is referred to as the Eye of the Pure Mind. In the text discussed briefly in Section Two under the title Gathering of Twelve Departed Masters Shen-hsiu is quoted as saying: "In the locus of purity, view purity (ching-ch'u k'an-ching)."[352] The "locus of purity" is an unusual term, but it must refer to the mind itself, the Pure Mind. The mind that "views afar" is the essentially pure fundamental mind, which is equivalent to the Buddha Nature or Inherent Enlightenment.

Second, although that which is viewed is all reality, the

practitioner does not perceive any objects whatsoever. This is explicitly stated in the teacher-student dialogues that occur in the Introduction and just before the exposition of the second Expedient Means. The student sees "not a single thing." Obviously, the intent is that he should see without discrimination, just as the Bodhisattva operates within the world without ever conceptualizing the reality of his own existence, other beings, and his efforts of salvation.

The fact that the doctrine of <u>śūnyatā</u>, which is the basis of the Bodhisattva's practice, is important here is indicated by the line from the <u>Diamond Sūtra</u> to the effect that "All that which has characteristics is completely false." The same emphasis on non-substantiality occurs in the <u>Yüan-ming lun</u>.

The conjunction of the ideas of purity and non-substantiality, or emptiness, is in itself noteworthy. Professor Iriya Yoshitaka has shown that these two concepts were identified very closely in medieval Chinese Buddhist texts. In the very simplest of terms, he has demonstrated that the Chinese conception of emptiness was based on the image of an empty sky, while that of purity was based on the notion of a state so clean that all objects had been completely removed -- much as in an empty sky. Since most of Professor Iriya's examples are drawn from the Chinese translations of the <u>Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra</u> and the works of Ch'an figures such as Shen-hui and Huang-po Hsi-yün, it seems entirely reasonable to extend his conclusions to the texts of the Northern School.[353] Therefore, the failure to see -- or, rather, the restraint from seeing -- any object whatsoever means not only to perceive the non-substantial nature of reality, but also to perceive the ultimate purity of that reality.

As indicated by the slogan "In the locus of purity, view purity," the true meaning of the Northern School practice of "viewing afar" or "viewing purity" is thus fundamentally different from the traditional interpretation thereof, in which the School is criticized for positing a distinction between purity and impurity and favoring one over the other. This misinterpretation may be a natural consequence of the terminology used by the Northern School, but the original source of the misinterpretation, Shen-hui, was certainly not above intentional distortion.

19. Meditation in the Northern School

It is not immediately apparent how the practices of "viewing afar" and "viewing purity" relate to the *Wu fang-pien*'s characteristically binominal formulae of the mind and body transcending thoughts. One possibility is to suggest that "viewing afar" represents, not the stages in which mind and body transcend thoughts individually, the the third stage, in which both body and mind achieve that state of transcendence together. Although this interpretation would provide some meaning to this otherwise redundant third stage, I can find no evidence within the text to suggest that it is accurate. It is also impossible to correlate the stages of the meditation techniques described by Shen-hsiu above with the bi- or tripartite formulae of the *Wu fang-pien*.

The second possibility, which I favor, is to accept the disconformity between the *Wu fang-pien*'s doctrinal expressions and practical injunctions as real, to ponder the reasons for this lack of consistency, and to weigh the significance of "viewing afar" in terms of other Northern School texts and ideas. Taken from this perspective, it is significant that "viewing afar" is described without any intimation of stages or levels of practice. The denial of any need for moral or practical

pre-requisites to the highest approach to spiritual practice is a frequent theme of early Ch'an texts, viz., the definition of shou-i pu i or "maintaining the one without wavering" in the JTAHY. The same theme is also expressed in the opening ceremony of the Wu fang-pien.

Even though we were able to find significant parallels between Shen-hsiu's statement on meditation practice introduced shortly above and the contents of the Yüan-ming lun, it is rather this practice of "viewing afar" that best fills the role of the highest meditation practice of the Northern School. In this one exercise -- or, rather, this one state of being -- are subsumed all of the most important themes of early Ch'an doctrine:

1. Just as in the Entrance of Principle of Bodhidharma's EJSHL and the Hsiu-hsin yao lun's practice of shou-hsin, the practice of "viewing afar" assumes complete realization of the presence of the Buddha Nature or Pure Mind within oneself.

2. As with the EJSHL's Entrance of Practice and the underlying philosophy of the Yüan-ming lun, "viewing afar" is based on a full awareness of the truth of non-substantiality, as is indicated by the fact that the practitioner sees "not a single thing."

3. Although not mentioned prominently in the Wu fang-pien, it is the ability to maintain a state of "non-activation" (pu-ch'i) of mind that allows the practitioner to avoid the discriminative perception of "things."

4. "Viewing afar" is described in terms of the perfectly reflecting mirror suspended on high, which reveals its images without distortion or attachment.

It is this last item, the metaphor of the mirror, that constitutes the most appropriate paradigm for this Northern School practice. The mirror's innate ability of reflectivity is itself equivalent to the Buddha Nature or the Pure Mind. Like the sun shining on high, the mirror can be obscured by the dusts of the illusions, but this detail is not relevent here. Rather, the illusions and the elements of phenomenal reality are the mirror's natural objects of reflection, which are seen

to be non-substantial. Just as the passive reality of the presence of the Buddha Nature is assumed but not emphasized, the more dynamic paradigm of the mirror demands that the dusts of the illusions be recognized as non-substantial, unreal, and ultimately ineffective.

The mirror's wonderful ability to reflect images without distortion and attachment is based on its ability to refrain from the "activation" of mind -- it reflects automatically, spontaneously, without ever generating its own preferences or desires. In the terminology of the *Wu fang-pien*, when it reflects an image it realizes that image to be an "other-image." Like space, which is the basis for the creation of all reality, it does not think "I have created this reflection; this reflection is mine." The images, in their turn, appear on the surface of the mirror in perfect congruence with the phantasmagorical nature of phenomenal reality as we perceive it.

Finally, it is useful to consider the implications of the mirror metaphor vis-à-vis the *Wu fang-pien*'s unusual conception of the mind and body. In and of itself, the mirror is a purely cognitive entity. It reflects images perfectly and automatically, but it does not interact with them. One of the most important themes of both the *Yüan-ming lun* and the *Wu fang-pien*, however, is that true Buddhist practice should include constant activity on behalf of other sentient beings. At one point the *Wu fang-pien* redefines "sentient beings" as false thoughts, and the ability of the body and mind to be motionless is identified as the salvation of "sentient beings."[354] Is it possible that the *Wu fang-pien* reduces the function of salvation to a puerile equivalent for self-benefit? I think not.

It is obvious that the mirror's reflective surface represents the

perfectly functioning mind of the sage. I would suggest that, at this level of sophistication, the reality that the mirror reflects is like the practitioner's body. His wisdom is perfect and unconditioned, and we have seen above that the object of his wisdom must also be perfect and unconditioned.

The passage quoted some pages above from the Tanaka commentary to the Fo-shuo fa-chü ching described the sage's body as equivalent to the dharmakāya, and we concluded that the usage of "body" and "form" in the Wu fang-pien included both the physical corpus and all human sensory functions. The concept of "sentient being" is therefore a false thought, a mistaken example of discriminative thinking, whereas the reality of "sentient being" is non-substantial. Each sentient being is in actuality a part of the whole, a part of the practitioner's own expanded being.

Although there is still a significant gap between the epistemological frame of reference of the mirror and the need for salvific activity on the part of the enlightened practitioner, the primary characteristics of each are the same: constancy of application, spontaneity and infallibility of response, and the lack of assumed dualities and individualized intentions.

(Further remarks on doctrinal matters will be deferred to the general Conclusion of this paper.)

CONCLUSION

1. The Original Meaning of the Platform Sūtra Verses

This study began with a discussion of the opening narrative of the Platform Sūtra, in particular the "mind-verses" attributed in that text to Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng. The verse attributed to Shen-hsiu, the reader will recall, reads as follows:

> The body is the Bodhi Tree.
> The mind is like a bright mirror's stand.
> At all times we must strive to polish it
> and must not let dust collect.

In the Introduction I stated that the original meaning of this verse was not necessarily gradualistic, as the traditional interpretation would have us believe. The primary reason for this contention is the following passage from Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun:

> Further, lamps of eternal brightness (ch'ang-ming teng, i.e., votive lamps) are none other than the truly enlightened mind. When one's wisdom is bright and distinct, it is likened to a lamp. For this reason, all those who seek emancipation always consider the body as the lamp's stand, the mind as the lamp's dish, and faith as the lamp's wick. The augmentation of moral discipline is taken as the addition of oil. For wisdom to be bright and penetrating is likened to the lamp's flame (or: brightness). If one constantly burns such a lamp of truly such-like true enlightenment, its illumination will destroy all the darkness of ignorance and stupidity...[1]

The Northern School emphasis on the constancy of true spiritual practice, both before and after enlightenment, has been mentioned many times in the pages above, so that it is not surprising at all to find this idea indicated here. Certainly constancy is the point of both the

passage just introduced and the metaphor of the mirror in the Platform Sūtra verse. In fact, the references to the mirror in that verse read like a truncated version of the metaphor of the lamp in the Kuan-hsin lun passage. The verse mentions only the mirror's stand and the dust upon it, but we can easily imagine further references to its surface, reflectivity, and images, for example. These three components of the mirror could have been equated to the senses, wisdom, and knowledge of phenomenal reality. In this context, constantly wiping the surface of the mirror is not the key that intiates the entire process of reflection, i.e., the key to enlightenment, but rather a standard maintainence operation necessary for the on-going functioning of the mirror. Analogous elements in the metaphor of the lamp are the addition of oil and trimming of the wick, both of which are necessary to the continued function of illumination. In actual fact, medieval Chinese mirrors had to be polished frequently in order to prevent their reflective surfaces from tarnishing.

Although this was clearly the original intent of the metaphor of the mirror, I am not certain whether this interpretation was known to the compiler of the Platform Sūtra. He may have been using some indirect and/or corrupted source for the teachings of the Northern School. Several Northern School texts, both early and late, refer to the image of the mirror and the dust that obscures it. These references are often made in an offhand fashion or are done for fairly non-controversial, laudatory purposes (e.g., "their Dharma-mirrors are bright"[2]), and it is easy to imagine that a purely gradualistic usage of this popular metaphor might have occurred, even though none is recorded in the material still extant. In Section Three, Chapter II, Part 4 above we noticed

brief references to wiping the dust off the surface of a mirror in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and one other East Mountain Teaching work, but the implication of these references fits much better with my interpretation just above than with the traditional one of gradualistic practice. Shen-hsiu's epitaph by Chang Yüeh contains a line to the effect that "The mirror of the mind-mirror has dust upon its external [surface]; if it is not polished it will not reflect."[3] This too is not a defense of gradualism, but the manifestation of the belief that individual practice was both desirable and necessary for a true Buddhist.

Just as with the Platform Sūtra's reference to the mirror, other lines in the "mind-verses" are distinctly reminiscent of Northern School material. One such line is that which contains the reference to the Bodhi Tree. Recall the following lines from the Wu fang-pien:

> Peaceful and vast without limit, its untaintedness is the Path of Bodhi. The mind serene and enlightenment distinct, the body's serenity is the Bodhi Tree.
>
> * * *
>
> The Buddha is the Path of Bodhi. Non-abiding is the seed of bodhi. The serenity of mind is the cause of bodhi. The serenity of body is the condition of bodhi. Subjugation of demons is the power of bodhi. The transcendence of subject and object is the progress of bodhi. The transcendence of saṁsāra is the benefit of bodhi. Enlightenment is the master of bodhi. That which is equivalent to space is the essence of bodhi. Serene yet constantly functioning — this is the function of bodhi. The Samādhi of the Unconditioned True Characteristic — this is the realization of bodhi.[4]

Clearly, the Platform Sūtra could easily have drawn its inspiration from the Wu fang-pien.

The other line that bespeaks Northern School influence on the "mind-verses" is only found in later texts of the Platform Sūtra. The Tun-huang version of the text, which is the oldest still extant, actually includes two verses attributed to Hui-neng. One of these has

been introduced above:

> *Bodhi* originally has no tree.
> The mirror also has no stand.
> The Buddha Nature is always clear and pure.
> Where is there room for dust?

The second verse reads as follows:

> The mind is the *Bodhi* Tree.
> The body is the bright mirror's stand.
> The bright mirror is originally clear and pure.
> Where could there be any dust?[5]

As Hu Shih first suggested, the original author must have been unsure of which verse was better — or at least unable to discard one of his own literary creations.[6] Later editions reduce Hui-neng's contribution to a single verse, with a significantly altered third line:

> *Bodhi* originally has no tree.
> The bright mirror also has no stand.
> Fundamentally there is not a single thing.
> Where could dust arise?[7]

D. T. Suzuki has referred to the third line of the last verse as "the first proclamation made by Hui-neng" and "a bomb thrown into the camp of Shen-hsiu and his predecessors."[8] Considering the lateness of the appearance of this version of "Hui-neng's" contribution in a work that was already late in itself, Suzuki's assertion is obviously incorrect.

The following dialogues and remarks from the *Wu fang-pien* seem to be related to the third line of the last *Platform Sūtra* verse:

> The Preceptor asked: "What do you see (lit., what thing do you see?)"
>
> The disciple(s) answered: "I do not see a single thing."
>
> Preceptor: "Viewing purity, view minutely. Use the eye of the pure mind to view afar without limit, without restriction. View without obstruction."
>
> The Preceptor asked: "What do you see?"
>
> Answer: "I do not see a single thing."

* * *

Question: "When viewing, what things do you view?"

[Answer]: "Viewing, viewing, no thing is viewed."

[Question]: "Who views?"

[Answer]: "The enlightened mind views."

"Penetratingly viewing the realms of the ten directions, in purity there is not a single thing."[9]

Perhaps even more significant, the Tanaka commentary on the Fo-shuo fa-chü ching includes a line that reads almost exactly like that in the later versions of the Platform Sūtra:

Within Suchness there originally is really not a single thing. (21:16/618)

The Chinese for the critical portion of this line is yüan-lai shih wu i wu, which is very close to the Platform Sūtra's pen-lai wu i wu.

In other words, the three different subjects mentioned in the Platform Sūtra verses, i.e., the mirror, Bodhi Tree, and "not a single thing," are all antedated by analogous statements in Northern School literature. Since none of this Northern School literature manifests any indication of having been influenced by Shen-hui or any other Southern School source, the only possible conclusion is that the Platform Sūtra was compiled in part with deliberate use of Northern School texts and doctrines.

Although this conclusion is no doubt surprising, even shocking, to those who are used to approaching the Platform Sūtra in the traditionalistic terms popularized by D. T. Suzuki and others, a more comprehensive appreciation of the history of early Ch'an doctrinal development helps to foster a more open-minded attitude. The Platform Sūtra is now known to have been written by a member of the Ox-head School, rather

than a direct religious successor to Hui-neng and/or Shen-hui. It does not, as Suzuki, Hu, and other early modern scholars believed, contain anything at all that is directly attributable to Hui-neng. My own study of the Ox-head School[10] has shown that its teachings were fundamentally in agreement with those of the Northern School on the subjects of mental contemplation and the necessity of constant practice. The major difference between the two Schools lay in the Ox-head use of a certain logical pattern that included, at one stage, the extensive use of negation. Although this distinctive proclivity to negation appears prominently in the "mind-verses" of the Platform Sūtra, many of the underlying attitudes and assumptions of the two Schools were identical.

Although the study of the Ox-head School is still far from being complete, at this juncture it is necessary only to confirm that the Northern School was an important influence on its development in the latter part of the eighth century, as well as on the composition of the Platform Sūtra, which appeared around the year 780.[11] In other words, at that time the most glamorous period of Northern School history was over, but the School was still an important creative force within the Ch'an tradition as a whole.

2. The Northern School and the Concept of "No-mind"

It is clear that at some point during the eighth century — the decisive event was the composition of the Platform Sūtra around the year 780 — the Northern School lost its position of pre-eminence to the Southern School. The texts of the new Southern School used terminology that originally appeared in a piecemeal fashion in Northern School texts, but which was popularized after its more systematic use by Shen-

hui. The most famous of these terms is wu-hsin or "no-mind." This term appears prominently in several Southern School texts and has come to be thought of as actually representing the new spirit of that school. However, a brief examination of this term will indicate the probability of significant and lasting influence of the Northern School.

Although the importance of the term "no-mind" was first emphasized by D. T. Suzuki in works in Japanese and English, his treatment was based on such a wide-ranging selection of texts and contains so many historical errors as to be of no value here.[12] Much more useful, as it turns out, is an article by Hattori Masaaki on the relationship between Ch'an and Indian Buddhism.[13] The texts that Hattori cites — the Platform Sūtra, an anonymous work called the Wu-hsin lun or Treatise on No-mind, and Huang-po Hsi-yün's (d. 848) Ch'üan-hsin fa-yao or Essential Teaching of the Transmission of the Mind — are of exactly the correct provenance for the purposes of this discussion. That is, they all derive from after the period of Northern School ascendancy and, with the possible exception of the Wu-hsin lun, Shen-hui's career. They are also preliminary to or stylistically different from the "golden age" texts of Ma-tsu and Lin-chi, etc., yet each of these works was accepted by the masters of that later era as part of the legacy of the "Southern School." Therefore, any theoretical congruence between the contents of these texts and the ideas of the Northern School may be taken as an indication of the innovative role played by the members of that School.

Hattori begins his argument by pointing out that the terms "no-mind," "no-thought" (wu-nien), and the "mind of no-mind" (wu-hsin chih hsin) refer to the refutation of the definition of mind as an internal perceiver of the external world. Whereas that ordinary understanding of

the mind is based on the notion of a subjective capability of perception and an objective sensory entity, no-mind refers to a level of consciousness that does not admit the existence of such a dichotomy.

In some cases, such as certain passages in the Ch'üan-hsin fa-yao,[14] the refutation of this dichotomy is apparently interpreted as imposing the complete cessation of all mental activity and transforming the mind into an inanimate object like a rock or a piece of wood. If this apparent interpretation were accurate, this would be reminiscent of certain states of samādhi practiced in early Buddhism which involved the complete cessation of mental activity. Although such states are referred to in Sanskrit literature as acitta or "no-mind," their achievement is not ranked very highly within the schema of spiritual progress and does not represent the meaning of no-mind in Ch'an.[15] In fact, the references to making the mind like a rock or piece of wood actually refer to the state in which the mind no longer discriminates things and is no longer objectified itself by those things and its own processes.

The Wu-hsin lun contains the query: "If there is no mind, who is it that sees, hears, and perceives, and who is it that knows of this no-mind?" The answer is: "On the contrary, it is because of no-mind that one can see, hear, and perceive, and it is no-mind that knows that it is no-mind."[16] In other words, no-mind is not a state in which perceptual activities cease, but the very basis for those activities. In the Ch'üan-hsin fa-yao, no-mind is presented as the transcendence of the locus of relationship between things and the discriminatory mind.[17] In the Platform Sūtra, it is referred to as the Self Nature or fundamental reality of the mind. Just as the mind is not objectified by any dis-

crimination of things, so are those things no longer subject to attachment. As "Hui-neng" says:

> If one views all the dharmas without mental attachment, this is no-thought...If one can only purify the fundamental mind, then even though the six consciousnesses exeunt the six gates [of sense perception], within the six types of sense data there is no defilement and no heterogeneity, and one's coming and going is autonomous, with no restriction of function.[18] (Emphasis added.)

Hattori then proceeds to argue that Ch'an is descended from the tathāgata-garbha tradition of Indian Buddhism, a tradition that reaches back through the Mahāsaṁghikas to some of the works of the earliest Hīnayāna canon. This tradition holds that the mind is fundamentally pure, but obscured by the adventitious influence of ignorance — ideas that we have already introduced above in conjunction with the Awakening of Faith. (See Section Three, Chapter III, Part 15.) The critical point of this discussion is that enlightenment is understood in this tradition as follows (quoting Hattori):

> The tathāgata-garbha theory, in which all sentient beings are thought to possess the Buddha Nature, is expounded on the basis of the realization of the distinctionlessness of the dharma-dhātu. This realization of the distinctionlessness of the dharma-dhātu allows sentient beings to transcend the limitations of their individual situations and meld into the dharma-dhātu. This is not a continuation of their individuality as sentient beings. Rather, the basis (āśraya) of their defiled existence as sentient beings is transformed (parāvṛtti) into undefiled Suchness and their fundamental basis of existence (also āśraya) as Suchness is actualized (genjō in Japanese, or parivṛtti). The tathāgata-garbha theory is based upon the religious awareness of such a transformation of one's basis of existence...
>
> The "fundamental mind" and "one's own mind" that the patriarchs of Ch'an emphasize so repeatedly is the fundamental source of that mind which manifests the various aspects of perception. It is the "fundamental essence" of the mind, the "originally pure" mind. To transform the basis of one's existence as a sentient being by turning the mind that chases after external objects into "no-mind" and to be enlightened to the "originally pure" mind is nothing other than the actualization of the dharma-dhātu.[19]

Although it would not be feasible at this point to elaborate on

Hattori's argument with additional citations from the Wu-hsin lun, Platform Sūtra, and other works, I believe that the congruence between the ideas just introduced and the teachings of the Northern School as discussed in the previous Section should be self-evident. Certainly, the transformation described by Hattori is identical to that described by the Yüan-ming lun and the Wu fang-pien, even down to the Platform Sūtra's suggestion (underlined in the quotation from that work above) that the realms of perception are purified through this event in the same manner as the mind.

In other words, according to this one avenue of inquiry the most basic teachings of the Northern School and the later Southern School were intimately related. Although this is not to make the claim that the teachings of the two Schools were precisely identical, Hattori's analysis bolsters the evidence presented above concerning the Platform Sūtra "mind-verses" in its implication that the teachings of the Northern School were much more crucial to the subsequent history of Ch'an than has previously been believed. Although this discussion has been limited in scope, the same conclusion would follow a consideration of other topics.[20]

3. The Eventual Decline of the Northern School: Reasons and Implications

In the Conclusion to Section Two I suggested that the Northern School's demise may have been hastened by its lack of any centralized institutional structure, that after Shen-hsiu's death the centrifugal forces on the School were simply too great for it to exist as a single unit. Much the same can be said of Northern School doctrine. Although I believe I have been able to indicate at least the basic themes of

early Ch'an religious theory, this has been accomplished in spite of a truly incredible number of different individual slogans and doctrinal formulations found in the early texts. Even more important than this heterogeneity of expression is the fact that many statements of Northern School doctrine were designed so as to bridge the gap between the conventional standards of traditional Chinese Buddhism and the new approach of Ch'an. Actually, they were not meant so much to bridge a pre-existent gap as to create a new one.

As the discussion of contemplative analysis in Section Three has shown, many Northern School statements weave an entirely new fabric from the threads of conventional Buddhist terminology. Although these statements may be justly described as creating, for the first time, the distinction between "Ch'an" and "doctrinal Buddhism" (chiao), the statements themselves were not entirely independent of traditional scriptural studies. This is because they were so often phrased in terms of conventional Buddhist jargon. Although the members of the Northern School were not scholastics, they focussed their attentions on explaining themselves in the highly literate milieu of imperial court society. The taint of scholasticism, indirect though it was, thus became an inescapable consequence of the Northern School's historical role.

When we consider Northern School doctrine in more specific terms, it is easy to spot the flaw that was most responsible for the caricature of the School as philosophically backward. This is the absence of any strikingly obvious difference between its ideas of constant practice and the Perfect Teaching and the much more elementary notion of gradual self-perfection. According to my understanding of the Yüan-ming lun and

other Northern School texts, the Perfect Teaching makes allowance for gradual progress within the context of a fundamentally more significant recognition of one's present inner perfection. The recognition of that perfection and of the ultimate non-reality of the afflictions that are attendant upon ignorance results in the initiation of a type of religious practice whose quintessential characteristic is its constancy of application.

The early Ch'an Masters made frequent exhortations to constant effort, but they seem to have consistently refrained from dangling the lure of the enlightenment experience in front of their students' noses. (Shen-hui was the first and most obvious violator of this convention.) Nevertheless, when taken out of context, such exhortations and references to the constancy of practice were easily mistaken for simple gradualism. This mistaken impression was no doubt rendered more likely by the tendency of Northern School texts to use apparently sequential or progressive forms of expression, even though the doctrines themselves were essentially non-sequential, i.e., either perfect or sudden.

At the end of Section Two I mentioned that there was no institutional reason for the Northern School _not_ to have disappeared, and a similar observation is possible on the basis of doctrinal matters. Previous studies of early Ch'an have tended to over-emphasize the supposed conflict between the Northern and Southern Schools, when in fact there is no incontrovertible evidence that the conflict in question was not restricted to the minds of Shen-hui and his followers. There is no indication within the works that we have studied here that the participants in the early Ch'an religious movement considered themselves bound by the specific doctrinal formulations of their teachers. To be

sure, individual allegiances between masters and disciples existed. Nevertheless, the primary characteristic of these men was not their dedication to a transmitted dogma, but rather their willingness to doctrinal innovation. The disappearance of the Northern School was thus a function of the process of innovation which it began and is no more significant than the disappearance of any other Ch'an lineage, Shen-hui's included. Clearly, the various contributions of the Northern School are more important than the fact of its eventual demise.

4. The Distinction between Conventional Meditation Technique and the Approach of the Northern School

Scholarly opinion here to date has generally held that the history of early Ch'an may be described in terms of the gradual sinification of Buddhist spiritual practice. That is, native Chinese tendencies transformed what was originally a yogic discipline of concentrative exercises and gradual self-perfection into a more open and spontaneous form of human interaction, religious dialogue, and unstructured introspection. Typically, the Northern School is represented in terms of quietistic gradualism, while t..e Southern School is said to have advocated a sudden and thus more progressive and intrinsically Chinese approach.

At this point some of the problems implicit in such assertions should be obvious: that the Northern School did not teach a gradualistic doctrine, and was probably responsible for the early development of a very Chinese style of religious dialogue; that the Southern School did not derive from the teachings of Hui-neng, but must be approached as an extension from and reaction to the Northern School; and finally, if the ꞉ntative conclusions made in the preceding Part are

to be accepted, that there were significant areas of continuity between the Northern School and post-Shen-hui phases of Ch'an. Nevertheless, the wide acceptance of the sudden/gradual and North/South distinctions renders it incumbent upon us to discuss the following two matters in some detail.

First, the independence of the Ch'an approach to spiritual practice from conventional meditation technique is not only apparent in Ch'an literature from the very beginning, it was virtually mandated by the historical situation of the School in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. Second, whereas the sudden/gradual dichotomy was primarily perjorative or propagandistic in origin is inadequate and inaccurate as a criterion for the understanding of the development of the Ch'an School, the basic doctrines of the "East Mountain Teaching" and "Northern School" represent two fundamental themes of early Ch'an religious theory.

How did the historical situation of Ch'an in the late seventh and early eighth centuries necessitate disassociation from traditional meditation technique? This question may be answered by a brief comparison of the biographies of the early Ch'an figures with those of preceding phases of the Chinese Buddhist meditation tradition. The Northern School masters were not adepts of meditation in the same sense as Seng-ch'ou and others -- the biographies of the Ch'an School masters contain very few references to the standard components of traditional meditation, i.e., the Four Foundations of Mindfulness, the mindfulness of breathing, etc. No doubt these older practices were still widely used, but the trend was more to individual interpretations of the very heart of Buddhist meditation itself. Whereas Seng-ch'ou and his

predecessors were primarily yogins, or masters of a spiritual craft, the figures associated with early Ch'an were perceived more as men of insight, sages whose wisdom was fully grounded in personal religious experience.

Chih-i's career also has instructive implications vis-à-vis the development of early Ch'an. His individual achievement in creating a uniquely new School of Chinese Buddhism was an important precedent for the emergence of Ch'an -- the reader should be aware that Chih-i's peculiar conjunction of ideas from the Mādhyamika, meditation, _p'an-chiao_, and _Lotus Sūtra_ traditions was entirely without precedent in Indian Buddhism. Early Ch'an was obviously indebted to the prior success of the T'ien-t'ai School -- and, in equal measure, to its temporary fall from prominence during the seventh century. That is, the Northern School arose in much the same geographical area and on the basis of much the same religious enthusiasm that fuelled the emergence of Chih-i's School. Although Ch'an's continued success after the demise of Empress Wu compares favorably to the obscurity of T'ien-t'ai after the fall of the Sui, this may have been largely an accident of history. The Northern School may have courted the seats of power in Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang as assiduously as it did out of an awareness of the earlier isolation of Chih-i's followers in Ching-chou and on Mount T'ien-t'ai, but this possibility cannot be verified historically.

More important is the fact that as far as the development of early Ch'an is concerned, Chih-i's extensive, even encyclopedic, writings on the subject of meditation placed him and his followers in the same general category as Seng-ch'ou and the adepts of the North. To be sure, Chih-i placed a much greater emphasis than they did on the

understanding of Buddhist doctrine. We may easily imagine that this emphasis had an impact on the the eventual teachings of Ch'an. Nevertheless, Chih-i's works contained a description of traditional meditation technique that was comprehensive, exhaustive, and more detailed than any scriptural source in terms of concrete procedures. Even though the eventual thrust of Chih-i's religious philosophy was to transcend the traditional meditation technology described so elaborately in his own works, the very fact that those works were so exhaustively descriptive engendered an identification between the technology itself and its systematizer. Just as the Ch'an School avoided the use of doctrines intimately associated with other Chinese Schools, so they were constrained to define their own approach to meditation so as to avoid being misinterpreted as successors to the T'ien-t'ai School.

In Chapter V of Section Two I pointed out that Ch'an was forced to create its own legendary history because it lacked inherent connections to any single pre-existent scriptural or practical tradition of earlier Indian or Chinese Buddhism. Lacking the ready-made affiliations of the San-lun or T'ien-t'ai Schools, for example, which could look to long traditions of scriptural exegesis and spiritual practice, the Ch'an School defined itself so as to exist apart from the conventional history of Indian and Chinese Buddhism. The theories of the transmission that were devised by members of the Northern School, which purported to describe a succession from Śākyamuni to Bodhidharma and thence to Hung-jen and Shen-hsiu, were clearly designed to provide Ch'an with a rationalization of its own existence in the face of real or expected opposition from other, more "legitimate" Schools of Chinese Buddhism.

An important corollary to this interpretation of early Ch'an historical texts is that this fabrication of a collective religious identity that was entirely independent of traditional Buddhist considerations was accompanied by significant changes in the general conception of a meditation master. Just as the Ch'an School represented itself as the true teaching of Buddhism that had been transmitted apart from written texts, so did individual masters seek to discover interpretations of Buddhism and approaches to spiritual practice that existed apart from traditional theories and techniques. In other words, given sufficient interest in meditation to make its practice the basis for an independent religious movement, the practice of meditation was forced to undergo a fundamental change of definition. Or, to take another tack, it was only by seeking interpretations of Buddhist meditation outside the traditional parameters that meditation could become the basis of an independent school.

Rather than attempt to select one or the other of the two alternatives just mentioned, I would like to emphasize the parallelism of these developments. It is very significant that one group of individuals created the theoretical rationalization for the existence of a _school_ of meditation, utilized "contemplative analysis" to transmute traditional terms and phrases into descriptions of their own ideas, emphasized the role of intimate interaction between masters and students in the quest for enlightenment, and experimented with forms of religious contemplation and intercourse that seem to be closely related to the subsequent emergence of "encounter dialogue." Although its identity and significance have not been clearly understood in the past, the various innovations of the Northern School were all mutually inter-related and

all connected to its fundamental mission: the establishment of a school of Ch'an that was a truly independent and completely integrated expression of the highest ideal of Buddhism.

5. The Static and Dynamic Components of Early Ch'an Doctrine

In Section Three I defined the teachings of the "East Mountain Teaching" and "Northern School" phases of early Ch'an thought. These are best approached in terms of two metaphors, the sun obscured by clouds and the perfectly functioning mirror. A brief re-examination of these metaphors will be helpful in the understanding of the basic themes of early Ch'an religious philosophy.

As described in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and other texts, the primary emphasis of the metaphor of the sun and clouds is that the Buddha Nature is constantly present within us. The clouds of illusion that render the Buddha Nature invisible only exist adventitiously, so that their negative impact is substantially less significant that the fact of its immanence. This priorization is the basis of two different meditative techniques: visualization of the sun and concentration on the activity of the discriminative mind. In each case, the instruction is not to force the manifestation of the Buddha Nature or the destruction of ignorant mentation, but to allow these events to occur naturally. Although the student is frequently encouraged to apply all his energies to his religious practice, the specific techniques recommended are apparently designed so as to minimize the creation of goal-oriented dualisms.

The metaphor of the mirror is not described so concisely in any single primary text, being rather a general theoretical perspective that

underlies a variety of religious propositions and practical expressions. Whereas the previous metaphor describes the state of unenlightened existence, the mirror represents the mind of the fully awakened sage: it reflects its objects perfectly, immediately, and without attachment. Similarly, the sage perceives the spiritual ills of those around him and responds spontaneously and without hesitation or attachment. The religious practices based on or best explained by this metaphorical construct include "viewing afar," in which the practitioner was to mentally simulate the expansive perceptual capacities of mirror-like wisdom; "viewing purity," in which one's entire system of cognition, both subjective and objective, was understood to be fundamentally pure and non-substantial; "non-activation," in which one was to avoid wilfull generation of conscious and hence dualistic impulses in favor of immediate and spontaneous response; and the "transcendence of thoughts," which refers to the realization that one's entire cognitive apparatus was not intrinsically dependent on dualistically conceived entities such as thoughts and objects of perception.

Although these two metaphors could be used to support different approaches to religious practice, the attitudes just described are basically congruent with the contents of the oldest text of the Ch'an tradition, the _EJSHL_ or _Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices_. This is especially true of the metaphor of the sun and clouds, which is used in the _Hsiu-hsin yao lun_ to explicate the same set of religious priorities as the Entrance of Principle of the earlier text. The specific practices and formulations of the _Wu fang-pien_ cannot, on the other hand, be correlated directly with the Four Practices.[21] Nevertheless, the parallel exists in that both concern the

outward expression of the concept of *śūnyatā* or non-substantiality in daily life and the activities of teaching. Where the treatise attributed to Bodhidharma enjoins one to act in accordance with the *Dharma*, the *Wu fang-pien* describes an ideal spiritual state in which one is constantly receptive to sensory input but completely without the tendencies to attachment or conceptualization. It should be clear that both of these texts attempt to describe the Bodhisattva ideal.

What is the best means for analyzing these two metaphorical constructs? The old standard of early Ch'an studies, the distinction between sudden and gradual, is not really apropos. The metaphor of the mirror could be used to define a gradualistic approach to the spiritual path, but such an approach is not representative of the mainstream of Northern School thought. The concept of suddenness could apply to practices based on either metaphor, i.e., one could experience a sudden vision of the Buddha Nature or an instantaneous activation of the perfect functioning of the sage. A great deal of ink has been expended in recent years by authors who did not realize that the sudden/gradual distinction is not a valid framework for historical analysis because of its originally perjorative and propagandistic purpose. This fundamental methodological error is compounded by the tendency to mistakenly interpret statements based on the underlying concepts of the metaphor of the mirror in terms of the metaphor of the sun and clouds.

If the dichotomy between sudden and gradual is not an appropriate key to the teachings of early Ch'an, what is? I would like to suggest a comparison between the two metaphors introduced above and the follwoing: the two basic components or aspects of meditation practice according to Indian Buddhism, or concentration and insight (*śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*),

and the native Chinese distinction between substance and function (t'i and yung).

To adequately understand the relevence of śamatha and vipaśyanā to the present discussion, we must be aware of their relative importance and understanding in Chinese Buddhism as a whole. The translations of Kumārajīva place their emphasis almost entirely on vipaśyanā, correlating the realizations attained through this practice with the Perfection of Wisdom and the Mādhyamika interpretation of non-substantiality. This emphasis continued to prevail in the theoretically-oriented tradition of Buddhism in the Southern Dynasties. The Yogācāra translations of the sixth century contained a much more balanced treatment of śamatha and vipaśyanā, which is probably the reason why Seng-ch'ou, whose training was under masters of the Yogacara tradition, appears to be so conventional in his approach.

This new-found balance between śamatha and vipaśyanā was not solely a return to some older state, since sixth century Chinese theoreticians used the newly-translated Yogācāra texts as the basis for a re-definition of śamatha. Where this term originally referred to concentration on empirical objects, mental images of the elements of reality, and the generation of positive emotions such as loving-kindness and faith, now it came to mean concentration on the absolute principle of ultimate reality. Both Ching-ying Hui-yüan and T'ien-t'ai Chih-i, to name two very notable examples, include references to concentration and insight on phenomenal objects (shih-chih and shih-kuan) and similar operations on matters of abstract principle (li-chih and li-kuan). This need not be considered an unprecedented development within the context of Buddhist meditation theory, but it is true that Chih-i's description

of the preferred abstract object of meditation ("the trichiliocosm in a single moment of consciousness," or i-nien san-ch'ien) is infinitely more complex than the concepts of impermanence and inter-dependence, etc., associated with traditional Hīnayāna practice.[22]

How does this development relate to the doctrines of early Ch'an? The answer to this question is that the two basic metaphors of Ch'an, the sun obscured by clouds and the perfectly functioning mirror, may be understood as abstract interpretations of śamatha and vipaśyanā, respectively. The first metaphor represents śamatha, or concentration, because its emphasis is essentially static: unfailing recognition of the primacy of the Buddha Nature and cessation of the activity of the unenlightened mind. Both of the meditation techniques described in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun -- visualizing an image of the sun and focussing on the eventually exhausted activity of the discriminative mind -- are immediately recognizable as concentration techniques.

The metaphor of the mirror may be correlated with the concept of vipaśyanā, but not without some reservations. The mirror is an expression of wisdom, because its functions are predicated on the ability to understand and identify with the fundamental non-substantiality of reality. The prototypic Wu fang-pien formula "If the mind transcends thoughts, the mind is emancipated..." can only be realized in individual religious practice if one achieves understanding of the non-substantiality of the mind and thoughts themselves. Although in this sense the enlightened ideal typified by the mirror is dependent on the exercise of insight or vipaśyanā meditation, the mirror does not define a practical technique but rather a perfected ideal.

The two components of meditation practice, śamatha and vipaśyanā,

are inextricably bound together in the earlier Buddhist tradition. As I pointed in Section One, vipaśyanā was rarely practiced without preliminary training in śamatha, while each step up the ladder of śamatha stages was occasioned by the exercise of wisdom. The Chinese Ch'an practices centered on the two metaphors discussed here are even more closely related: the mirror, or enlightened mind, is nothing other than an activated sun, or Buddha Nature. Indeed, although I have used these symbols to represent two basic logical constructs of early Ch'an, the symbols themselves can be used in either manner. That is, if one were to emphasize the sun's function of illumination, i.e., its universal, non-selective compass and salutary effect, this would be to use this metaphor in the active sense. Much more likely within the texts themselves is the converse example: if one focussed on the mere fact of the mirror's reflectivity and the obscuring influence of the dust upon its surface -- the traditional interpretation of the Platform Sūtra verses -- this is to use the mirror in a static sense.

It is the observation that the two metaphors are interchangeable, one being a static and the other a dynamic representation of one and the same Buddha Nature or enlightened mind, that leads to the comparison with the Chinese concepts of substance and function. In practicing "maintaining [awareness of] the mind" the emphasis is on never forgetting the primacy of the Buddha Nature's immanence, or on allowing the discriminative mind to slow down, cease to function, and thus reveal the existence of the enlightened mind within. This is the experience of "seeing the Nature" discussed so widely in works on Ch'an. Although such experiences are no doubt cathartic, they are primarily realizations of that which exists rather than that which functions. The general

characteristic of such practices and experiences, or rather the descriptions thereof, is the preponderance of static images. The illuminative power of the sun is granted, but it is not analyzed.

Judging from the Wu fang-pien's position that the enlightened mind should be in control of the senses, rather than vice versa, it should be obvious that the metaphor of the mirror is a permutation in dynamic terms of the static image of the sun and clouds. In addition to the practices enumerated above, the probable Northern School use of a prototypic form of encounter dialogue and the "expedient means" of interaction between master and student may be correlated with this more dynamic emphasis.

Of the two logical constructs discussed here, it was the emphasis on essence or t'i that was most widely accepted by members of the early Ch'an School. This is shown by the popularity of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and the ideas contained in it. If nothing else, the ideas of the Buddha Nature and the ultimate identity of the Pure Mind within all sentient beings were widely used in the introductory training manuals of early Ch'an.

Although the specific formulation of the function or yung of enlightenment described in Section Three, Chapter III was not so widely accepted as the general understanding of the Buddha Nature and the illusions that obscure it, this area of speculation was in some ways more important than the other. It would of course be impossible to prove that any one specific doctrine of the functional operation of the enlightened mind was generally accepted by the followers of early Ch'an. The incredible variety of slogans and formulae that occur in the literature would prohibit the isolation of such a single interpretation.

Although I have attempted to explain the basic elements of the Northern School position, the most important aspect of the teachings of this phase of Ch'an is the very fact of heterogeneity itself. Although the specific formulations of the Northern School texts were often absent from later texts, it is clear that the creative energy of early Ch'an was directed primarily at the elucidation of the more dynamic aspects of the doctrine, as defined above.

I have argued in another context that the teachings of the Northern School played a role in the development of Ch'an during the latter half of the eighth century that was more important than has been accepted to date.[23] Even without entering into the specifics of that argument, it must be agreed that the "Northern School" (the reader should keep in mind the explanation of the usage of this term found at the beginning of Section Two) set a precedent for subsequent phases of Ch'an by its emphasis on the dynamic aspects of religious practice. The growing interest in the problems of religious trainees, rather than in the doctrinal pronouncements of gifted individuals; the apparent use of a kind of religious dialogue and interaction and the oft-mentioned ability of teachers to intuit and respond to the underlying needs of their students; and even the emphasis of the Yüan-ming lun and Wu fang-pien on the benefit of other sentient beings -- all these are evidence of the Ch'an School's movement away from meditation as transic contemplation and to its practice within all phases of daily life.

6. Final Reflections on the Northern School and the Study of Early Ch'an

Hopefully, this study of the Northern School of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism will have two types of impact on subsequent research in the field. First, we must discard the old stereotypes of grandualism versus subitism, North versus South, and the *Laṅkāvatāra* versus the *Diamond Sūtra*. Instead, future interest should be focussed on questions such as the transition from early Ch'an to the "golden age" of Ma-tsu Tao-i and the encounter dialogue used by his school, the relationship between the two basic motifs of early Ch'an thought described above and the subsequent distinction between "silent illumination" (*mo-chao*, or *mokushō* in Japanese) and the "contemplation of topics" (*k'an-hua*, or *kanna*) in later Ch'an. One issue of particular interest is the possibility of comparison between Northern School doctrine and the theories of the Japanese Zen Master Dōgen, which emphasize similar concepts of fundamental enlightenment and the constancy of religious practice.

Although the recognition of the Northern School's role in the development of Ch'an Buddhism should thus foster new vistas in research, it is the second area of potential impact that is the more important. This is the obligation to approach the study of Ch'an with a qualitatively different understanding of the contribution and relative significance of the following four categories of data: history, legend, doctrine, and propaganda. Each of these four has its own distinctive value, confusion regarding which has led to gross distortions in the understanding of our subject by previous scholars. In the study of any school or faction of Ch'an we must obviously ascertain what we know about its history and doctrines. Contemporary statements cannot be

accepted immediately as historically valid without first considering their function as legend, i.e., as part of a network of claims intended to validate the existence of the particular faction as a legitimate member of the Buddhist tradition. Similarly, doctrinal pronouncements cannot be immediately accepted at face value, but must be analyzed in terms of any polemical or propagandistic intent.

These considerations are nothing more than basic academic common sense, but there is yet an additional step that must be taken. Not only must we strip away the distortions of legend and propaganda from our historical and doctrinal data, we must also seek to understand the legitimate values of legend and propaganda as factors that influenced the development of Ch'an. When properly approached, the fabrications of the Ch'an tradition are the best indicator of its true identity.

APPENDIX TO SECTION TWO

The Annals of the Transmission of the Dharma-treasure (Ch'üan fa-pao chi, or CFPC)[1]

Compiled by Tu Fei, styled Fang-ming, of Ch'ang-an

A. I prostrate myself to the spiritual compatriots
who have had me safeguard my fundamental mind
which is itself like the pearl that, though immersed in muddy water,
suddenly appears clearly through its own power.

B. Preface: The True Dharmakāya [that is within all of] us is something that is perceived by the Dharma[kāya] Buddha and that transcends the oral and written teachings of the Nirmāṇa[kāya] Buddhas. Therefore, this teaching of the absolute can only be transmitted on the basis of [the disciple's] own enlightenment and realization of the [fundamental] mind. Therefore, the Treatise [on the Awakening of Faith] says:

> All the dharmas fundamentally transcend the characteristics of mentation and are ultimately universally "same" (p'ing-teng), being unchanging and indestructible. They are none other than the one mind [possessed of all sentient beings], which is thus called Suchness (chen-ju).

[The same Treatise] also says:

> The Bodhicitta of Realization (i.e., that which occurs after realization of Suchness) obtains from the Stage of the Pure Mind through the Ultimate [Stage] (i.e., throughout all the Ten Stages of the Bodhisattva's progress). What realm is it that is realized? It is Suchness. Although this is described as a realm on the basis of the "transforming consciousness" (ch'üan-shih, i.e., the subjective aspect of the mind), this realization is actually without any "realm." It is simply the wisdom of Suchness, being called the Dharmakāya.[2]

Also, as the [Laṅkāvatāra] Sūtra says:

> The Bodhisattva, the great being, secludes himself in a quiet place for his own self-realization and the examination [of reality]. Not depending on any method other [than the One Vehicle], he transcends views and false thoughts and

> makes regular progress and advancement until he enters the Stage of Tathāgata. This is called [the characteristic of] the sagely wisdom of self-realization.[3]

Therefore, without achieving [realization according to] the Supreme Vehicle and transmission of the "mind-ground," how could anyone possibly enter into the True Realm?

C. The preface to the Meditation Sūtra (Ch'an-ching hsü) by [Hui]-yüan, the former worthy of Mount Lu, says:

> The Buddha transmitted [the true teaching] to Ānanda, Ānanda transmitted it to Madhyāntika, and Madhyāntika transmitted it to Śāṇavāsa.[5]

After this [the teaching] did not fail to be transmitted on, but was maintained by the appropriate persons. This was the ultimate [state of affairs]! How could those who cling to cause and effect [in their understanding of spiritual practice] and those who research the literal meaning [of the scriptures] possibly gain entrance [to this teaching]?

Therefore, the [Laṅkāvatāra] Sūtra describes the "penetration of the teaching" (tsung-t'ung) as being dependent on one's own experience and advancement toward the stage of realization of the remainderless realm (i.e., nirvāṇa).[5] It completely transcends the false thoughts [incurred by] verbal and written [explanations of Buddhism], as well as all the forms of false understanding. It defeats all the non-Buddhist [teachings] and the many demons [of temptation]. That which leads one toward the radiant generation of the illumination [of wisdom] based on one's own realization is called the "penetration of the teaching." This, the ultimate stage [of Buddhist endeavor], is not attainable on the basis of logical explanation. This is the truth!

It was Bodhidharma who appeared [as a sage] in India and came to this country. At that time there were men of superior wisdom in China, so that [Bodhidharma's teaching might be said to have been like] the indication of the True Realm in silent transmission, or the causation of the prodigal son's sudden return home, or the ignition of a great, bright torch in a dark room. [Even so, his teaching was something which] could not possibly be described. Afterwards, however, there being differences in human dispositions, there were few men of towering excellence. [Those interested in Buddhism merely] toyed with what they had already learned without seeking for Superior Wisdom, so that those who radically changed their lives to accept [Bodhidharma's teaching] were few indeed. Only Hui-k'o of the Eastern Wei was willing to risk his own life in search of [the teaching].

The Great Master [Bodhidharma] transmitted it to [Hui-k'o] and left [to return to India]. Hui-k'o transmitted it to Seng-ts'an, Seng-ts'an transmitted it to Tao-hsin, Tao-hsin

transmitted it to Hung-jen, Hung-jen transmitted it to Fa-ju, and Fa-ju ceded it to Ta-t'ung (i.e., Shen-hsiu). From Bodhidharma onward, teacher and disciple alike made effective use of expedient means to induce realization of [the nature of the fundamental] mind. In their [activities of] guiding and teaching [sentient beings, these men] spoke only as appropriate to the situation, avoiding complicated explanations. At present there is a text in circulation known as the *Treatise of Bodhidharma* (*Ta-mo lun*).[6] This is presumably [the work of] some earlier student(s) who wrote down what they heard and treasured it as an authentic treatise [of Bodhidharma's]. Nonetheless, it is replete with error.

D. The transmission of this transcendent enlightenment is done by the mind [in a process which] cannot be described. What spoken or written words could possibly apply? For those who have not perceived the ultimate, we must point at the small in order to illuminate the large. For example, even in the refinement of cinnabar [as a means to achieving immortality], one must obtain the personal instruction of an Immortal in order to create [real] cinnabar. Although one may be able to ascend heaven in broad daylight [by this method], if one relies [only] on the blue words of the jade-[encrusted] books, [one's efforts] will ultimately come to naught. This is merely one conditioned activity of this world, and even here [personal instruction is absolutely] necessary. How much more so the insurpassable, true teaching [of Bodhidharma] -- how could it possibly be explained in words?

Because this teaching is subtle and mysterious, it is only rarely mastered. Although the *Dharma* does not depend on men and the truth does not depend on words, how could I, [Tu Fei], be content just to know of these spiritual compatriots. If it were not for the guidance of these Perfect Ones, it would be difficult to identify [the content of this teaching]. I believe that in the future spiritual awakening will in some cases be based on the adoration [of former worthies].

Therefore, I have now prepared these brief annals of the transmission of the *Dharma* from Bodhidharma onward, which follow here [under the title] *Annals of the Transmission of the [Dharma]-treasure*, in one fascicle.[7] I will do no more than thread together [details of these masters'] celebrated feats and places of teaching [to the extent that these] were witnessed by people or described in writing. [These masters] being united with the unconditioned and having very simple biographies, it will be impossible to explicitly verbalize their enlightenment to the sagely teaching. In addition, there are [lineage] diagrams (?) which were utilized in compiling these annals. [There are those who,] after [achieving enlightenment,] transmit this teaching, being at peace within the *dharmadhātu*, serenely located within non-substantiality (*chen-k'ung*), their "form and traces" vanishing naturally. Since they live an [apparently] normal life, without displaying anything strange or wondrous, [their

cases] have been omitted here. [This omission makes me so sad that] I hold my sleeve to my eyes [to wipe away the tears], but still cannot dry my face.

From the time of Bodhidharma until the Sui and T'ang Dynasties, there have been those whose exalted enlightenment lifted them mysteriously [beyond their contemporaries]. What age is without those who achieve a profound [mastery] of the Perfect and Sudden? However, since they are not involved in the lineal transmission [of this teaching], their biographies are recorded elsewhere. [The existence of such biographies] illustrates the fact that there are many masters of this teaching.

E. Shih P'u-t'i-ta-mo (Bodhidharma) of Shao-lin ssu on Mount Sung, of the Eastern Wei [Dynasty]

Shih Hui-k'o of Shao-lin ssu on Mount Sung, of the Northern Ch'i

Shih Seng-ts'an of Mount Huan-kung, of the Sui

Shih Tao-hsin of Tung-shan ssu on Mount Shuang-feng, of the T'ang

Shih Hung-jen of Tung-shan ssu on Mount Shuang-feng, of the T'ang

Shih Fa-ju of Shao-lin ssu on Mount Sung, of the T'ang

Shih Shen-hsiu of Yü-ch'üan ssu in Tang-yang, of the T'ang

F. Shih P'u-t'i-ta-mo (Bodhidharma) was the offspring of a great Brahmin [family], the third son of the king of a principality in southern India.[6] Having great natural insight, he [achieved] the transcendent enlightenment and [received] transmission of the great Dharma-treasure. He utilized his own sagely wisdom to [help] many human and heavenly beings open themselves to the functional wisdom of Buddha-hood [that is innate to all sentient beings].

In order [to help] us Chinese he traversed the ocean and came to Mount Sung. At the time there were few who knew of him, and only Tao-yü and Hui-k'o, who discovered [in Bodhidharma the answer to their most] intimate, long-held aspirations, sought [his teaching] in complete earnest. They studied under him for six in order to achieve enlightenment.

At one time [after those six years of training] the Master (i.e., Bodhidharma) quietly said: "Would you give up your life [in order to receive] the Dharma?" Hui-k'o then cut off his arm to prove his sincerity. (Another text says that [Hui-k'o's]

arm was cut off by bandits. This is presumably a false version [that was circulated] at one time.) Only after this did [Bodhidharma teach Hui-k'o] personally with a revelation [of the Dharma that involved the use of] expedient means. (The expedient means that are used to bring about awakening are entirely [within the domain] of the secret interaction (yung) between master and disciple. Therefore, they cannot be described.) [Bodhidharma] suddenly caused [Hui-k'o's] mind to enter directly into the dharmadhātu.

Four or five years later, after searching for textual corroboration [of his teachings, Bodhidharma] gave [Hui]-k'o the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra and said: "According to my observation of the teaching of Buddhism [here] in China, this Sūtra is the only one that is appropriate." Having some students who were not ready [to achieve enlightenment, Bodhidharma] personally transmitted [the Sūtra] (i.e., explained it) several times, saying: "This will form the basis for [enlightenment] in the future." (Another text refers to "wall-contemplation" (pi-kuan) and the "four practices" (ssu-hsing), which were presumably partial, provisional teachings used at one time. These may have been recorded by followers [of Bodhidharma's], but they are not his ultimate doctrines.)

G. Thereafter, the number of [Bodhidharma's] students grew day by day, [so that] the famous monk(s) of that time were deeply jealous of him. Long unable to satisfy their [evil] intentions, they eventually were able to poison his food. (The names of these evil person(s) are well-known. Since [it is not my purpose to] expose the transgressions of others, it seems best to [leave the details in] secret. However, it might be better to reveal the details for a more complete understanding of [what transpired] — I am not quite sure.) The Master ate [the food] knowingly, but the poison did not harm him. He was fed poison many times after this.

[Bodhidharma] said to Hui-k'o: "I came [to China] on behalf of the Dharma, which I have transmitted to you. There is no use in my staying here any longer, so I am going to go." He then assembled his students and explained the ultimate teaching once more, after which he ate the poisoned food in order to manifest the transformation [of death]. (In the transmissions [of the teaching] after this, [the master] always explains the true teaching one more time just before his death. [Bodhidharma's action] thus became the model for later [practice].)

[Bodhidharma] once said that he was 150 years old. On the day [of his death] Sung-yün, the emissary of the Eastern Wei, was returning from the West and met the Master at [the border outpost of] Ts'ung-ling. [Bodhidharma], who was returning to the West, said: "Your country's ruler died today." [Sung]-yün then asked the Master what would happen to his own teaching. He replied: "Forty years (i.e., one generation) from now there will

be a Chinese monk who will disseminate and transmit it." When [Bodhidharma's] students heard this they opened up and examined his [grave], only to find an empty coffin.

H. Shih Seng-k'o, also called Hui-k'o, was from Wu-lao (Ssu-shui hsien, Honan). His lay surname was Chi. In his youth he was a Confucian and studied widely, especially in the *[Books of] Odes and Changes*. He left home [to become a Buddhist monk] when he realized that the secular classics did not contain the ultimate teachings. At age forty he met Master [Bodhi]dharma and [undertook] a profound quest for the ultimate enlightenment. He labored vigorously and sincerely for six years, always with the single-minded zeal of the beginning student.

[At one time] the Master said: "Would you be willing to give your life for the *Dharma*?" [Hui-k'o] then cut off his own left arm. There was no change in his countenance — even [in spite of the pain], his determination [to gain the truth] remained. Realizing that [Hui-k'o] was fit to hear the teaching, the Master divulged it to him through the use of expedient means. Thus did [Hui-k'o's] mind enter directly into the *dharmadhātu*. After four or five years of supreme effort [Hui-k'o's] understanding was complete. After the Master manifested his return to the West, [Hui-k'o] took up residence at Shao-lin ssu.

During all his activities [Hui-k'o's] mind remained united with the True Realm. He taught Buddhist as the situation arose, like an echo responding to a sound (i.e., teaching exactly according to students' needs). His interaction with others served to point out the truth [of the teachings], his own actions inspiring understanding in others. Therefore, some of his students secretly made a record [of his teachings and activities].

Later, during the T'ien-p'ing period of the Wei [Dynasty, or 534-38, Hui-k'o] wandered around Yeh, [the capital, and the surrounding area of] Wei[9] teaching Buddhism to many people. There were monks who secretly poisoned Hui-k'o due to their deep envy of him, but the poison was unable to harm him, even though he knowingly ate it. At that time [his students included] Layman Hsiang and the Ch'an Masters Hua and Liao, all of whom had achieved [understanding of] the fundamental mind through [Hui-k'o's guidance] and were laboring on behalf of Buddhism. After [Hui-k'o's move to Yeh] the number of his students grew steadily, those who achieved enlightenment [under him] being extremely numerous.

At the time of his death [Hui-k'o] said to his disciple, Seng-ts'an: "I have received the transmission in a manner befitting the *Dharma*. I now bequeath it to you, so that you may help many people achieve their own salvation." He also personally transmitted the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* to people, saying with a sigh: "After four generations [the study of] this scripture will become

quite superficial. How unfortunate![10]

I. Shih Seng-ts'an's place of birth is unknown. In his studies under Ch'an Master [Hui]-k'o, he was able to become enlightened to the Perfect and Sudden and developed into [one of Hui-k'o's] most trusted students. Later, during the persecution of Buddhism [ordered by Emperor] Wu of the Chou [Dynasty, Seng-ts'an] passed more than ten years as a mountain hermit.

At the beginning of the K'ai-huang [period of the Sui Dynasty, 581-600, Seng-ts'an] and his fellow-student, Ch'an Master Ting, [moved their place of] hermitage to Mount Huan-kung. (This is in Shu-chou (Ch'ien-shan hsien, Anhwei), also being called Mount Ssu-k'ung.) Previously there had been many ferocious beasts on this mountain that always attacked anyone who lived there, but they all left the area after [Seng]-ts'an's arrival. On the western foot of the mountain lived one Ch'an Master Pao-yüeh. He had lived there for a long time and was known as a holy monk. As soon as he heard that [Seng]-ts'an had taken up residence there, [Pao-yüeh] came to see him with all the joy of an old [friend]. [Pao]-yüeh was the teacher of Ch'an Master [Chih]-yen.[11]

[Seng]-ts'an's own profound understanding [of the Dharma] grew every day on the basis of his dhyāna and prajñā, which were equally coalesced [in his own practice]. When his teaching activities came to their natural end, he turned to his disciple Tao-hsin and said: "The Dharma has been transmitted from Patriarch [Bodhi]dharma to me. I am going to the South and will leave you [here] to spread and protect [the Dharma]." He then explained the ultimate principle again, after which he retired to the South along with [Ch'an Master] Ting. No one ever knew where he ended up.

J. Shih Tao-hsin was from Ho-nei (Ch'in-yang hsien, Honan) and of the surname Ssu-ma. He left home [to become a monk] at age seven. Although his teacher was unrefined [in his own behavior, Tao]-hsin secretly maintained [his own standards of moral] purity for six years without the teacher ever knowing about it. During the K'ai-huang [period, 581-600,] he went to Mount Huan-[kung] and accepted Dhyāna Master [Seng]-ts'an as his teacher. He labored as diligently as he possibly could, [so that his wisdom] illuminated everything.

After eight or nine years [Seng]-ts'an went to [Mount] Lo-fu (Tseng-ch'eng hsien, Kwangtung), and [Tao]-hsin wanted to go along. [Seng]-ts'an said: "You shall remain [here] so that you might benefit many [sentient beings]." [Tao-hsin] thus wandered around teaching, being highly regarded wherever he went.

At the time of the official ordinations of the Ta-yeh [period in 607, Tao-hsin] took up residence at Chi-chou ssu

(Chi-an hsien, Kiangsu). During the chaos surrounding the end of the Sui [Dynasty] rebels surrounded the city. After more than seventy days [of siege] the wells [within the city] all went dry, but when [Tao]-hsin arrived from elsewhere water flowed in abundance once again. The local magistrate prostrated himself [before Tao-hsin and] inquired as to when the rebels might leave. [Tao-hsin replied: "If everyone] merely recites the [Perfection of] Wisdom [Sūtra], then there will be nothing to worry about." When [the people so chanted] the rebels saw giant soldiers all around them, [which caused them all to retreat pell mell, so that the city was saved.

K. In the seventh year of the Wu-te [period, 624, Tao-hsin] went to Mount Shuang-feng in Ch'i-chou (Huang-mei hsien, Hupeh). When he saw [the beauty of] its forests and valleys, he decided to make it his residence for the rest of his life. He stayed there for [almost] thirty years, teaching the great Dharma [to a multitude of] followers. Fa-hsien of Ching-chou (Chiang-ling hsien, Hupeh) and Shan-fu of Ch'ang-chou (Pi-ling hsien, Kiangsu) both "faced North" to receive the teaching. [Tao]-hsin said: "Shan-fu has the temperament of a pratyeka-buddha and will never be able to hear the great teaching."

[Tao-hsin] always exhorted his students by saying: "Make effort and be diligent in your sitting [meditation], for sitting is the fundamental [part of your training]. If you can do so for three or five years, getting a mouthful of food to stave off starvation and illness (lit., "boils"), then just close your doors and sit! Do not read the sūtras nor talk to anyone. If you can do this, then sooner or later it will be of use. To strive for [enlightenment] while sitting [as diligently] as a monkey trying to get the meat out of a chestnut — such persons are very rare!"

In the eighth month of the second year of the Yung-hui [period, 651, Tao-hsin] ordered his disciples to build his crypt. Realizing that he was about to die, his students began to argue excitedly, each vying with the other for the transmission of the Dharma. When they asked him who would receive [the transmission, Tao]-hsin paused and said with a sigh: "Hung-jen is a bit better [than any of the others]." He then instructed [Hung-jen on the obligations of] the transmission and once again explained the abstruse principle. When he heard that his crypt was ready, he sat [in meditation position] and died peacefully. At the moment [of his passing into nirvāṇa] the earth shook mightily and mists arose all around. He was seventy-two years old.

On the eighth day of the fourth month (i.e., the same day as the Buddha's parinirvāṇa) of the following year the stone doors [of his crypt] opened by themselves to reveal that his countenance looked just as dignified as it had been in life. His students then wrapped [his body] with lacquered cloth and left the doors of the vault open. They cut a stele and had it

inscribed with a eulogy written by the Chung-shu-ling Tu Cheng-lun.

L. Shih Hung-jen was from Huang-mei (Huang-mei hsien, Hupeh) and of the lay surname Chou. He left home [to become a monk] at a young age, becoming a student of Dhyāna Master [Tao]-hsin at age twelve. He was quiet and withdrawn by nature, so that even though his fellow students often made fun of him he always kept silent and never responded. He was always diligent at menial labor, thus physically humbling himself before other people. [Tao]-hsin thought especially highly of him. He mixed in among the common servants during the day and sat in meditation all night long. He kept this up year after year without ever getting tired.

[Tao]-hsin always guided [Hung-jen] with care, so that [the student] became discerningly enlightened himself. Although he never looked at the Buddhist scriptures, he understood everything he heard. Because of his reputation, after he received the transmission the number of noblemen who gathered around him doubled every day. After a little more than ten years, eight or nine of every ten ordained and lay aspirants in the country had studied under him. No one had ever reached more [students] than this, ever since the Dhyāna Masters transmitted [the teaching] to China.

Uninterested in general pronouncements [about Buddhism, Hung-jen] observed the propriety of his students' [practice] and responded spontaneously, like an echo [follows a sound. His teaching] always proved to be mysteriously and profoundly effective.

During the eighth month of the second year of the Shang-yuan [period, 675, Hung-jen] showed frequent signs of infirmity. On the eighteenth day [of that month], having already transmitted [the teaching] personally to his disciple Fa-ju, [he realized that any final] explication [of the teaching he might make would be] exactly the same as that which had been received by [Fa]-ju. Therefore he said nothing, but died quietly while sitting. He was seventy-four years old.

M. Shih Fa-ju was from Shang-tang (Ch'ang-chih hsien, Shansi) and of the surname Wang. In his youth he accompanied his maternal uncle when the latter was given an official post in Li-yang (Li hsien, Hunan). In this way [Fa-ju was able to meet and] become a student of Ch'ing-pu ("Blue-robed") Ming. [Fa-ju] left home [to become a monk] at age nineteen, after which he made extensive studies in the Buddhist scriptures and travelled to [the various famous] locations in his quest for enlightenment. As soon as he heard that Dhyāna Master [Hung]-jen of Mount Shuang-feng had activated the functional wisdom of a Buddha [latent within all sentient beings, Fa-ju] went and became his

student. He purified himself diligently for sixteen years, until [his wisdom] perfectly illuminated the dharmadhātu.

Once [Fa-ju was on a] riverboat that capsized. He was carried downstream for several li, but his mind became neither agitated nor confused. When he was pulled out [of the river] his expression was the same as always.

After receiving a personal transmission of the Dharma, [Fa-ju] taught Buddhism in various places. At the time of the official ordinations in commemoration of [Emperor] Kao-tsung's death [in 683], the saṁgha recommended him for appointment in the [official saṁgha] administration. [He avoided this by] going to Shao-lin ssu on Mount Sung, where he stayed for several years without anyone knowing [who he was]. After [his identity and/or accomplishments were discovered], those who sought the benefit of his illuminating [wisdom] arrived on a daily basis, but he rigidly excused himself [from all such entreaties].

During the Ch'ui-kung [period, 685-88] the famous worthy of the capital, Hui-tuan,[12] and others all went to Shao-lin and repeatedly asked [Fa-ju] to preach the Dharma. Being unable to decline [any longer], he revealed the great expedient means in the manner established in the [previous generations of] master and disciple. He caused [his listeners'] minds to enter directly [into the dharmadhātu] without any extraneous instructions.

[Fa-ju] was simple and direct by nature and merely responded to people in such a way that, even if he reprimanded someone, it was "like [one's own boat] being struck by an empty boat." Hence no one ever resented him. His students grew in number day by day, coming from over a thousand li away.

In the seventh month of the first year of the Yung-ch'ang [period, 689], he commanded his students to quickly ask all the questions they might have, after which he manifested the signs of illness. One evening while sitting in meditation under a tree he addressed his students with his final instructions. [His students were] thereby able to activate the radiant wisdom [present within themselves], it thus having been properly transmitted to them. He also said: "After [my death] you should go study under Dhyāna Master Shen-hsiu of Yü-ch'üan ssu in Ching-chou." He then died serenely in sitting position. He was fifty-two years old.

N. Shih Shen-hsiu was from Ta-liang (Shang-ch'iu hsien, Honan) and of the lay surname Li. He was exceptionally bright as a child and showed his great virtue by not being especially interested in [the usual children's] games. He was thirteen when the rebellion of Wang Shih-ch'ung occurred [in 618]. Because of the famines and epidemics that [spread over] Ho-nei and Shantung, [Shen-hsiu] went to the public [emergency] storehouses at Ying-yang (west of modern K'ai-feng) to petition [for the distribution] of grain [to the populace. While doing so he] met

a spiritual compatriot and left home [to become a monk].

[Shen-hsiu] then travelled around the Tung-wu [region] (modern Kiangsu and Chekiang), then turned [south] to Min (Fukkien). He visited the famous mountains — Lo-fu, Tung (Shang-yü hsien, Chekiang), Meng (Hsiang-shan hsien, Chekiang), [T'ien]-t'ai (T'ien-t'ai hsien, Chekiang), and Lu (Chiu-chiang hsien, Kiangsi) — not missing a single [well-known] hermitage. His studies were done in breadth and earnest, including the [Book of] Changes, the [teachings of] the Yellow [Emperor] and Lao-[tzu] (Huang-Lao), and the Buddhist scriptures and biographies. From the philosophies of the three ancient ages there was nothing he did not learn completely. He took the full precepts at age twenty, after which he [applied his] insightful determination [to the mastery of] the rules of deportment of the Vinaya and the gradualistic cultivation of meditation and wisdom.

When he was forty-six [years old Shen-hsiu] went to East Mountain to become a student of Dhyāna Master [Hung]-jen. [The Master] realized his worth at a single glance. He taught [Shen-hsiu] for several years, guiding him to entrance into the True Realm so that his realization [enabled him to] know all.

Later, following his banishment, [Shen-hsiu] assumed secular garb to hide his identity. He lived for more than ten years at T'ien-chü ssu in Ching-chou without anyone knowing who he was. During the I-feng [period, or 676-79] several tens of very meritorious [monks] of Ching-ch'u (the general area of Hupeh and Hunan) petitioned that he be given official ordination and made to reside at Yü-ch'üan ssu in Tang-yang (Tang-yang hsien, Hupeh).

When Dhyāna Master [Hung]-jen died [Shen-hsiu] said: "There is a previous transmission." Therefore, he did not transmit the Dharma for over ten years. After Dhyāna Master [Fa]-ju's death, students did not consider even ten thousand li too far to come to "take refuge" at his Dharma-platform. He therefore began to teach and was able to help many [students achieve their] salvation by responding to their needs. All the spiritual aspirants in the whole country came to study under him.

O. During the Chiu-shih period, (700,) [Empress Wu] Tse-t'ien dispatched a palace messenger to welcome [Shen-hsiu] to Lo-yang. [When he arrived] laymen and monks scattered flowers [in his path] and the sunshades and banners [of the people's vehicles] overflowed the road. [Shen-hsiu] entered [the Palace] on a palanquin shaded with palm fronds, followed by [Empress Wu who,] having purified herself in mind and body, bowed her head to the floor and knelt to wait upon [the Master. Shen-hsiu] administered the [Bodhisattva] Precepts to the palace ladies. All the people of the four directions revered him as they did their own parents — from the princes and officials on down, everyone alike took refuge in him. [Emperor Chung-tsung] Hsiao-ho repeatedly

sought [the teachings from him, but even so Shen-hsiu wished to] return home [to Yü-ch'üan ssu]. Because of the Emperor's firm requests, [Shen-hsiu] never was able to return home.

Through their own private observations, [Shen-hsiu's] disciples realized that he was about to die. There was a secret transmission [of the teaching] at a certain time.[13] On the twenty-eighth day of the second month of the second year of Shen-lung, (706,) he died peacefully while sitting upright at T'ien-kung ssu in Lo-yang. [His remains] were returned to Yü-ch'üan [ssu], where a stūpa was built. Out of respect for a teacher who valued the Way, no one had ever asked his age, but since he left home [to become a monk] at the end of the Sui, he must have been over a hundred years old.

When he was living at his monastery at Yü-ch'üan [ssu] in Tang-yang, he once said to his disciples: "After I die you should bury me here." A few days before he died, scores of white lotus blossoms sprung up on the flat area surrounding where he wanted his stūpa to be built. Afterwards, the oak tree in front of the stūpa produced several fruit that were as flavorful as plums. [Emperor Chung-tsung] Hsiao-ho established the site of the stūpa as Tu-men ssu and bestowed the title of Preceptor Ta-t'ung. [Emperor] Jui-tsung also donated thirty thousand cash for [temple] construction.

P. Comment: This world is the world of words! Therefore, the sages cannot but use words to lead us to the realm where there are no words. For this reason our fundamental teacher, [Śākyamuni Buddha,] said: "To say that there is a teaching that the Tathāgata has preached is to defame the Buddha." Confucius also said: "I will not talk." And Chuang-tzu said: "Once you've got the meaning, you can forget the words."[14] Therefore, the Book of Changes says about the divided top line of the hexagram hsien: "Responding to chin, cheeks, and tongue." The Hsiang [commentary on the explanations of the hexagrams] says: "[Responding to chin, cheeks, and tongue] is to bubble forth with speech." These statements are at the end of the section on [the hexagram] hsien. Therefore, to "grasp the Tao by responding" [to things, i.e., to achieve enlightenment through spontaneous interaction with the world] has nothing to do with speech (lit., "nothing to do with the divided top line of this hexagram").

In the past, when our fundamental teacher , [Śākyamuni Buddha,] appeared in the world to teach the Dharma, he always [taught] in accordance with the basic nature of those being taught. However, when [his students] achieved enlightenment, [the Buddha's] words would automatically be forgotten. After the Buddha's nirvāṇa the Arhats gathered together and wrote down in the form of the sūtras all the teachings the Buddha had uttered during his lifetime. Although [even such sublime texts as the] Comprehensive [Sūtra] on Perfect Enlightenment (Yüan-wu liao-i

ching]) are among these [scriptures copied down by the Arhats], the ordinary person [who strives for enlightenment on the basis of such texts] without direct contact with a sage will [only] get further and further away from the truth.[15]

After the sūtras began to be translated into Chinese during the Han and Wei Dynasties, scholars have depended greatly on the words [of the teachings. They have] dissected sentences, analyzed words, and [devised] categories and doctrines that are like decorations [rather than aids to enlightenment. Since they make an ornament of their knowledge, over-elegant prose pervades [their writings]. Because they are chasing after something that's limited, none of them ever [perceives] the ultimate nature of Suchness or opens the enlightened eye of the Perfect and Sudden Dharmakāya.

Those who approach the lecturer's seat with splendor to sit and manipulate profundities attract great numbers of students and wealthy followers. [Those followers] labor ceaselessly and reverentially -- and pointlessly, none of them ever understanding the teachings or becoming enlightened to the [true] principle [of Buddhism].

Q. Therefore, when [Bodhi]dharma set out to lead the ignorant [people of China to enlightenment], he quit with words and disassociated himself from the scriptures. His teaching was subtle and insightful; his practice was expeditious and comprehensible: Not to move is meditation; not to grasp is wisdom. The eradication of the false is the True (chen, as in chen-ju, "suchness"); one's coalescence with the [Buddha] Nature is Suchness (ju, as before). Realization is a function of the One Essence, and [even though] its accomplishment depends on becoming enlightened oneself, there is not the slightest bit of [one's being] that can go into or out of [enlightenment], not the most transitory bit of matter that separates [enlightenment and ignorance].

Vast and without boundaries, empty and without a thing: this is called the Wondrous Thing. I do not know why it is called this. Is it the Dharmakāya, or is in Non-substantiality, or is it the Real Characteristic, or is it Suchness, or is it Enlightenment? This is the pure taste of truth [that is savored] during the consummation of silent illumination (mo-chao). After [achieving enlightenment] one can read the scriptures and be able to understand the most excellent expresions therein through the insight of one's illumination. One with be tranquil and without "activation" (wu so ch'i) with relation to all [elements of] conditioned reality.

Therefore, Hui-k'o and Seng-ts'an [forewent all self]-benefit and attained the True. Their practice left no traces; their actions left no record. The master teaches inconspicuously; his students practice in silence. Tao-hsin, however,

selected a site and established a permanent residence, this residence [being big enough to fit] the heavenly bodies. [Even though] his life did leave its mark (lit., "traces"), his fame being known [throughout China], he refused to transmit the Great Teaching to his ordinary lot of students, [even if] they were able to hear it. Therefore, Shan-fu went on to Heng-shan, where he attained a [state of] profound samādhi. How much more so for the ordinary, shallow-minded [students] — how could they possibly understand [the profound teachings].?

R. During the lifetimes of [Hung]-jen, [Fa]-ju, and Ta-t'ung (= Shen-hsiu), the teachings were opened up to great [numbers of students], without regard to abilities. [These students] were all immediately made to recite the name of the Buddha. [Those who could be] made to demnonstrate [the nature of] the pure mind in intimate [conference with the master] were thus qualified to receive transmission of the Dharma, but this [was an eventuality] to be treasured in secret by both master and disciple. [Such transmissions] were never publicly announced. If a student were not fit [for enlightenment], he would [simply] never perceive the ultimate truth [of the teachings].

Students nowadays say questionable things to make their ignorance out to be understanding and their spiritual inexperience to be accomplishment. They mix up different schools of the practice (fang-pien, lit., "expedient means") of the remembrance of the Buddha (nien-fo) and purification of the mind (ching-hsin), so how can they have even the vaguest idea as to the ultimate [teaching] of Suchness and the Dharmakāya? It is really lamentable! How can they possibly understand the operation of thought (nien) [when they do not understand that] thought itself is fundamentally non-substantial? [Or, since] the Pure Nature is already tranquil, why should we [strive to] purify the mind? [In truth,] when "thoughts" and "purity" are both forgotten, [the mind] will illuminate [all things] fully of its own accord. Seng-k'o (= Hui-k'o) once said: "After four generations, [the study of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra] will become superficial." Ahh, how true![16]

However, I have not studied [Buddhism] in this way; I am not of the type [described above]. If I may venture an opinion, their transgressions are egregious. Did not P'i-sou say "[It is as pointless as] trying to block [the flow of the Yellow River] at Meng-chin with a single cupful of soil from Wang-wu [Mountain]"?[17]

S. I have been induced to prepare this history by [two (?)] intimate friend(s) from long ago. I now lift my brush after the concluding comments [given immediately above]. As the [Laṅkāvatāra] Sūtra says: "Only make direct progress with the mind."[18] Would "direct" mean to transcend the two extremes? Would "progress" mean to not abide in the Three Vehicles?

Today Ta-t'ung's (i.e., Shen-hsiu's) following is unyieldingly strong. If you learn [the teachings] well, how can [realization] be far away — if you tie [your sandals] onto your feet, you should set out on your journey. Be diligent, students! Do not waste time!

(Translator's note: Here occurs the *stūpa* inscription listed in Chapter III, Part 8 as one of the sources of Shen-hsiu's biography. Its relationship to the *CFPC* is uncertain.)

T. *Annals of the Transmission of the [Dharma]-treasure through Seven Patriarchs*, in one fascicle.

APPENDIX TO SECTION THREE

Chinese Texts of the

Hsiu-hsin yao lun or

Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind

and the

Yüan-ming lun or

Treatise on Perfect Illumination

A
蘄•州忍•和上導凡趣聖悟解脱宗修心要論一巻

|蘄| 下十九字 ㊀朝：第五祖弘忍大師説、凡趣聖道、悟解真宗、修心要論

|忍| 下五字 ㊀竜：忍大師是祖超凡

|道| P3554：導

B
若•其不護浄、一切行者无由趣見。願知•、若写者、願用心无令脱錯、恐誤後人。

|若| 下二十九字 P3559 ㊀北 欠也

|知| 一字 ㊀朝：善知識

C
夫言修道之体•、自識当身本来清浄、不生不滅。无有分別、自性円満、清浄之心、此是本師、乃勝念十方諸仏。

|体| 下五字 ㊀朝：本体須識身心

D
問曰、何知自心本来清浄。
答曰、『十地論』云、「衆生身中有金剛仏性。猶如日輪、体明円満、広

大无辺。只為五陰重•雲所覆、如瓶内灯、光不能照•。」又以朗•日為喻、譬如世間雲霧八方俱起。天下陰暗、日豈爛也。何故无光。

答曰、日光不壞。只為雲霧所映。一切衆生清浄之心、亦復如是。只為攀縁妄念諸•見重•雲所覆。但能顕然•守心、妄念不生、涅槃法日。自然顕現。故知、自心本来清浄。

重　朝：黒［以下同］

照　朝：照輝［下六字欠］　竜：［下有卌三行字］

朗　竜　朝　欠也。北 P3434 P3559 P3777 S2669 S3558 S4064：即

諸　竜：知

然［下二字］竜：照現

日［下三字］竜：如日照

真

E

問曰、何知自心本来不生不滅。

答曰、『維摩経』云、「如无有生、如无有滅。」如者、為真如仏性、自性清浄心源。真如本有、不従縁生。又云、「一切衆生皆如也。衆聖賢亦

如也」。一切衆生者、即我等是。衆聖賢者、即諸仏是。言名相雖別、身中•真如、法体並同、不生不滅。故言「皆如也」。故知自心本来不生不滅。

中 P3559：心

F

問曰、云何名心為本師。

答曰、此真心•者、自然而有。不従外来、不索束修。於三世中所有至親、莫過於心。若識•真如守之、即到彼岸。迷者棄之、即堕三途。故知、三世諸仏以自心為師。故『論』云、「衆•生者、依妄識波浪而有、体是虚妄」。了然守心、妄心不起、即到死生。故知、心為本師。

心 P3559：如

識 下五字 竜：識自身心 朝 識心者守之 北 識心者真如

衆 下十四字 朝 欠也

□ P3559：識者守之

G

問曰、云何凡心得勝仏心。

答曰、常念他仏、不免生死。守我本心、得到彼岸。故「金剛般若経」云「若以色見我、以音声求我、是人行邪道、不能見如来」。故知、守真心勝念他仏。又言勝者、只是約行勧人之語。其実究竟果体平等无二。

云 下八字 朝：何名自心勝念彼仏

真 朝：本真 P3559：自

語 竜 S3558：義

H

問曰、衆生与仏、真体既同。何故諸仏不生不滅、受无量快楽、自在无碍。我等衆生堕生死中、受種々苦者何。

答曰、十方諸仏、悟達法性、皆自照了心源、妄想不生、不失正念、我所心滅。故得不受生死。以不生死故、即畢竟寂滅。以寂滅故、万楽自帰。

一切衆生、迷於真性、不識本心。●種々妄縁、不修正念。不正念故、即憎愛心起。以憎愛故、即心器破漏。心破漏故、即受生死。有生死故、即諸苦自現。『心王経』云、「真如仏性没在知見。六識海中、沈淪生死、不得解脱。

努力。●会是守真●心、妄念不生、我所心滅、故自然与仏平等。●

—仏— 下三字 (竜): 仏真如体性 P3434: 仏性其体

—了— (朝): 照燎

—心— (竜): 心学法无益

—力— (竜): 力努力

—真— P3559: 欠也 (朝): 本真

—等— (朝): 等无二

I

問曰、真如法性同一无二、迷応俱迷、悟応俱悟。何故仏独覚悟、衆生昏迷。因何故爾。

答曰、自此已上、入不思議分、非凡境所及。識心故悟、失性故迷。縁合即合、不可定説。但真諦信、自守真心。

故「維摩経」云、「无自性无他性。法本不生、今則无滅」。此悟即離二辺、入无分別智。若解此義、但於行住・坐臥、恒常凝然守本淨心。妄念不生、我所心滅、自然証解。更欲広起問答、名議転多。欲知法要、守心第一。此守心者、乃是涅槃之根本、入道之要門、十二部経宗、三世諸仏之祖。

住 下三十二字 朝 欠也

J 問曰、何知守心・是涅槃之根本。

答曰、言涅槃者、体是寂滅无為安楽。我心既真、妄想即断。妄想断故、即其正念。正念具故、即寂照智生。寂照智生故、即窮達法性。達法性故、即得涅槃。故知、守心是涅槃之根本。

心 朝：本真心 杏 S4064：真心

K 問曰、何知守心・是入道之要門。

答曰、乃至挙一手爪甲畫仏像、或造恒沙功德者、只是仏為教導无智慧衆生、作当来之因、勝縁報業、及見仏之因。若願自身早成仏者、会是无●為守真心。三世諸仏无量无辺。若有一人、不守真●心得成仏者、无有是知。「故経云、」正心一知、无事不辨。」故知、守真●心是入道之要門。●

日 (竜)「下有十行字」

心 (朝)：本真心 (竜)：真心

无 下五字 (朝)：

守本真心 P3559：守自真心

真 P3559 欠也

正 下二字 (朝)：制心

P3559 P3777：止心 S4664：正念

真 (北) P3434 欠也 (朝)(竜)：本真

門 全欠也

「問曰、何知守真●心是十二部経之祖。

答曰、如来於一切経中広説一切罪福、一切因経果報、或引一切山河大地草木等種々物、起无量无辺譬喩、或現无量神通種●々変化者、只是仏為教導无智慧衆生、有種々慾、心行不差。

是故如来随其心門、引入常•楽。既•体知衆生仏性本来清浄、如雲底日。但了然守真•心、妄念雲尽、恵日即現。何須更多学知見、帰生死苦。一切義理、乃三世之事、譬如磨鏡。塵尽自•然見性。即今无明心中学得者、終是无用。若能了然不失正念、无為心中学得者、此是真学。雖•言真学、竟无所学。何以故。我及涅槃二皆空故、无•二无一。故无•所学、法体•非空。要須了然守真•心、妄念不生、我所心滅。故「涅槃経」云、知仏不説法者、是名多聞。故知、守真•心是十二部経之宗。

真　(朝)∴本真　(竜)P3559 欠也

既　二部?

乗我

P3559∴自然明現　P3777∴自明見性　S2669∴自然見住

種　下全 S3558 欠也

真　(朝)∴本真

常　下二字 (朝)P3559∴一

自　(朝)∴明自然現

雖　下四字 P3559 欠也

无　下三字　P3559：云无学、雖言真学、竟无所学

体　下二字　朝：性雖

M

問曰、何知守心是三世諸仏之祖。

真　朝：本真　P3559：其真

真　朝：本真　P3559欠也

答曰、三世諸仏皆従識性中生。先守真心、妄念不生、我所心滅、後得成仏。故知、守心是三世諸仏之祖。

心　朝：本真心

識　朝：心

先　下十六字　朝以外：妄念不生、識性中生、我所心滅、識性中心。先守真心、後得成仏。

識　下一字　竜：識性衆生　P3559：性中

心　朝：真心

P3777：識性亦已

N

上来四種問答、若欲広説何窮。吾真望得汝自識本心。是故慇懃如是。努力努力。千経万論、莫過守真心是要。努力。吾案『法華経』云「示汝大車宝蔵、明珠妙楽等物、汝自不取不服。窮苦。奈何奈何。」会是妄念不生、我所心滅、一切功徳自然円満。

不仮外求、帰生死苦。於一切知念々斉心。莫受現在楽、種未来苦、自誑々他、不脱生死。努力努力。今雖无用、共作当来•之因。莫使三世虚度、枉喪功夫。『経』云、「常知地獄、如遊園観。在餘无悪道、如己舎宅」。我等衆生今現如此、不覚不知、驚怖殺人、了无出心。奇哉。

心 (朝)：心是仏　真 P3559：自心　念下四字 (朝)：正念察心

(竜)：念々観心　P3559：念々察心　S4064：念斉心　来 (朝)：来成仏

○若初心学坐禅者、依『无量寿観経』•端坐正身、閉目合口、心前平視、随意遠近、作一日想守之。•念々不住、即善調気息声。莫使乍麁乍細、即令人成病。

苦夜坐時、或見一切善悪境界、或入青黄赤白等諸三昧、或見自身出入•光明、或見如来身相、或•有種々変現。知時摂心莫著。

皆並是空、妄想而現。『経』云、「十方国土皆如虚空。」又云、「三界虚幻、唯是一心作。」若不得定、不見一切境界者、亦不須怪。但於行住坐臥中、恒常了然守真心。

会是妄念不生、我所心即滅、一切万法不出自心。所以諸仏広説、若許言教譬喩者、只為衆生行々不同、遂使教門差別。其実八万四千法門、三乗位体、七十二賢聖行宗、莫過自心是本。

若能自識本心、念々磨練者、於念々中、常供養十方恒沙諸仏、十二部経、念々常転法輪。

若了心源者、一切心義无窮、一切願足、一切行満、一切皆辦、不受後有。会是妄念不生、我所心滅、捨此身已、定得无生。不可思議。

努力。莫造大。如此要門語、難可得聞、聞而能行者、恒沙衆中、莫

過有一。行而能到者、億々却中、稀有一人。好々自安靜、善調諸根、熟視心源、恒令照了清淨、勿令无記。

—之 朝：本眞心　—入 朝 P3559：大　—或 下二十字 P3559 欠也　—了 竜：凝　—眞 朝：本眞　—者 朝：莫住者、即自見仏性也　—常 下十九字 竜 欠也　—造 下二字 朝：造次 P3559：放逸　—要 下三字 朝：眞実不妄語 竜：要門義 P3559：要語　—記 朝：記心王

P

問曰、云何是无記心。

答曰、諸摂心人為縁外境、麁心少息、内練眞心。心未淨時、於行住坐臥中、恒徹意看心、由未能得了々清淨、独照心源、是名无記。亦是漏心、猶不免生死大病。況復惣不知守心者、是人沈没生死苦海。何日得出。可憐。

努力。「経」云、「衆生若不精誠、不内発者、於三世中、縦値恒沙諸仏、无所能為。」「経」云、「衆生識心自度。仏不能度衆生。」若仏能度衆生者、過去諸仏、恒沙无量、何故我等不成仏也。只是精誠不内発、是故沈没苦海。

努力。過去不知已過、悔亦不及。今身現在、有遇得聞。分明相語、快解此語、了知守心、是第一道。不肯発至心、求願成仏、受无量自在快楽、乃始轟々随俗、貪求名利、当来堕地獄中、受種々苦悩奈何。努力。

―経 下二十六字 (竜) 欠也

―若 下六字 (竜)(北) P3434 ⋯⋯ S2669 S4064 欠也 P3559: 若仏度衆生

―心 (竜): 真心

―力 (輯): 力、努力。勤求本心、勿令妄漏

―奈 下四字 (輯): 将何所及、奈何奈何。努力努力。

Q

但能着破衣、喰麁食、了然守心。最省気力、而能有功。世間迷人

不解此理。於无明心、多涉艱辛、広修相善、望得解脱、乃帰生死苦。

了然不失正念而度衆生者、是大力菩薩。分明語汝、守心第一。●

不肯現在一生忍苦、欲得当来万劫受殃。聴汝、更知何届。

八風吹不動者、真是殊持宝山。若欲知果者、但対於万境起恒沙化用、巧辯若流。応病与薬、而能妄念不生、我所心滅者、真出世丈夫。如来自在、嘆何可尽。

吾説此言者、至心勧汝、不生望念、滅我所心。●

—心— (朝): 本真心

—功— (朝): 功是精進人也

—一— (朝): 一若不勧

学者、甚癡人也

—心— (朝): 心則是出世之士

R

問曰、云何是我所心。

答曰、為有少許勝他●、自念我能。如是所心、涅槃中病。『涅槃経』云、

「譬如虛空能含容万物、而此虛不自念言、我能如是」。此喻我所●心滅趣、金剛三昧、病●行二門。

〔問　下八字S4064欠也〕
〔他　(朝)：他之心〕
〔病　下四字(朝)欠也(壹)：並行二門〕

S

問曰、諸至●行人、求真常寂滅者、但●樂无常麁善、不樂於第一義諦。真常妙善未現、只欲發心緣義、遂思覺心起、即是漏心。只●欲正心无所、即无●明昏住、又不当理。只欲不正●心不緣義、即妄取空。雖受人身、行畜生行。爾時无有定慧方便、而不能得了々明見仏性。只是行人沈沒之知。若為進●起得到无餘涅槃。願示真●趣。

答曰、会是信心具足、至●願成就。緩々靜心。更重教汝。自閑淨身心、一切无所攀緣。端生正身●、令氣息調、徵其心不在內不在外不在中間。好々如々、穩●熟看、即

及見此心識●流動、猶如水流陽炎、葉●々不住。既見此識●時、唯是不內不外。緣々如々、穩看熟●、即返覆融消、虛凝湛住。其此流動之識、颯然自滅。

滅此識者、乃是滅十地菩薩衆中障惑。此識身等滅已、其心即虛凝惔怕、皎潔然。吾更不能說其形狀。汝若欲得知者、取「涅槃經金剛身品●」乃「維摩經見阿閦仏●品」。緣々尋思、此●是實語。

至 二志？

只欲亡心 P3559∴欲止心无所

P3559∴進趣 （朝）∴起

身 （朝）∴念

識 下 （竜）「有七十三行字」

識 下 （竜）「有百九十五行字」

但 下二字 （朝）∴只樂 （竜）（北） P3434 P2777 S2669 S4064 ∴世間

正 （朝） P3559∴止

真 下二字 （朝）∴真心 P3559∴帰真趣

穩 下三字 （朝）∴穩看々熟 （竜）∴穩々看心 P3559∴穩看熟視

葉 下二字 （朝）∴曄々 （竜）∴葉成 P3559∴葉々

熟 （朝）∴看熟 P3559∴熟視

只 下六字 （朝）∴

進 下二字 （竜）∴進去

至 （朝）∴志

品 （朝）∴品

第三巻中

——仏——下二字朝、仏品第三巻

——此——下四字朝、細心

捜検熟看

丁能得於行住生臥中、及対五慾八風、不失此心者、是人梵行已立、所作已辨、究竟不受生死之身。五欲者、色声香味触。八風者、利衰毀誉称譏苦楽。

此是行人磨練仏性処、甚莫性今身不得自在。「経云、世間无仏、住地菩薩不得現用」。要脱此報身。衆生過去、根有利鈍、不可判。上者一念間、下者无量劫。若有力時、随衆生性、起菩提善根、自利々人、荘厳仏道。

要須了四依、乃窮実相。若依文執、即失真宗。諸比丘等、学他出家修道、此是出家、出生死家、是名出家。正念具足、修道得成、乃至解身支節、臨命終時、不失正念、即是仏。

能 下二字 朝 若此経熟実得能
中 下十九字 竜 欠也
風 下

P3431 欠也
学 朝 P3559 汝学
家 朝 P3559 枷
是 下二字 朝 P3559 得

成仏 S2669 仏

∪弟子上来集此論者、直以信心依文取義。作如是説者、実非了々証知。若乖聖理者、願懺悔除滅。若当聖道者、廻施衆生。願皆識本心、一時成仏。聞者努力、当来成仏。願在前度我門徒。

徒 下 竜 「有百二十五行字」

∨問曰、此論従首至末、皆顕自心是道。未知、果行二門、是何門而摂。

答曰、此論顕一乗為宗。然其至意、導迷趣解、自免生死、乃能度人。直言自利、不説利他。約行門摂。若有人依文行者、即在前成仏。

若我誑汝、当来堕十八地獄。指天地為誓、若不信、我世々被虎狼所食。

「食」下(壱) 以此所冀 聖寿万歳、十方法界含霊、同入如来果海爾云

校正雪岩 刻手一訓等二十 化主印珠、慧澄、道熙、隆慶四年

庚

(竜):道凡趣聖悟解脱宗修心要論一巻 S2669:道凡趣聖悟解脱宗修心要門論一巻

PELLIOT 3664

円明論

明心色因果品第一

要門方便品第二

辨[2]明修道秡?因果品第三

辨明三乘違順観品第四

簡□□緣[3]生品第五

入邪正五門辨因果品第六

自心現量品第七

簡[4]妄相[想]品第八

辨明声体品第九

A

明心色因果品第一

夫[5]入道之初、須明心色各有二種、一

者生滅?心[色]□□□妄[6]?想前乎緣慮不斷名為妄[想]□□□名[7]

為真貪ミ之能元未不善其義?□□□曰[8]生滅、若見真心元无妄

想、既得真性。常須覺悟□□□乃[9]?是?緣転心、ミ実不動。作此解

B

明行住坐臥常在ネミ□□□全ミ[10]尋ミ名心解脱也。

色者即是身也。身想[想]從何而生、推尋ミ□□□一[11]者從无始妄想

熏習而生、二者即從現在香味因緣□□□從[12]熏習而生、熏習

C

則是因、身則是果。熏習?是色相?口口口若[13]習非有想、身亦非色相。何以故。為因是无相、果亦?口口口不[14]善其義。謂身自性而生。若從因緣習氣起者、即知是虛?[因]既[15]是空、果亦是空。依香味中推、亦无有身。何以故。色從香味[飲]食[16]為命。

食又非色。如人飲食変為垢?穢、亦非作色、細?少香[味]口口口因[17]緣香味為色身香味。若有質色、身是其有、香味本作?空?口身[18]亦是空。若有作其色々即是其有。将无作其色、明知是空。

為[19][觀]心色無二、本性平等、名曰真如。得此无二平等法門時、了其心色也。

A

要[20]門方便品第二

夫学道多?端、趣悟不同?口口口其[21]門有其三種。一者漸教、二者頓教、三者円教。

其義不善。浪[作]?為[22]各執自許。根基不会餘人所悟。各相非毀。若契会根基、趣?□門[23]者、即辨其漸頓円、成其別也。若不解者、即言同也。余今所□不[24]同也。須実?之問、悟者即隔塵沙劫数、豈得是其同也。

今為[25]略簡其教、即知別也。何為漸教。暗人解者、皆悉附経文。経文无[26]過、良為将自根基所解、不会餘人所悟。根其有其三、□□□[27]及善知識。取其解者、観身心不在内外、得其无[我]者、是小乗人也。[28]為自知根基大小、故便執所解、自謂名為大乗観也。

又復有□□□□[29]解所有境界並是自己妄想心作。若自无妄想者、畢竟□□□境[30]界。作此観時、即无前後際。即不住無、執其所解、自謂是其?頓[31]教?所聆。乃是漸門、非是頓也。

C

云何頓教。頓教者、善知身相心体来？□□□之[32]知也。其身相者、元従妄相？心中生。其妄想元无有□□□言[33]无体、云何与身為本。

答曰、其心无体。亦不与身為本。所以者何。心[34]自相不知知所、亦不知生其身。心若知知所、可能生於身相。以心不自知[35]其知所、及不知従何知而去来、亦不知至何知受身□□従[36]何知而生。

若也身心各得相知者、可道、身従心生。心復可言生其[37]身也。身心既是不相知、及不知来去知所者、何能相生也。作此解？者[38]、身是誰家身、心是誰家心。心復不自知其知所、云何与身為本。口口□

身[39]心各不相知、即是元来不能相生也。何以故。空花所誑眼口

D

口口[40]身既非身。明眼是空。以将空作其有、有亦是其空。故説眼根口口口口是[41?]空作其心、心亦是其空。譬如依泥起其器。器亦口口口[42]器若非是泥、身心是其有。今既覚非実三世亦復此口口口所[43]言賢聖反地位者、並言空以為作也。空中无起滅、故言口口口作[44]此解者名為悟。所有山林土地日月星辰衆生等類口口口虚[45]空、法性波浪也。是故名頓。観於无我故言別也。

今頭漸口口口所[46]悟。不知若為合其円也。凡愚之知、不可測量円門之理也。円門[47]者有十種義。云何名十。

一者、須明衆生界。

二者、須明世界。

三[48]者、須明法界義。

E

四者、須明法界性。
五者、須明五海。
六者、須明□□□義。[49]
七者、須明衆生界体。
八者、須明世界体。
九者、須明法界体？。
十者、須明[50]諸仏方便体。
此十門不同。就其中了々分明者、即解円教。□□□悟[51]？頓門中、
定力多、三昧用少。円之中、三昧用多。恐？无□□□[52]者、雖有定行
乙門、終不名了義。其人愚性？示？既？更不□□□[53]非？真自悞？亦後
悞悟他。
此義是法華経仏乙訶責学道之者不聞[54]円門之義。余今一々

為次第釈名、又出其体也。令？諸行口憑[55]也。
云何衆生界者。有三種衆生界也。何等為三。口口口衆[56]生相口
口相？。二者、三世流転亦是衆生之相。三者、受用境？則[57]亦是衆生
之相。其相者、口以？法性為体。
衆生心性元有？五[58]陰之相。元従因縁而起。一塵？令无有自性。縁
未合時本口口口此[59]因縁元将法性為体。故衆生界量並因法
起並因？口口口有。[60]衆生之界元是無之？氣也。
若依無而起？為？口口口体[61/1]乙不。
答、既是無之氣、何知更言衆口口口俔[2]時、亦非衆生界、非々衆
生界、亦非無界、非々無界。以故道口中[3]无二故、是誰為衆生、是
誰為無。故言无漸无頓、号之為円成。
其[4]円成之法、是畢竟无衆生断煩悩。若迷於無、即見有衆生、即[5]

H

有煩惱。既有煩惱、即有心識、即有内外。既有内外、即有諍[論]。

言[6]心内者、是愚人法也。若在内、即是无常、亦是生滅、亦是口[7]猿、亦是人天放逸、亦是恐怖。既有過去、即有未来、即有現在、即[有][8]流転。既是流転、即非仏性。仏性体者、不生不滅、不断不常、不来不[9]去、非三世、非過去、非未来。如々実際、始名仏性。寧以生滅作其[仏][10]性也。

I

余依経文及禅観得其解者、等虚空遍法界、即是真実性。[若][11?]心在外者、即初教。悟法界之心、故言外也。既等虚空、満於色内、何[更][12]有色与心為㝵。心色既是无㝵、豈不遍於虚空也。即是法界之用[13]也。

J

円宗之中、通於衆生界也。翻衆生界、以為円宗也。依此解口口[14]

K

口衆生界也。世界一衆生是一世界。大衆生是大世界。小衆生
是[小世]界。[15]勢分各別。
譬如王者之界、四方敷不餘里。州郡之界、並在王者[16]之界内也。
県界如在州郡之界内。郷界復在県界内。村界復在郷[17]界内。居
宅之界復在村界内。房舎之界復在居宅界内。
作是観[18]者、従王者転々相容、各得世界之開也。若依此解者、人
天地獄一[19]切衆生、重々相依、各得勢分、不相鄣碍也。
問曰、世界知、以何為体得[20]不相碍。
答曰、大世界同元将盧舎那仏、復将并巧方便、大悲願[21]力、復将三
昧為体。三昧復将虚空為体。虚空无鄣碍、故能生无[22]碍法界智。
法界之智无碍、故能生无[碍]三昧智。以三昧无碍、故能[23]生盧舎
那仏。无碍无辺身、与一切衆[生]依止。以世界本是无[24]碍故、是以

A　　L

不相鄣碍也。

人身亦是衆生依止界。何以故。以人[身][25]中有八万户虫。虫中亦

有諸小虫。転々相依作世界、各自相名以為[世]界[26]也。作此解者、

種々是世界。何知更有衆生界。

尽是畢竟空。□[27]死衆生也。尋体而観、元是法水而流。分其水而

作世界、世界還□[28]法水。作此解時、亦非衆生界、非々衆生界、亦

非世界、非々世界。[29]作此観時、名為通於世界義也。

辨[30]明修釈因果品第三

彼諸受修道人等要須明其因果。若不明者、例隨摩訶羅外道見[31]

見也。為此因縁要須分明。

難曰、如上「要決論」中所立世界義□[32]並是世界。此義不成就。此

門中更不見。衆生体乃至諸仏□□[33]皆悉是空。

B

又上文中、立世界体、乃至衆生体、法界体、乃[至]諸?仏[34]方便体、並
将虚空為体。既是虚空、即応无体。所以得知?□□如[35]愚下見、虚
空无因、所以有无因果。果横従何起。若□□□虚[36]空誰之所作
也。虚空有其作者、不法有因有果。若□□□空[37]无其作者、不法
无因復无果。
此依禅师立体而起疑?[惑]□□是[38]麼甲横生難。性願禅师大慈
悲、為除疑惑、令得解脱。
答[39]曰、如上所難、大有逗留。終日慈悲、欲除衆生疑惑。故作[是]難[40]、
為汝解釈。若依其体、无本无末。実无因果。所以者何。但[41]依般若
経云、因亦空、果亦空、行亦空、非行亦空、非々行亦空[42]。想而言之、
仏亦空、法亦空、僧亦空、乃至賢聖亦空。准此経[43]文、如上所難、亦
復如是。雖然与一切衆生、无始已来、住於色[44]香味資身。非是无

為化起。若是无為化起、合依蓮花[45]、不依父母。既依父母、明知无始習氣、熏資其身具足。煩惱未[46]除、習氣未尽。如上法界体中所明義者、並是依他諸仏般若文[47]得解悟。未是自用功而得悟也。若是用功而得悟者、其身如死灰復[48]无有血。設使有血、猶如雪色。既不如是、明知具煩惱、若為不信因果。尒時時設難外人雖伏屈躬、深信因果、復問、若為〻因、若為〻果。[50]

答曰、当須住禅般若、空観成就、不住有无、身心平等、猶如虚空、行住[51]生臥、无有癈息、随縁救物、済弱扶傾、憐貧愛老。当念衆生三塗[52]等苦、及以人間貧寒困苦、常以捨命救之。不以辞労。如是[?]行[53]行常[53]在、禅定、経於三大阿僧祇。仍須衆願、備如家生意、莫如己意。須満衆[54]願、莫如己願。如斯行行、是名因。

D

又問、若為々果。
答曰、果者不離於因。但[55]住般若、不住有為。故度衆生、莫作尽意。
但行其行、莫限了時。捨命救物、莫生自他之想。所以者何。空禅
三昧、无有自他之行。即非𦬇所入。遠劫[56]勤苦、莫生顛倒之意。常
行此行、不立満足之想。
如斯行行、无始習氣[57]、自然滅尽。唯有空行。所以為空行、習氣俱
尽、不住彼我。仮与立名、名、[58]名之為果。行行満足、果自然至、故名因
果。
果若満時、智亦満虚空[59]行亦満虚空、身亦満虚空。国土及化身、
並皆満虚。雖然等虚空[60]与空无別異也。
依空起其身、々亦是其空。依空起其行、々亦是其[61]空。国土及方
便、皆悉如虚空。所以者何。无依虚空法界起、不異[62]於虚空。

E

猶如水上波。波元依水起。波還即是水。水既不異波。化身亦如是。[63]理行如証、名之為因果。故名因果。若習氣未尽、名為因果。習[64]氣既尽、豈得名為因果。不得為因果。所以者何。唯有、空行救物。更[65]死心意。猶如幻等、故名為果。果語諸行人等、不可以将凡情、依文[66]取解。即言得其理、要須用功日久。捨俗塵労、静坐思惟。已送報身。莫[67]以誦得文、謂言得理。全不相関。此是他解、非是我功。此是他行、非是[68]己行也。作此思惟、得免其過也。

A

辨明三乗逆順観品第四

欲[69]明三乗差別、各須知因縁不同。一有順観四大、二逆観四大。逆順俱達[70]理尽、斉等虚空、証羅漢果。順観者、直至羅漢果。一観者、例[71]入四聖果、聖然後入[羅]漢果。

B

因緣觀中、亦有之順。雖同虛空、名証辟支[72]仏。所以分別、時人不明此義。大小遠近、是以名為大乗、其実非是[73]大乗、並是小乗義也。

声聞人廻心入𦬇道、望?八識習氣蔵而得、而生[74]𦬇道、并行六波羅蜜。凡人夫逢善知識方便善巧因緣、於卅七助道法門而行六波羅蜜、久行復依何門、入得𦬇大行、得成仏果。又説羅蜜、久行𦬇教不同、或[76]先説因、然後行𦬇道。上来声聞廻心、及凡人入道者、先説因、然後説果。[77]久種善根人、於此門中得悟者不同凡夫。及久行𦬇道、並皆得入。

問曰、上[79]声聞廻心及凡夫入道、所以不解。未知、久行𦬇、復依何行𦬇道。未審、久行[80]𦬇、行六波羅蜜已不。

答云、行亦得、不行亦得。所以須不?行慈悲門中、中六[81]波羅蜜、入

A

簡異外道緣生得根本品第五
順[85]觀四大者、為利根凡夫、久種善根、惠情爽達。仏即為說緣起法[86]門。即懸見空理。就此根基為說順觀也。逆觀者、為凡夫愚鈍、不[87]見玄門、唯見香味觸、妄生計着。為此凡夫即說逆觀也。若[88]无利鈍凡夫、実无說逆順觀。多愚有其二分。

C

三昧門、復入法界門。行行者、即不見六波羅蜜也。若為是法界門[82]、若欲明者、先須明世界義。若不明世界者、无由得入法界門。是以先須明世界。
問曰、何者名世界義。
答曰、一衆生是一世界。大衆生是大世界。小衆生是小世界也。

B

凡夫逆観、従声[89]香味触推至微塵、推至虚空。色心不起、即取并、是即獲得羅[90]漢果。此是鈍根之人獲果如是。若利根凡夫逆観者、不然。従声[91]香味触次第観之、亦非微塵、並是自心妄想現。

問曰、若為是[92]自心妄想現。

答曰、一切衆生具有六根。何以有之。皆八識眼耳鼻[93]舌身意等根。

何知得来。若是自然而有者、即外道所見、亦非仏法。既[94]非是自然、而有、即令有来知。既令有来知、未知、従何知来也。

答[95]曰、亦非是自然、並有来知。比従頼耶識中来。頼耶識猶如大地。眼[96]鼻舌身意等、猶如百草萌牙。若无大地、草木叢林、依何而得[97]生長。草亦叢林種子、皆是地之所持。不失種子。今見眼耳鼻

舌並[98]是賴耶[識]之氣。賴耶本性无有形質。及諸根身是有形質。今時凡夫不[99]見賴耶為本、謂言父母能生。是以浪作色身之觀。推至微塵、乃至[100]虛空、妄取羅漢之果。若知身本来依賴耶而起者、即无眼耳鼻[101]舌。何以得知識元无有形質。唯有四似。何者名為四似。似根似塵似[102]我似識、此是四似。一一似中、推覓元无有識根等、並是賴耶之[103]中影像也。

但見賴耶、本性无有生滅。即推諸根之覓。何以故。元无[104]諸根故、並是本識種子相分故。本識之相分即无眼耳鼻舌之[105]根本。識中先无根識之質、唯有似也。其似即体是空。推趁即[106]无。只為不見本識、謂言眼耳鼻舌自然生。

今本識体者、唯有似[107]无有質。以質无故、名為自心影像。既是自

心影像者、何有我也。[108]既死有我、誰取果也。以不取果故、不同鈍根凡夫。推於四大、至於虛空[109]取其果。

C

問曰、取果有何過也。

答曰、取果有我之過。若羅漢入定[110]、猶如死人、復如死灰。経於千劫、更復出定。出定以後、還同凡夫。分[111]別既同。分別者、何忽更得識来。既有識生、明知本所持。是以得出[112]其定、為此元来未断一分煩惱。有此過故、既有此愚、只為不見身[113]是本識影像。若知身是本識之影像者、死不須断煩惱[114]、亦不須証無。不断煩惱、故離其我也。唯有習氣[115]未尽。若即自知習氣未尽。

D

当念衆生具无量縛、乗(性)起大悲[116]。因此即有菩行門。雖起菩之行、不同凡夫我見之行。所起化報[117]之身者、為凡[夫]而起。非是自為。若是自為者、還是我也。以為凡[夫]而起故、是以離其過也。

入道邪正五門辨因果品第六

A 凡[119]欲修道、先須識其因果、二須識其邪正兩門、三須依解起行、四須觀[120]莫癡、五須明行位深淺。有此五門、三世諸仏之所共修。非今独説[121]。

B 第一、明因果者。凡人之言道人、須自知此是俗情、蓋亦是虚。若不自知[122]、即多失道。若自知者、先觀我身、従頭至足、相好具足已不。日若下人[123]共叢、我身最為第一、衆生共許、朝市有名、郡官共許、即衆人共觀[124]、生即人皆美之、当知前業修行忍辱不慎、兼復荘厳尊像[125]具足衆戒、獲果如是。

若觀此身従頭至足、无所可觀、衆人不讃[126]朝市无名、行則无人記、生復无人美、衣不蓋形、食不充口、衣馬不具、当[127]知前身、未曾忍辱、慳貪具備、不曾為福、如此觀者、深須慙愧、自[128]知不具足者、

当須種福。是名因果。

C

第二、須解邪正両門者、凡人依有其深淺[129]。如似有人、修持五戒不犯、其人意功德具足、望与仏斉。如此意者[130]、是人悉爾、非独一人。為更不求无漏聖道。名為邪、非是仏弟子也。

若為作解得[131]合？正道。若欲会其正道、先須達其心本、二、須達其色。何以故。一切衆生[132]、皆以心色和合、為凡夫不得聖道。今須了達、始得出纏？是以須達其[133]元。

若為心本、本有二種。一者、真実心。二者、妄想心。凡夫生滅都由妄想[134]不聞真実。今須達其妄想。若為達其妄想、凡夫愚癡不了、謂心是実[135]。智者所観、元无有体。若為作解、得知无体。

D

若欲知虚実者、端[136]生思惟。観其妄念起動。所縁前境、无問遠近、皆悉縁至。雖言縁至[137]、而実不到。所以得知、不到。

正由不観其虚実、謂心是有。若観去時心、若也[138]是其去者、身即応合死。若也是其去者、応合了前頭境界。何故唯縁[139]旧事、不知新事。

若作此解、明知、不到前境。已為旧事謝故、旧事既謝。即[140]是无境。境既是虚。所言縁者、豈不是妄。為此得知、是其妄也。

E

若言心在[141]腹内者、亦復不然。何以故。若在腹内、応知腹内五蔵中一々事。皆悉不知、明[142]心不在内。心不在内故、即无有我、不到外塵、即无有彼我。彼我既空、名心无彼[143]此。故名心解脱。何以故。已不住二辺故。作此観時、其心寂然、猶如虚空。是名[144]了心。

F

若為観色、観色亦有二種。一者、外色。二者、内色。外色者、山川大地是也[145]。内色者、五陰四大是也。

先観外四大、山川大地、万物所依。即此大地是微塵[146]積聚厚重

始名為地。即此微塵未叢以前、元本是空。從虛空衆業[147]力所感、始有微塵。若衆生元无業力者、微塵亦空、乃至積叢竟時、亦是微[148]塵。何以故。若索地体、只得其塵、不得其地。其地若離微塵、更无大地。明知[149]、微塵未叢以前、大地既空。大地既空、明知、微塵亦空。何以故。虛空无性、化[150]起微塵。微无性、化起大地。從其虛空、尋觀大地、微塵本是其空。作[151]此觀時、明知、五陰及四大、亦復如是。是名皆空也。若為明其內色者、其身四[152]大、皆依外四大生、外四大既是空、內亦如是。何以故。人依食而立。衣食從地而[153]生。大地既是空、衣食亦非有。衣食既非有、內色依何立。內色既不立、明[154]知、即是空。觀心无內外、及色亦復然。色心无內外、是名為寂。寂无所[155]有、故号為無。作此解時、是名為正。遠離顛倒。亦名正見、亦名正定、亦

名[156]正業。作此説者、亦可=名?正説。三世諸仏共乗此法得至彼岸。是名正道。

G

雖然[157]得此解、仍須依解起其行。若不如是、即入外道邪見位中。若為依解[158]始起其行、為凡夫无始已来、煩悩熏習積累非今、不可一時頓尽。亦[159]復依今解悟、常覚現前、勿令无明煩悩重起、是名因行。習氣煩悩[160]都尽、更不得与色塵、境界重合、始名断尽。

H

若自知未尽者、常須観[161]行覚照、并行六波羅蜜、慈悲一切、饒益於人、推直於他、攬曲向己、計[162]足向他、欠損向己。何以如是。前観心色、空无有我、即是虚空。虚空若有色[163]、即色有我争。我既是空、誰有誰争。以虚空无我、是以須行无諍慈也[164]。若不如是、即理行相乖、非并之行。故言依解起行也。

I 四、須常観莫失[165]者、若不作理行相副之観者、恐其有失。是以須常観莫癡。

J 五、明行[166]位者、莫已得此解、現前即言共仏等。未同諸境界。約位判時、始是修信[167]賢人、非是究竟人也。若不知其位者、定入无因果謗。故以此言也。

[168]自心現量品第七

A 依楞伽経、自覚聖智宗、立一切諸仏皆[169]是自心現量義。若解者、山川大地、及以己身、並是自心、非是謬?也。且論身[170]分四大、四大所感。何无五大、天地所成。乃四輪而立、云何不説五輪而[171]成。有何所益。

釈曰、実是自心所現。非是謬也。所以得知、自心所現。且[172]論身四大者、為内有四種妄想。感得四大以為身、是以无五大。

B

何以故。內有沉[173]重妄想故、感得地大以為身。內有津潤妄想故、感得水大以為身。內[174]有忿熱妄想故、感得火大為身。內有飄動妄想故、感得風大以為身。是[175]以得知、皆是自心現量。

問曰、其身信知不惑、山川大地、若為得知自心。

答[176]曰、亦由內心。何以故。已有高下妄想故、感得山川大地不平。其地下厚三百六十万里、[177]名為地輪。其地下有水、得深三百六十万里、名為水輪。已承大地。其水輪下、[178]復有大火、復深三百六十万里、已上衝承其水輪。其大火下、復有風輪、復深[179]三百六十万里。上下四輪、次第相承。大地得存、名為世界。其風輪下、即[180]是懸空、更无物也。何以故。只有四輪、而无五六者、為衆生內心有四種妄想[181]。還為內有沉重妄想、故感得地輪。為內津潤妄想、故感得水輪。為[182]內有忿熱妄想、故感得火輪。為內

C

有飄動妄想、故感得風輪。以相成也[183]。作此思惟、皆是自心所現。
除心以外、更无一法。
今時有人問言、天地万法无[184]数者、只由未悟。諸法是其心。為此
因縁、即有疑心、即見諸法。是有是无[185]。為此因縁、即起有无諍也。
為破除諸法、即起相違戯論諍也。
若知[186]其心所感者、惣是自心。元无諸法。若也有法、即言有无。既
是自心元无[187]諸法。何得言有過也。作此解者、即於諸法、離其諍
也。

D

問曰、山川大地[188]是无情、人是有情。云何忽言无情之境是其心
也。若為得信、実難[189]可信。
答曰、譬如夫妻二人、无智愚癡、相共平章、作酒欲沾。酒既醖=醞?已[190]、其
夫往看其酒、酒已澄清。乃見自影、即以成瞋、打其婦、婦分踈=疏我

有[191]何事。其夫即言、你何故将一男人、藏着瓮中。其婦不信、即看瓮中、乃[192]見自影、還復大瞋、即語夫言、你何将一婦女藏着瓮中、不語我知。爾[193]時夫妻相打、各不識自影。相打至死。並令救問其所由、各如上說。其解鬪[194]人稱、亦復不信。即将夫妻就瓮看影。乃見三人影、又復不信。若其[195]是影、合在瓮外、何故在瓮裏。其解鬪人即語、若不是你影者、我[196]即共你夫妻、並在瓮中。

E

乃見三人明知、是你夫影。爾時其婦更瞋口云[197]、有一男人、送一箇女婦来。又復相打、不知休息。畢竟不信是其影也[198]。

凡夫亦爾、山川大地日月参辰、並是自心業所現、尽是自心影像。何以[199]凡夫不名知心作、決定不信。亦如夫妻二人諍影像相似、決定不信是[200]自影也。

瓮中実影者、喩山川大地亦是自心現量。若非自心現量者[201]、既見雷車、震其虚空得作声、明知、此声是其空也。又見乗車在地[202]、雖震其地以作声、若无虚空、終不出声。明知、此声亦是空也。作此[203]解時、一切諸法尽是虚空。元无法也。只由凡夫妄想未尽、見山川大[204]地。妄想若尽、畢竟不見也。諸仏菩薩以去知无鄣碍、只由妄想尽[205]、是以不見山川大地。明知、万法皆是心業所現也。

辨[206]明声体品第九

A

凡言声者、時人作解、耳所得声者、大錯。言[207]声到耳者、亦大錯。

問曰、若為作解、契会仏意。

若欲解声真源者、先[208]須識其声縁、亦須明其声体。

問曰、何者是縁、何者是体。

B

答曰、鐘杵[209]及人功用並是其縁。鐘内空及鐘外空並是其体。遂出其声、即此[210]声者、是其体声、非是鐘也。問、其体者、知々皆遍。何以只満十里、不満[211]百里。答、以縁有大小。声雖不満虚空、猶如下震其百出、皆悉大動、其[212]地可以、有流転以不。若審思量、其地雖震、不曾流転。即是不動。声[213]亦如是。雖縁撃震、虚空乃震知作声、亦不流転。既不流転、即是不[214]動。即是不生、即是不滅也。如五海十智之義、是一切諸仏𦬇大行之根本[215]也。若不善五海十智之義者、无由得解円門義也。

又円教之義、是[216]何法。円教法門者、衆生是諸仏、諸仏是衆生。旧来如是、不由今悟。[217]不与三乗𦬇同也。又円教門中明義者、亦非衆生界、亦非無界也。

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円明論一巻

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

[1]The Platform Sūtra purports to contain the oral teachings of Hui-neng (638-713), but was composed around the year 780. The oldest extant version of the text is that from Tun-huang, which is considerably different in content and length from later editions. For an analysis of the book's original contents and authorship, see Yanagida Seizan, Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1967), pp. 148-212. For a critical edition of the Chinese text, a discussion of its background and significance, and an English translation, see Philip B. Yampolsky, The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1967). The Chinese text also occurs in the Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō, vol. 48, pp. 337a-45b, i.e., T48.337a-45b. (See the listing of Abbreviations and Conventions of Usage at the beginning of the text.)

[2]This translation is taken from Yampolsky, p. 129. The original text occurs in Yampolsky, pp. 2-3 (from the back), or T48.337b.

[3]My translation is slightly different from that of previous scholars, the reasons for which will become apparent in the Conclusion of this paper. See the Chinese text in Yampolsky, p. 3 (from the back), or T48.337c.

[4]Yampolsky, pp. 58-88, contains an excellent summary of the development of Hui-neng's legendary biography.

[5]Ibid., p. 4 (from the back), or T48.338a.

[6]The legendary status of Hung-jen within early Ch'an will be discussed in Section Two, Chapter III, part 4.

[7]Hu Shih, D. T. Suzuki, and others have associated the Laṅkāvatāra and Diamond Sūtras with the Northern and Southern Schools, respectively. As indicated by Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 73, n. 30, these simplistic associations can no longer be accepted.

[8]The most convenient discussion of Shen-hui's role is in Yampolsky, pp. 23-38. As Professor Yampolsky notes on p. 24, Shen-hui's importance was first realized by Hu Shih.

[9]Shen-hui's historical contributions were overlooked by the later Ch'an School. Although he was supposedly recognized by the imperial court in 796 as the Seventh Patriarch of Ch'an, his name does not figure in either of the two orthodox lineages of the School. His own lineage came to an end with Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (780-841), whose works contain the only references to the Imperial conferral of official status upon Shen-hui just mentioned. See the sources listed in Hu Shih's biographical study of Shen-hui found in the Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi — fu Hu

hsien-sheng tsui-hou-te yen-chiu, Ma Chün-wu, ed. (Taipei: Hu Shih chi-nien kuan, 1968), pp. 70-71.

[10]Ui Hakuju, Zenshūshi kenkyū, II (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1941), 79. (With the exception of this note and note 98 to Section Two, all references to Ui in this paper are to the first volume of this three-volume set. Yampolsky, p. 32, points out that Shen-hui never quotes directly from the writings or sayings by Hui-neng, the verses from the Platform Sūtra included.

[11]See Section Two, Chapter I, Part 1.

[12]This set of four phrases occurs first in Shen-hui's P'u-t'i-ta-mo nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun (Treatise Defining the Truth about Bodhidharma's Southern School), the purported text of his anti-Northern School presentation of 732. His Nan-yang ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o ch'an-men chih liao-hsing t'an-yü (The Preceptor [Shen-hui] of Nan-yang's Platform Sermon on the Direct Comprehension of the [Buddha] Nature and the Ch'an Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment and Emancipation), which is generally considered to antedate the work just mentioned, contains the same four phrases, although the first occurs somewhat apart from the other three. See Hu, pp. 287 and 239.

[13]This is not limited to the work cited just below; Tsung-mi apparently never mentions the Platform Sūtra in any of his works.

[14]See the original text in Kamata Shigeo, Zengen shosenshū tojo, Zen no goroku, No. 9 (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1971), pp. 86-87, or T48.402b-c. Tsung-mi classifies the different factions of early Ch'an according to their understanding of the Buddha Nature.

Chih-hsien (609-702) was a student of Hung-jen's important within the lineages of Ch'an in Szechwan; Pao-t'ang Wu-chu (714-74) was one of his successors and the individual most closely associated with the Li-tai fa-pao chi (Record of the [Transmission of the] Dharma-treasure through the Generations, hereafter abbreviated LTFPC). Hsüan-shih was also a student of Hung-jen's. He was apparently involved with Pure Land practices, but next to nothing is known about him. See the discussion of Hung-jen's disciples in Section Two, Chapter III, Part 5 and in the LTFPC in Yanagida's Shoki no zenshi, II — Rekidai hōbō ki —, Zen no goroku, No. 3 (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1976), 163-72, or T51.185c-87c. (The editing of the Taishō version of the LTFPC is particularly egregious.)

The Ox-head School is traditionally thought of as an off-shoot of Ch'an beginning with Niu-t'ou Fa-jung (594-657), but its greatest activity occurred during the middle and latter part of the eighth century. This School will be mentioned again in the Conclusion to this paper. The T'ien-t'ai School should need no introduction. Seng-ch'ou (480-560) was an important meditation specialist who will be discussed in Section One, Chapter II. Gunabhadra (394-468) is remembered in Ch'an literature principally as the translator of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra. See Section Two, Chapter V, Part 12.

[15]In addition to the work just quoted, also see Tsung-mi's Chung-hua ch'üan hsin-ti ch'an-men shih-tz'u ch'eng-hsi t'u or Lineage Chart

of the Masters and Students of Ch'an in the Transmission of the Mind-ground in China in Kamata, pp. 274-76, 298-307, and 322-25, or Z, 1, 14, 277c-78b.

[16]For example, D. T. Suzuki quotes the Platform Sūtra verses in his "History of Zen Buddhism from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng (Yeno)," Essays in Zen Buddhism (First Series) (New York: Grove Press, 1961), pp. 206-7. This article was written in 1926. Suzuki's weak disclaimer as to the verses' reliability may be found on p. 208. A History of Zen Buddhism by Heinrich Dumoulin, S.J., (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), pp. 81-82 and 83, contains a similar recounting and disclaimer. Both Suzuki and Dumoulin accept the general notion that the Northern School was overwhelmed and superseded by the innately superior Southern School.

Of Chinese scholars, Hu Shih seems to have ignored the verses completely, which is consistent with his rejection of all fabricated material. Nevertheless, he frequently refers to the Northern School as "gradualistic." On the other hand, Yin-shun's Chung-kuo Ch'an-tsung shih (Taipei: Hui-jih chiang-t'ang, 1971), p. 209, contains the assertion and attempted proof that the verse attributed to Shen-hsiu accurately represented his teachings.

In Japanese, Ui, Zenshūshi kenkyū, I (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1939), 275 and 346-56, rejects the verses' authenticity as well as the notion that the Northern School taught a strictly gradualistic doctrine. Sekiguchi Shindai also rejects the validity of the verses and, in striking contrast to Yin-shun, finds evidence that Northern School doctrine actually agreed with the several different versions of Hui-neng's verse. He concludes that Shen-hsiu's teaching was thoroughly subitist, not gradualistic. See Sekiguchi's Daruma daishi no kenkyū (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1969), pp. 218-19 and 226, and Zenshū shisōshi (Tōkyō: Sankibō busshorin, 1964), p. 103.

Yanagida suggests, first, that the verses attributed to Hui-neng are not substantialy different from that attributed to Shen-hsiu and, second, that they may be further developments on a theme stated in Shen-hui's works. See his Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 262-63. In a later work oriented to a popular audience, Yanagida also uses the verses to draw some very interesting inferences about Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng. See his Zen shisō — sono genkei o arau, Chūkō shinsho, No. 400 (Tōkyō: Chūō kōron sha, 1975), pp. 87-89.

[17]Unquestionably, the one scholar whose work has caused the greatest confusion over the years is D. T. Suzuki. Although his world-wide efforts are in large part responsible for the unusually high level of interest in Ch'an, or Zen, it is unfortunate that the misconceptions and inaccuracies regarding the history of Chinese Ch'an contained in his very first article on the subject were never corrected in the half-century of creative scholarly effort that followed. See his "The Zen Sect of Buddhism," first published in the Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1906-1907, and reprinted in Studies in Zen, Christmas Humphreys, ed. (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1955), pp. 15-17. Suzuki's last significant contribution was The Zen Doctrine of No-mind (London: Rider and Co., 1949).

Suzuki's tendency to accept the Platform Sūtra as an accurate historical document and Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu as the actual representatives of two distinct tendencies within the Ch'an School involves so

many problems that it renders his writings on the teachings and history of early Ch'an almost entirely useless.

[18]See Section Two, Chapter II, part 4. Also see note 87 to Section Two.

[19]The earliest occurrence of the phrase i hsin ch'üan hsin is in Shen-hui's Nan-yang ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o ch'an-men chih liao-hsing t'an-yü (The Preceptor [Shen-hui] of Nan-yang's Platform Sermon on Directly Comprehending the Nature and the Sudden Teaching of Emancipation in Ch'an). See Hu, p. 232. The phrase chiao-wai pieh-chuan is apparently much later. See Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 470-76 for a discussion of these and other similar slogans.

Throughout this thesis I will give Japanese readings of Chinese phrases if they are well-known.

[20]Yanagida uses the term tōshi or "lamp history" in reference to these works. For example, see his early article "Tōshi no keifu," Nihon Bukkyō gakkai nempō, XIX (April, 1954), 1-46.

[21]A more comprehensive treatment than this might consider various social and intellectual issues. For the purposes of this study, however, I will limit myself to the discussion of matters directly related to meditation per se. Terms such as "meditation tradition" are used for convenience and are not meant to imply that the practice or study of meditation represented some tradition distinctly isolated from the rest of Chinese Buddhism.

NOTES TO SECTION ONE

[1]The information contained in the beginning of this Part of Chapter I (i.e., down to the mention of the *Abhidharma-kośa*) is drawn from Mizuno Kōgen, "Zenshū seiritsu izen no Shina no zenjō shisōshi josetsu," *Komazawa Daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, XV (March, 1957), 17-19.

[2]The terms "primitive Buddhism" and "sectarian Buddhism" (*genshi Bukkyō* and *buha Bukkyō*) are used by Mizuno and other Japanese scholars to refer to (1) the period from the Buddha's enlightenment until about a century after his death and (2) the subsequent era of Hīnayāna Buddhism, which was characterized by the appearance of various sectarian divisions.

[3]In addition to the article by Mizuno mentioned just above, the reader may wish to consult Paul Demieville's "Le *Yogācārabhūmi* de Saṃgharakṣa," BEFEO, XLIV:2 (1954), 339-96; Yoshida Dōkō's "Yugagyōja no shikan ni tsuite," *Shūgaku kenkyū*, XV (March, 1973), 140-45; and and Louis de La Vallèe Poussin's translation, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1971), especially vol. IV, Chapter 6.

[4]For a detailed analysis of meditation theory in one school of Hīnayāna Buddhism, see Paravahera Vajirañāna Mahāthera's *Buddhist Meditation in Theory and Practice: A General Exposition According to the Pāli Canon of the Theravāda School* (Colombo, Sri Lanka: M. D. Gunasena & Co., Ltd., 1962). The reader should keep in mind that the Theravāda School and the Sri Lankan tradition of Buddhist meditation had no impact in China, so that numerous details of Vajirañāna's account are inapplicable. I have avoided such details in my citations of this work in the notes below.

Edward Conze's *Buddhist Meditation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969) is largely devoted to the description of Hīnayāna meditation practices. A shorter but more analytical treatment may be found in Stephen Beyer's "The Doctrine of Meditation in the Hīnayāna" in Charles Prebish, ed., *Buddhism: A Modern Perspective* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975), pp. 137-47.

[5]See the definition of *paññā* (this is the Pāli equivalent for *prajñā*) in the *Visuddhimagga* or *The Path of Purification*, Bhikkhu Nyanamoli, tr. (Colombo, Sri Lanka: M. D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd., 1964), pp. 479-89, and the analysis by Vajirañāna, pp. 343-45. See also K. N. Jayatilleke, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963), p. 420. For the place of *prajñā* in the pluralistic description of human cognitive reality in early Buddhism, see Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Central Conception of Buddhism* (Calcutta: Susil Gupta [India] Ltd., 1956), pp. 41-42, 78, and 84.

[6]This is from the Mahā-satipaṭṭhāna-sutta, found in the Dīgha Nikāya of the Pāli canon, translated by Nyanaponika Thera, The Heart of Buddhist Meditation (New York: Rider & Co., 1962; rpt., New York: Samuel Weiser, 1975), p. 119.

[7]The Four Noble Truths are defined in every beginning book on Buddhism. The Four Foundations of Mindfulness will be explained below in Chapter III, Part 7, in relation to Seng-ch'ou.

[8]See Jayatilleke, p. 467, and Vajiranana, p. 343.

[9]Vajirañāna, p. 39, points out that the attainment of each successive stage of dhyāna is based in the recognition and decision to remove the limitations or flaws of the previous stage. Stcherbatsky, pp. 41-42, explains the importance of prajña in one's movement toward enlightenment. Incidentally, Sarvāstivādin doctrine holds that the stages of dhyāna imply the conjoint presence of śamatha and vipaśyanā. See Mochizuki Shinkō, Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten, (10 vols.; Tōkyō: Sekai seiten kankō kyōkai, 1933-36), p. 1861a.

[10]See Vajirañāna, pp. 227 and 257.

[11]See Beyer's abridged translation of the Bhāvanākrama, which contains a concise statement of Mahayana meditation theory, in his The Buddhist Experience: Sources and Interpretations (Encino, CA: Dickenson Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 99-115. Another useful source is the same scholar's "The Doctrine of Meditation in the Mahāyāna," in Prebish, pp. 148-58.

[12]Mochizuki, pp. 1663b-74c. Incidentally, Ètienne Lamotte, Śūraṁgamasamādhisūtra, La Concentration de la Marche Heroïque, Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, No. 13 (Brussels: Institut Belges des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1965), p. 44, provides a short list of sūtras with the word "samādhi" in their titles.

[13]See Lamotte, Śūraṁgamasamādhisūtra, pp. 36-37, and La Somme du Grand Vehicule d'Asanga (Mahāyānasaṁgraha), Bibliotheque du Museon, No. 7 (Louvain: Bureaux du Museon, 1938), II, 218-31. The latter describes six areas in which the Bodhisattva's samādhi is superior to that of the Hīnayānist: object, its basis on the superior Mahāyāna doctrines; variety, the infinite number of different types of samādhi in the Mahāyāna; counter-influence, its ability to eliminate all errors, illusions, and passions; aptitude, its unhindered efficacy in the salvation of others, rather than only individual perfection; result, its attendant supernatural powers; and action, the more grandiose scale of those powers.

[14]Śūraṁgamasamādhisūtra, p. 31.

[15]Mochizuki, p. 1663b, suggests that the concept of śūnyatā was derived from the experience of samādhi. Unfortunately, he does not explicate this position. From the opposite perspective, Ōminami Ryūshō observes that the Mahāyāna samādhi sūtras, excluding the Pure Land texts, emphasize analytical realization of the non-substantial nature of

the samādhis and objects of visualization that they recommend to the practitioner. See his "Sammai kyōten ni okeru kembutsu to kambutsu," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXIII:2 (March, 1975), 735.

[16]For the present purposes, it is not necessary to consider the relevance of the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts of An Shih-kao and Chih Ch'ien to the meditation tradition. The best treatment of the pre-Kumārajīva period is Ōchō Enichi's "Shoki Chūgoku Bukkyōsha no zenkan no jittai" in his Chūgoku Bukkyō no kenkyū (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1958), pp. 190-218. The existence of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna traditions in China at this time is accepted by other scholars, viz., Andō Toshio, "Rozan Eon no zenshisō," in Kimura Eiichi, ed., Eon kenkyū: kenkyū hen (Kyōto: Sōbunsha, 1962), pp. 252-53.

[17]Mizuno, p. 26.

[18]See Arthur F. Wright, "Biography and Hagiography: Hui-chao's Lives of Eminent Monks," in the Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyu-syo (Kyōto: Jimbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1954), pp. 386-87, for a comment on the overwhelming emphasis on literary activities in the Kao-seng chuan (hereafter abbreviated KSC), the most important source for this period.

Even granting this bias of our primary sources, it is possible to approach the interests of the early figures through the study of their biographies and translated works. See, for example, Ōminami Ryūshō's "Chiku Hōgo to sammai kyōten," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXIV:2 (1976), 579-83.

[19]This information is based on Seng-jui's preface, T55.65c-66a. The Tso-ch'an san-mei ching occurs at T15.269c-86a. The transliteration of non-Chinese names that occur in relation to this sūtra are taken from Mizuno, p. 23. In fact, I have followed Mizuno for the reconstructions of all the non-Chinese names mentioned in this Chapter.

[20]E. Zürcher, The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), p. 69.

[21]See Mochizuki, pp. 1440c-41a, and Ono Gemmyō, Bussho kaisetsu daijiten (13 vols.; Tōkyō: Daitō shuppan sha, 1933) IV, 7a-b.

[22]See Mochizuki, pp. 1258c-59b. The Sanskrit terms for this standard list of five are aśubha-bhāvanā, karuṇā-bhāvanā, pratitya-samutpādānusmṛti, ānāpāna-smṛti, and buddhānusmṛti. There are variations in the order and definition of these five in the translations by Kumārajīva and Dharmamitra. On the very popular practice of focussing the mind on the tip of the nose, which was done either during concentration on the breath or on physical impurities, see Hasebe Kōichi, "Zenkan no ichi kyokumen," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, CXLI (December, 1965), 304-307.

[23]For the Ch'an-mi yao-fa ching, see T15.242c-69c and Ono, 402. For the Ch'an-fa yao-chieh, see T15.286b-97c and Ono, VI, 402-403. For its dependence on the Ta chih-tu lun, see Mochizuki, p. 3003c. There

also exist two other short translations of meditation texts attributed to Kumārajīva. These are the P'u-sa ho-se yü-fa ching, T15.286a-b, and the Ssu-wei lüeh yao-fa, T15.297c-300c. The first of these is too short to be of any importance, while the latter is probably not Kumārajīva's. See Mochizuki, p. 2201b. Fukushima Kōsai's "Jōyōji Eon no shikan shisō," Tōhō gakuhō, XXXVI (September, 1968), 2-4, contains a brief description of the Mādhyamika perspective and practical emphases of Kumārajīva's translations.

[24]For Kumārajīva's biography, see Leon Hurvitz, "Chih-i (538-597): An Introduction to the Life and Ideas of a Chinese Buddhist Monk," Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, XII (1960-62), pp. 64-73, and the works noted on p. 64.

[25]Buddhabhadra's biography occurs in the Hsü kao-seng chuan (hereafter abbreviated HKSC), T50.334b-35c, and the Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi, T55.103b-104a. Mizuno's opinion of his importance is stated on p. 30. In addition, see Ōtani Tetsuo's article on the physical positions of meditation practice in China before and after the advent of Buddhism, "Chūgoku shoki zenkan jidai ni okeru 'za' no keitai," Shūgaku kenkyū, XII (March, 1970), 211, which interprets a passage in the KSC (T50.400b) to the effect that purely Buddhist meditation practice only began in China with Buddhabhadra. Buddhabhadra came to China after a Chinese monk named Chih-yen travelled to Kashmir to request that Buddhasena or one of his students make that journey. See T50.339a-c, 400b, and T55.112b-13a.

[26]Hui-kuang's KSC biography is at T50.368b-c. See Hurvitz, p. 226, for a convenient resume of his p'an-chiao theories.

[27]This text occurs at T15.300c-25c. The Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit title occurs at T15.301b. Mochizuki lists the various Chinese titles at p. 3544b and points out the text's reflection of Buddhasena's teachings on p. 3545a-b.

[28]For a description of the distinctive character of the Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching, see Ono, VII, 527b-28b, especially 528a. The two extant prefaces to this text, which were written by Hui-yüan and Hui-kuan, occur at T55.65b-66a and T55.66b-67a, the former also being printed along with the text at T15.300c-301b. This sūtra and its prefaces will be discussed at greater length in Section Two, Chapter V, Part 6.

[29]In addition to the Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching, Buddhabhadra is also credited with the translation of the Kuan-fo san-mei hai ching or Sūtra of the Ocean of Samādhis of the Contemplation of the Buddha, T15.645c-97a. As the title suggests, this is devoted to exercises of meditative visualization. This translation may have been done during Buddhabhadra's sojourn in South China.

[29]Dharmamitra's KSC biography occurs at T50.342c-43a, while those of his successors are at T50.399c-400a. See Mizuno, pp. 33-34, and Mochizuki, p. 3970b-c.

[30]The Wu-men ch'an-ching yao yung-fa occurs at T15.325c-33a. The

two Mahayana works, which are devoted to Akāśagarbha and Samantabhadra, may be found at T13.677b–80c and T9.389b–94b.

[31]Note the following coincidences in the lives of these men: (1) Dharmamitra, Kalayāśas, and Saṁghalāta all arrived in South China in 424; (2) Meng-i, the governor of K'uai-chi, is mentioned in relationship to Kalayāśas and Dharmamitra; (3) in 433 Dharmamitra returned to Chien-k'ang and Saṁghalāta built a monastery on Mount Chung; (4) Dharmamitra, Kalayāśas, and Saṁghalāta all resided on Mount Chung; and (5) in 442 Dharmamitra died and Kalayāśas went to Szechwan.

[32]See Mizuno, p. 34, and the KSC, T50.343c.

[33]See Mizuno, p. 36, and the KSC, T50.343c–44a.

[34]These are Guṇavarman and Ratnamati. For the former, see Mizuno, p. 36, and the KSC, T50.340a–42b, which is quite detailed and contains an exceptionally long versified exposition of Guṇavarman's last teachings. Also see the Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi, T55.105b–106b. For Ratnamati (not identical to the sixth-century translator of the same name), see Mizuno, pp. 36–37, and the KSC, T50.345a.

[35]See Mizuno, pp. 34–35, and the KSC, T50.394a–95a. Mochizuki, p. 4600a–c, contains a summary of Pao-chih's many contacts with the Southern Court, his unerring predictions, and a list of the many works that mention him.

[36]For the Ch'an works connected with Pao-chih, see the Mochizuki articles mentioned in the previous note.

[37]The tendency of the KSC to be more detailed regarding Buddhism in the South rather than the North has been noticed by Yamazaki Hiroshi, Shina chūsei Bukkyō no tenkai (Tōkyō: Shimizu shoten, 1942), p. 246, and again by Wright, pp. 394–95.

[38]See Mizuno, p. 30, and the Chin-shu, fascicle 117, Erh-shih-wu shih (Taipei: Erh-shih-wu shih k'an-hsing wei-yuan hui, 1962), II, 1383c.

[39]See Mizuno, p. 32, and the KSC, T50.397a–b.

[40]See Mizuno, pp. 35–36, and the KSC, T50.329b–c.

[41]See Mizuno, pp. 32–33, and the KSC, T50.397a–98b, for Hsüan-kao and his students. One of those students, Fa-ch'i (T50.399a), is said to have mastered nine out of the "ten stages of meditation" (shih chu kuan-men) given in the Avataṁsaka Sūtra. The tenth is said to have been the Samādhi of the Lion's Charge (shih-tzu fen-hsün san-mei). Although such tenfold classifications occur at several locations in the text in question (T9.417a, 600c, 639a, 660b–c, and 762b–c), the exact nature of Fa-ch'i's practices is rendered obscure by the fact that the Samādhi of the Lion's Charge does not occur in any of these.

[42]See the KSC, T50.337a, and the Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi, T55.106b–c.

[43]See Mizuno, pp. 37-38, and T50.398b-400b. See the same pages in Mizuno for brief comments on a few practitioners mentioned elsewhere in the KSC. Ōtani's article cited in note 25 above considers many of the same figures rferred to in the pages above, but from the point of view of their possible relationship to non-Buddhist Chinese practitioners.

[44]Bodhiruci, Buddhabhadra, and Paramārtha were of course not the only translators active during this period. A quick look at Mochizuki's chronological table in vol. VI of his encyclopedia reveals the arrival of foreign masters on the following dates: 504 (active in the Wei), 512 (Liang), 516 (Lo-yang area), 538 (Wei), 541 (Eastern Wei), 556 (Northern Ch'i), 558 (two monks, Ch'ang-an), 560 (Ch'ang-an), 582 (Sui), and 590 (Ch'ang-an).

[45]On Paramārtha's tribulations, see Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 134-35.

[46]The translation of the Pāli work occurs at T32.299c-461c. For an English translation, see the Arahant Upatissa, The Path of Freedom (Vimuttimagga), trans. by N. R. N. Ehara, Soma Thera, and Kheminda Thera (Colombo, Sri Lanka: D. R. D. Weerasuria, 1961). Nyanamoli comments on this work in the introduction to his translation of the Visuddhimagga, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

[47]This is the Cheng-fa nien-ch'u ching, or the Sūtra on the Foundations of Mindfulness [according to] the Correct Dharma. See T17.1a-417c and Lin Li-kouang, L'Aide-Memoire de la Vraie Loi (saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra): Recherches sur un Sūtra Developpè du Petit Vehicule, Bibliotheque d'Etudes, No. 54 (Paris: Musèe Guimet, 1949). Mochizuki, p. 2970c, discusses the problems concerning the translator's name, etc.

[48]For simplicity, I will merely note the dates of appearance of different samādhi sūtras as given in Mochizuki's chronological table: 542, 557, 568, 585, and 593.

[49]Jñānagupta's translation activities began in 585, after which he is credited with a total of 34 works. For comments on his activities, see Ōmura Seigai, Mikkyō hattatsu shi (Tōkyō: Bussho kankōkai, 1918), pp. 165-74. Ōmura's work is also an excellent source for the various works of the Chinese Esoteric tradition.

[50]The Hsiu-ch'an yao-chüeh may be found at Z2, 15, 417-21. The immediate predecessor to this work of Buddhapāli's would have been one of those by Chü-chü Ching-sheng, who died in 464. Even Buddhapāli was not a meditation instructor in the old style, for he incorporated esoteric elements into his instructions. See the short note in Yanagida's "Zenseki kaidai," Zenke goroku, II, ed. by Nishitani Keiji and Yanagida Seizan, Sekai koten bungaku zenshū, No. 36B (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1974), 468.

[51]Mizuno, p. 17, states his general impression that the practice of Buddhist meditation in India declined greatly relative to doctrinal, philosophical, and logical studies from about the fourth or fifth century.

[52]Ibid., pp. 17-18.

[53]T50.596c.

[54]Although Mochizuki, p. 4770a-b, and Yanagida, "Daruma-zen to sono haikei," Hokugi Bukkyō no kenkyū, ed. by Ōchō Enichi (Kyōto: Heirakuji shoten, 1970), p. 148, argue against the identity of Buddhaśānta the translator and Bhadra (or Buddha) the meditation instructor, I prefer to follow Sakaino Tetsu (Kōyō), Shina Bukkyō seishi, (Tōkyō: Sakaino Kōyō hakase ikō kankōkai, 1935), pp. 655-58. Sakaino suggests that the individual involved arrived in China much earlier than Bodhiruci and Ratnamati and learned enough Chinese to be able to interpret their statements to the native scribes. Thus they are referred to as "Tripiṭaka Masters," while Bhadra/Buddhaśānta is described as an "interpreter-monk" (ch'üan-i sha-men). T'ang Yung-t'ung follows Sakaino in his Han-Wei liang-Chin nan-pei ch'ao Fo-chiao shih (Taipei: Kuo-shih yen-chiu shih, 1973), p. 777. Yoshida Dōkō's "Shoki Jiron gakuha ni okeru shomondai," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXIII:2 (1975), 802-803, summarizes the views of other scholars on this subject.

I believe that the identity of Bhadra and Buddhaśānta is also indicated by the several coincidences between the membership of their lineages. For convenience, in this paper "Bhadra" will be used exclusively as the standard reference for this Dhyāna Master, since Yanagida, "Daruma-zen to sono haikei," pp. 147-48, suggests that this was his original name. For his biography, see the HKSC, T50.551a-b.

[55]See T50.553b-55b for Seng-ch'ou's HKSC biography.

[56]Ratnamati does not receive an HKSC biography of his own, but he is mentioned in those of Bodhiruci, Seng-ta, Seng-shih, and Hui-kuang, T50.428c-29a, 553a, 557c, and 607c. The same work, p. 644a-b, lists a monk who might be identical to this translator. Makita Tairyō's Tō kōsōden sakuin (3 vol.; Kyōto: Heirakuji shoten, 1973-75), I, 227, lists them as distinct individuals, but the transliterations of their names and their places of residence (both on Mount Sung) are very similar. Matsuda Fumio argues for their identity in his "Bodaidaruma ron — Zoku kōsōden no Daruma, sono joron —," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXVI:2 (1978), 595-600.

[57]T50.551b.

[58]According to the orthodox Ch'an legend, this is the monastery at which Bodhidharma is supposed to have resided. See Section Two, Chapter II, Part 1. The Shao-lin ssu pei (Inscription for Shao-lin ssu) by P'ei Ts'ui, written in 728, is devoted to the history of this monastery. See the Ch'üan T'ang-wen (Complete Writings of the T'ang [Dynasty], hereafter abbreviated as CTW), Ch'in-ting ch'üan T'ang-wen, ed. by Tung Kao, et al., (1000 fascicles; Taipei: Wai-wen shu-chu, 1961), 279:16b-22a, or Washio Junkei's Bodaidaruma Sūzan shiseki taikan of

1932. Shao-lin ssu was originally built by Emperor Hsiao-wen of the Wei for Dhyāna Master Bhadra.

59T50.553c.

60See Part 7 of this Chapter.

61Seng-ch'ou's initial religious awakening occurred in 507, after which he was ordained, spent unspecified lengths of time studying the scriptures and practicing meditation, then five years at his retreat in Ting-chou and another unspecified term of practice in Chao-chou. Certainly, all this must have taken at least a total of seven years, if not more.

62Li Chiang was a prominent official stripped of office during Empress Ling's attempt to re-assume power, which began in 524-25. He returned to prominence after her death in 528, but was executed shortly thereafter. See the Wei shu, fascicle 65, Erh-shih-wu shih, III, 2047b-c.

63The text reads shang-shu-ku, which has been taken to refer to some official conclave. After his arrival in China at the end of the fifth century, a meditation hall was built for Bhadra within the grounds of the imperial palace. This favor was repeated in Lo-yang after the capital was moved there, but Bhadra soon moved to Mount Sung, where Shao-lin ssu was established for him.

64Mount Ta-ming and Yu-mo (or Wen-mo) are unlisted in the reference works I have consulted.

65Kao Yu was governor of Ting-chou sometime during the years 543-550, but did not receive the title P'eng-ch'eng wang, by which he is referred to in the HKSC (T50.554a), until 550. See the biography of Lou Jui in the Pei-ch'i shu, fascicle 15, Erh-shih-wu shih, III, 2220a, and the Pei shih, fascicle 54, Erh-shih-wu shih, III, 2923c-d. Kao Yu's biography is included in the Pei-ch'i shu, fascicle 10, Erh-shih-wu shih, III, 2214a-b. Seng-ch'ou's connection with Ting-chou may have also derived in part from the fact that it was Hui-kuang's native place. (See T50.607b.)

66See T50.552a-b and Section Two, Chapter II, Part 4.

67T50.554b.

68Some of the details of Seng-ch'ou's invitation to court and the subsequent imperial regulations based on the dictates of Buddhist morality are also reported in Fa-lin's Pien-cheng lun, T52.507c.

69Later in the HKSC biography, T50.555a, it is claimed that the proposed grounds for this monastery were to cover ten li square (about 4.3 km square), but that Seng-ch'ou had this reduced by half so as not to be too much of a burden on the local population. There is also a reference to a description of the monastery, perhaps a diagram, known as the Yün-men hsiang-t'u. Tao-hsüan apparently saw this work, which is

now lost. Various supernaturalistic anecdotes of events that took place at Yün-men ssu are also given.

[70]See the final Part of this Chapter for the Sui Dynasty system of meditation centers and Part 5 of the next Chapter for the discussion of Hui-ssu.

[71]T50.554b. The Fourfold Dependence (ssu i) referred to here is probably that of dependence on the Dharma, not men; on comprehensive sriptures, not non-comprehensive ones; on the meaning of those scriptures, not their words; and on wisdom, not knowledge.

[72]This anecdote occurs in the HKSC at T50.491c. See Yanagida's "Daruma-zen to sono haikei," pp. 158-59.

[73]T50.555b. The last clause paraphrases the Chinese, which uses a classical allusion.

[74]T50.596c.

[75]T50.555b. Technically, the reference is to Yun-men ssu as the "monastery of the Stream-winner."

[76]For the passage in question, see Vajirañāna, pp. 234-35. For some of the ways in which this passage was correlated with the Four Foundations of Mindfulness, see ibid., pp. 235-58, and Mochizuki, pp. 2480b-81c.

[77]This chapter of the Nirvāṇa Sūtra begins with a discussion of the practice of the Mindfulness of the Body, the first of the Four Foundations. This discussion opens with some standard Hinayana formulations, suggesting that one should contemplate on bones that have turned blue-green in the process of decomposition. Just as in the "totality-sphere" exercises (p'ien-ch'u or i-ch'ieh ch'u, kṛtsnāyatana, or kasiṇa-āyatana in Pāli), one was supposed to visualize the entire world as being blue-green — above, below, and all around oneself. In contrast to conventional Hīnayāna technique, when this visualization is achieved rays of various colors of light are spontaneously emitted from the Bodhisattva's (this is the term used throughout for the practitioner) forehead (literally, the space between his eyebrows, mei-chien, or ūrṇakośa). The Bodhisattva sees in each ray of light a different Buddha, of whom he asks a question that may be paraphrased: "This body is an impure collection of elements united through various factors. Since there is no 'subject' (chu, i.e., a self) at its center, how does it sit, arise, stand, stretch out, look, blink, breathe, cry, and laugh?" The instant this question is formulated the Buddhas within the various beams of light immediately disappear. This is followed eventually by the concluding statement:

> When the Bodhisattva performs this contemplation [of anātman] he has achieved the Four Foundations of Mindfulness. Having achieved the Four Foundations of Mindfulness, he resides in the Stage of Forbearance (i.e., the First Stage of the Bodhisattva path, which is usually given as the Stage of Joy).

> Residing on this Stage, the Bodhisattva is able to forbear craving, anger, and stupidity. He is also able to forbear cold and heat, hunger and thirst, flies and lice, violent winds, [food defiled by] unfavorable contact, and various diseases, slander, vilification, beating, and whipping. He can forbear all the afflictions of body and mind. Therefore, it is called the Stage of Forbearance. (T12.434b)

The manifestation of a number of Buddhas at the same time is clearly a reflection of the grandiose religious scale of the Mahāyāna, while their sudden disappearance is a graphic demonstration of the non-substantiality of all things. The most interesting facet of this passage — or of Seng-ch'ou's reference to it — is its emphasis on the forbearance of various forms of suffering and abuse. The biographies of meditation specialists such as Bodhidharma and Hui-ssu include references to attempted poisonings and other attacks. Incidentally, Ōchō Enichi, "Hokugi Bukkyō no kihonteki kadai," Hokugi Bukkyō no kenkyū, p. 60, suggests that this reference to the Nirvāna Sūtra by Seng-ch'ou is an example of the philosophically shallow, practically-oriented usage of scripture in sixth century North China.

[78]T'an-ch'ien's biography is in the HKSC at T50.571b-74b.

[79]T31.152a-270b. See Lamotte's translation and study of this work (based on the Tibetan version and Hsüan-tsang's Chinese translation), already mentioned in note 13 above.

[80]T50.573c. In the second line of the Chinese text (line 18 of the Taishō edition), I have taken the character yu 攸 as equivalent to 悠, "distant." The resulting compound, yu-ch'ueh 悠闊, is thus roughly equivalent to the English colloquiallism "few and far between." See Morohashi Tetsuji, Dai Kan-Wa jiten (12 vols. plus index; Tōkyō: Daishukan shoten, 1955-60), V, 470b.

[81]Mizuno, p. 45, suggests that the 120 masters represented one from each prefecture of China, to which they would later be returned. The only possible local appointment I have chanced across was that of Ching-lin, who in 604 was installed in a monastery in his native place on the outskirts of Ch'ang-an. See T50.590b. Incidentally, Ch'an-ting ssu was dominated by She-lun School monks. See Mochizuki, p. 2821b-c.

[82]T46.49a (Chih-i) and 149a-b (Chan-jan), cited in Andō Toshio, Tendaigakū — kompon shisō to sono tenkai — (Kyōto: Heirakuji shoten, 1968), pp. 7-10. I have been more liberal than Andō in correlating the contents of these two passages. (See Ando, p. 10.) The sixth slogan given here, t'a-hsin, is rendered with reference to the compounds tao-i and tao-fa, which use a homograph of the character t'a. See Morohashi, X, 944b and 944d.

[83]Tsui, Chiu, and Chien are mentioned in the biographies of Hui-ssu and Chih-i. It is possible that Sung is the Hui-sung (d. 550-59) of Kao-ch'ang in Central Asia mentioned in the HKSC as Pao-kung's teacher. (See T50.512c.) Hui-sung's biography occurs at T50.482c-83a.

Andō suggests that Hui may refer to Fu Hsi (497?-569), who is

also known as Shan-hui. For his biography, see T50.650b and Mochizuki, pp. 4383b-84a. Fu Hsi was a Southerner often associated with Pao-chih, but was even more the focus of later invention. As a guide to later sources, see Nukariya Kaiten, Zengaku shisōshi, I (Tōkyō: Genkōsha, 1923), 335-44.

[84]See note 25 to Section Three.

[85]T46.1b. The HKSC biography for Hui-ssu refers to Hui-wen as a Dhyāna Master who had several hundred students of commendable moral purity. (T50.562c)

[86]T46.49a and 149a-b, cited in Ando, p. 9.

[87]Andō, p. 15.

[88]See the description of Hui-ssu's training in Part 4 of this Chapter.

[89]See, in particular, Ōchō Enichi's "Nangaku Eshi no hokkezammai," Hokke shisō no kenkyū (Kyōto: Heirakuji shoten, 1971), pp. 265-78, and Paul Magnin, La Vie et l'Oeuvre de Huisi (515-577) (Les origines de la secte bouddhique chinoise du Tiantai), Publications de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, vol. CXVI (Paris: Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1979), pp. 24. Ono Einin's "Shoki Tendai no zenshisō (jō) — Eshi ni okeru zempō soshiki no haikei — ," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXIV:1 (1975), 114-18, contains a very lucid resume of Hui-ssu's career and significance.

[90]T46.787a.

[91]T46.1b. This passage is paraphrased in Kuan-ting's biography of Chih-ī, the Sui T'ien-t'ai Chih-che ta-shih pieh-chuan, T50.191c. For the Vaipulya Repentence and Samādhi, see the discussion below and note 94.

[92]T50.562c.

[93]The Sung Dynasty work is the Fo-tsu t'ung-chi, T49.179a, as cited by Magnin, p. 31, note 17.

On the other hand, by adding the seventeen years of Hui-ssu's sūtra recitation and Vaipulya practice mentioned in the Mo-ho chih-kuan to Hui-ssu's reference to the date of his first leaving home (529, at age fifteen), we arrive at a date of 546 (age thirty-two) for his encounter with the Miao-sheng ting ching. The approximate accuracy of this date is corroborated by (1) the HKSC account of Hui-ssu's enlightenment, which implies that he spent a year and a summer practicing under Hui-wen, and (2) Hui-ssu's own account in the Li shih-yüan wen, which skips from the year of his ordination (534) to 548, when he appears as a fully realized master. (See T50.562c-63a and T46.787a.)

[94]For the Vaipulya Repentence and Samādhi, see the Ta fang-teng to-lo-ni ching, T21.641a-61a, Mochizuki, p. 3423b-c, and Andō, pp. 422-24. Chih-i's understanding of this practice is summarized by Hurvitz,

p. 323.

[95]See Sekiguchi Shindai, "Myōshōjōkyō (Tonkō shutsudo) kō," Tendai shikan no kenkyū (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1969), pp. 379-402. This includes an edited transcription of the text, which was discovered by Sekiguchi in 1944 among the remnants of Tun-huang manuscripts in China. Magnin, p. 31, note 16, lists the references to this text within early T'ien-t'ai literature.

[96]T50.563a. The reader may also wish to refer to Chan-jan's abbreviated and slightly modified version of this passage (T46.149c). For the term k'ung-ting, see Nakamura Hajime, Bukkyōgo daijiten (2 vols.; Tōkyō: Tōkyō shoseki, 1975), I, 282b, and Yanagida, Daruma no goroku — Ninyū shigyō ron —, Zen no goroku, No. 1 (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1969), pp. 75-77.

[97]Also T50.563a.

[98]Ōchō, Hokke shisō no kenkyū, p. 269.

[99]Hui-ssu's ideas on mo-fa are discussed by Hurvitz, pp. 87 and 91-92, on the basis of Yūki Reimon's "Shina Bukkyō ni okeru mappō shisō no kōki," Tōhō gakuhō, VI (February, 1936), 205-15.

[100]T46.787b.

[101]T50.563c.

[102]Hurvitz's study is mentioned in note 94 above.

One of the problems of this area of study is the difficulty of determining the precise nature of Hui-ssu's contributions. This is due to the fact that the T'ien-t'ai tradition attributes more to Hui-ssu than is readily apparent in his extant works. In addition to the sources cited above, there exist two brief articles on his meditation theories, both of which are titled "Nangaku Eshi no zenkan." These are by Hei Michinori, Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XVIII:1 (1969), 217-220, and Fukushima Kōsai, (details of publication unavailable), 201-205. Unfortunately, neither is particularly helpful.

An additional problem connected with the study of Hui-ssu's religious theories concerns the Ta-sheng chih-kuan fa-men (Teaching of Concentration and Insight in the Mahāyāna). Although Hui-ssu is listed in some sources as the author of this text, there are other indications that it was written by T'an-ch'ien (see Chapter II, Part 8). Magnin, pp. 99-104, who cites several earlier scholarly positions in his discussion of the authenticity of this work, concludes that its true authorship is uncertain. Ikeda Rosan's "Daijō shikan hōmon kenkyū josetsu — tenseki oyobi kenkyū —," Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō gakubu ronshū, V (December, 1974), 17-36, is more exhaustive in its citation of relevant literature on the subject, but avoids any independent judgement. The text was significant and deserves consideration on its own merits, irrespective of the problem of authorship.

[103]See Mochizuki, pp. 808c-809b, for the specific texts involved. Chih-i's devotion to Avalokiteśvara is emphasized by Andō, pp. 26, 199,

201-203, and 422.

[104]This description is from Hurvitz, p. 109.

[105]This passage is from the Sui T'ien-t'ai Chih-che ta-shih pieh-chuan, T50.192a. Nakamura, p. 839c, defines the "dhāraṇī of transformation" (hsüan to-lo-ni) as the "power of wisdom whereby the characteristics of attachment in sentient beings are transformed so as to attain the ideal of non-substantiality.

[106]This is from the HKSC, T50.563b. The English translation is indebted to that by Hurvitz, p. 89. For the Three Samādhis, which are those of non-substantiality, characterlessness, and wishlessness, see Mochizuki, pp. 1512c-14a. For the Three Contemplative Wisdoms, which are concerned with the general and specific characteristics of the non-substantiality of all dharmas, see Mochizuki, p. 1613b-c; Nakamura, pp. 60a-b, 1015b, and 59c; and Ōchō, Hokke shisō no kenkyū, pp. 290-97. Incidentally, as Hurvitz notes on p. 109, including note 2 there, Kuan-ting's Pieh-chuan represents Hui-ssu as thoroughly impressed with Chih-i's talents, while the HKSC (T50.564b) has Hui-ssu lament the weakness of his student's meditative ability.

[107]T50.192c. Takahashi Shūei's "Dai ikkai Kinryō dendō jidai ni okeru Tendai daishi no kōsetsu ni tsuite — toku ni Shidai zemmon o chūshin to shite — ," Komazawa Daigaku Daigakuin Bukkyōgaku kenkyūkai nempō, V (June, 1971), 123-31, contains a well-written discussion of Chih-i's first period of residence in Chin-ling.

[108]T50.193b.

[109]See Ōchō's "Tendai Chigi no hokkezammai," Hokke shisō no kenkyū, pp. 297-300.

[110]See Shioiri Ryōdo, "Shoki Tendaisan no kyōdanteki seikaku," Nihon Bukkyō gakkai nempō, XXXIX (1973), 134-35.

[111]See Stanley Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism," in Perspectives on the T'ang, ed. by Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 278-82.

[112]I have used an abbreviated title for this work, which occurs at T46.475a-548c. For an analysis of its background and importance, including its relationship to other T'ien-t'ai texts, see Satō Tetsuei, Tendai daishi no kenkyū — Chigi no chosaku ni kansuru kisoteki kenkyū — (Kyōto: Hyakkaon, 1961), pp. 103-27. For a discussion of the origins and date of this text, see Takahashi, pp. 125-26. Chan-jan's date for the compilation of this work is given in Ono V. 21a.

[113]The Four Dhyānas, the Four Unlimited States of Mind, and the Four Formless Dhyānas are discussed at length by Vajirañāna, pp. 35-42, 263-317, and 332-40. For a shorter explanation, see Stephen Beyer, "The Doctrine of Meditation in the Hīnayāna," pp. 138-39 and 142-44.

The Six Wondrous Teachings refer to stages in the practice of

meditation on breathing. The Sixteen Excellent *Dharmas* have been mentioned with regard to Seng-ch'ou in Chapter II, Part 7 above. (See note 76.)

The Three Penetrative Illuminations refer to the Four *Dhyānas*, Four Formless *Dhyānas*, and the Attainment of Extinction (*nirodha-samāpatti*), so named because they lead to the three illuminations (*ming*) into past, future, and the exhaustion of the defilements, as well as the six penetrations or supernatural powers (*t'ung* or *shen-t'ung*, *abhijñā*). See Nakamura, p. 972d.

For the Nine Contemplations, Eight Remembrances, Ten Contemplations, Eight Renunciations, and Eight Excellences, see Mochizuki, pp. 678b-79a, 4223a-c, 2284c-85b, 4206b-207b, and 4213c-14b.

For the Totality-spheres, see Vajirañāna, pp. 139-65, and Mochizuki, pp. 2374a-75b.

For the Nine Successive *Dhyānas*, *Samādhi* of the Lion's Charge, and the *Samādhi* of Transcendence, see Mochizuki, pp. 664c-65a and 1788a-c, and Nakamura, II, 965c.

[114]Andō, p. 430.

[115]See Hurvitz, pp. 318-31.

[116]Andō, pp. 187-88 and *passim*.

[117]This is recounted in Hui-ssu's *Fa-hua ching an-lo hsing-i*, *T*46.700a-b, and summarized by Hurvitz, pp. 94-95.

[118]*Mo-ho chih-kuan*, *T*46.14a, as cited in Andō, p. 198.

[119]Andō, pp. 199-204, especially p. 203.

[120]This text occurs at *T*46.549a-55c under the title *Liu miao-fa men*. (The three-character title is apparently older.) See Satō, pp. 151-72, Andō, pp. 438-62, and Mochizuki, pp. 5077b-58a. Andō, pp. 434-36. discusses the status of this work as a forerunner to the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*.

[121]*T*46.52a-b, as quoted in Andō, p. 219.

[122]*T*46.1c-2a, quoted in Mochizuki, pp. 311c-12a. The "Accumulation" of illusions and its eradication refer to the Four Noble Truths.

[123]Ōchō, *Chūgoku Bukkyō no kenkyū* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1958), pp. 256-89, summarized by Hurvitz, pp. 80-81, note 2. For more specific, if less extensive, comments on the meditation tradition in particular, see Ōchō's "Chūgoku Bukkyō shoki no zenkan," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, IV:1 (1956), 79-82, especially p. 81, where he explicitly correlates the Southern emphasis on generalized doctrinal analysis with the subsequent rise of the Ch'an School. On Buddhism in the North, also see Ōchō's "Hokugi Bukkyō no kihonteki kadai," pp. 27-35.

[124]Ōchō, "Hokugi Bukkyō no kihonteki kadai," pp. 35-45. The other work by Vasubandhu mentioned here is the *Wu-liang-shou ching lun*.

[125]My lecture notes from several years ago include a chart comparing the popularity of different texts among commentators in North and South China in the Six Dynasties period. The source of this information was an article or book by Itō Giken, which I have been unable to locate or identify.

[126]See Sekiguchi, Daruma daishi no kenkyū, pp. 270-94, especially pp. 285-88 for borrowing from Chih-i in a work attributed to Tao-hsin. (I will argue in Section Three, Chapter II, Part 1 that this attribution is unreliable.) Also see the same author's Tendai shikan no kenkyū, pp. 206-36. Sekiguchi's "Tendai shikan ni okeru zazen," Taishō Daigaku kenkyū kiyō, XLII (March, 1957), 37-81, is primarily concerned with later Ch'an works. My criticisms of Sekiguchi's approach are stated briefly in note 132 below.

[127]The reader may recall the reference to T'ien-t'ai practice in the passage from Tsung-mi's writings translated in the Introduction, Part 3.

[128]Thirty-eight pages of the HKSC, T50.568c-606c, are devoted to meditation specialists who died in the first two-thirds of the seventh century.

[129]The text of Buddhapāli's lecture was mentioned above in Chapter III, Part 1. (See note 50.) The meditation manual by Tao-hsüan is the Ching-hsin chieh-kuan fa, which may be found at T45.819b-34a.

[130]Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage in T'ang Buddhism," pp. 291-97.

[131]See Section Two, Chapter II, Parts 6 and 7.

[132]See the sources listed in note 126 above. In general, my dissatisfaction with Sekiguchi's work on this subject derives from (1) his emphasis of biographical details of early masters such as Tao-hsin, whose specific contributions to the development of Ch'an cannot be known with any accuracy, and (2) his concentration on linguistic evidence of textual borrowing, which seems to have been limited to the most elementary descriptions of meditation practice. I will suggest in Section Three that there is a much more significant relationship between T'ien-t'ai meditation doctrine and the teachings of Shen-hsiu, whose career paralleled that of Chih-i in certain respects.

NOTES TO SECTION TWO

[1]Hu, Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, pp. 288-89.

[2]Ibid., p. 260. Although the Ting shih-fei lun is based on a presentation given by Shen-hui in 732, the preface to this text says that similar presentations occurred in 730 and 731.

[3]The term nan-tsung appears in a commentary on the Heart Sūtra by Ching-chüeh, whose biography will be discussed in Chapter V, Part 12. The citation in question may be found in Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 69 and 396.

The term pei-tsung or "Northern School" is attached to two Tun-huang manuscripts, but these were copied near the end of the eighth century or later. These manuscripts are the Ta-sheng pei-tsung lun (S2581; see Ui, pp. 447-48, or T85.1281c-82a) and the Ta-sheng wu fang-pien — pei-tsung (P2058; see Ui, p. 468, and the Suzuki Daisetsu zen-shū, III [Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1968], 190). One of the other Wu fang-pien manuscripts bears cyclical characters equivalent to 787, 847, or 907, etc. The correct date is probably the first of these. See Ui, p. 515, or T85.1293a, and Ui's comments on p. 427.

[4]See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I — Ryōga shiji ki · Den hōbō ki —, Zen no goroku, No. 2 (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1971), 298, and T85.1290a-b. The name "Dhyāna Master Shen-hsiu" has been moved to its present location from slightly below in the original text, in order to make the English version read more smoothly.

[5]See Chapter V, Part 12 below.

[6]See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 268, or T85.1289b; Sung Chih-wen's memorial translated in Chapter III, Part 12; and Chang Yüeh's epitaph for Shen-hsiu, as quoted in Chapter III, Part 9 below.

[7]See Yanagida's discussion of the origins of the term "Southern School" in Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 117-26. Yanagida concludes that Shen-hui's use of the term constituted a creative rediscovery of it, rather than a purely original innovation, and that the name and identity of his "Southern School" were dependent on the prior existence of the "Northern School." I might add that the perjorative origins of the term "Northern School" resemble those of the term "Hīnayāna."

[8]See Li Hua's epitaph for Huai-jen (669-751), CTW, 320:10a-b, as quoted in Shiina Kōyū, "Tōzan hōmon keisei no haikei," Shūgaku kenkyū, XII (March, 1970), 176, note 20. The epitaph reads: "The concentration and insight of T'ien-t'ai constitutes the meaning of all the scriptures; the East Mountain Teaching is the vehicle of all the Buddhas." The next

line contains a reference to the conjoint illumination of meditation and wisdom, and the parallelism between these two concepts and the T'ien-t'ai and Ch'an Schools is implicit. "East Mountain" (Tung-shan) refers to part of "Twin Peaks Mountain" (Shuang-feng shan). Although Tao-hsin's monastery was apparently not at the same location as Hung-jen's and possibly not on Tung-shan, the term "East Mountain Teaching" is used in the primary sources without regard for this distinction. See note 79 below.

[9] I will argue below that Shen-hsiu was active in Ch'ang-an in cooperation with Tao-hsüan in the early 660's. See Chapter III, Part 10, including note 125.

[10] My position concerning the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and JTAHY is not shared by other specialists in the study of early Ch'an. See Section Three, Chapter II, Part 1.

[11] The LTFPC may be found at T51.179a-96b or in Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, II — Rekidai hōbō ki —.

[12] Alas, there is just such a scholar — Nakagawa Taka, who is always ready to defend the traditional interpretation of Ch'an history. See her "Sōsan daishi no nendai to shisō," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū VI:1 (1958) and "Zenshū dai sanso Sōsan daishi to Shinjimmei," Tōhoku Yakka Daigaku kiyō, IV (November, 1957). It would also be possible to mention D. T. Suzuki in this regard, but his work on Ch'an falls into rather a separate category of semi-scholarly interpretation.

[13] The account summarized here is based on the CTL, T51.217a-21c, especially pp. 219a-20b.

[14] For a convenient English summary of Emperor Wu's activities, see Ch'en, pp. 124-28.

[15] Shao-lin ssu has been mentioned above with regard to Bhadra and Seng-ch'ou. See Section One, Chapter II, Part 3 and note 58 to that Section.

[16] T51.219b.

[17] Sekiguchi's Daruma no kenkyū (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1967), which is not to be confused with his similarly-titled Daruma daishi no kenkyū, conveniently charts the development of the Bodhidharma legend. Although Daruma no kenkyū is very useful in its side-by-side presentation of primary sources, Sekiguchi's analysis must be read with some caution. In addition, he failed to check the accuracy of the Taishō editions of the Tun-huang manuscripts that he used. See Yanagida's critical review reprinted in Yaburu mono (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1970), pp. 226-39.

[18] T51.1000b. Ui, pp. 7-8, identifies po-ssu as a small Central Asian country. Yanagida, Daruma no goroku, p. 27, has noticed that many of the foreign monks appearing in the Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi are listed as being from po-ssu, so that the specific relevance of this statement

regarding Bodhidharma is questionable.

[19]Yanagida, "Daruma-zen to sono haikei," pp. 118-19.

[20]See Hu's "Development of Zen Buddhism in China," The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, XV:4 (1932), 486-87, reprinted in the Ko Teki zengaku an, ed. by Yanagida Seizan (Kyoto: Chubun shuppansha, 1975), pp. 710-709 (sic). I have attempted to use the evidence Hu cites more rigorously than he did. Yung-ning ssu was damaged by winds in 526 and occupied by the military in 528; Hu mentions only the latter. Although he is aware that this monastery was built in 516, Hu infers that Bodhidharma must have been in the North until about 520. This is correct, but only on the basis of other evidence. See note 24 below.

[21]T50.551b-c. The bracketed interpolation beginning in the first line is based on T'an-lin's preface, which Tao-hsüan is obviously paraphrasing. See Yanagida's Daruma no goroku, p. 25; Shoki no zenshi, I, 128; or T51.458b. The term "accordance with convention" translates the compound shun-wu. See Yanagida's explanation in Daruma no goroku, p. 29.

[22]I believe that the HKSC is the most reliable source on the matter of Bodhidharma's arrival in China. The Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi contains only a very stereotyped image of Bodhidharma, while T'an-lin's preface to the EJSHL says only that Bodhidharma crossed "mountains and oceans" (shan-hai) on his way to China. This should be taken as a general expression of the distance between India and China, rather than a specific description of Bodhidharma's journey. See the translation of the EJSHL and T'an-lin's preface in Section Three, Chapter I.

Incidentally, T'ang Yung-t'ung considers much of the same information given in this timetable in his "P'u-t'i-ta'mo," reprinted in Ch'an-tsung shih-shih k'ao-pien, ed. by Shih Tao-an, Hsien-tai Fo-chiao hsüeh-shu ts'ung-k'an, No. 4 (Taipei: Ta-sheng wen-hua ch'u-p'an she, 1977), pp. 141-52.

[23]Dumoulin is the only scholar of whom I am aware who has considered the implications of Seng-fu's biography in this way. See his "Bodhidharma und die Anfänge des Ch'an-Buddhismus," Monumenta Nipponica, VII (1951), 75 and 79-80.

[24]In the article listed above in note 20, Hu Shih argues that since Bodhidharma arrived in South China before the fall of the Sung and witnessed the splendor of Yung-ning ssu in the North, he must have been in China from 470 to 520, a total of fifty years. I am puzzled by Hu's failure to use the more accurate years 479-516, a span of only thirty-seven years. His apparent goal was the contradiction of a story that Bodhidharma arrived in Canton in 520 or 530, which should be rejected for other reasons.

[25]The HKSC, T50.550a, lists Bodhidharma as a resident of the "environs of Yeh, capital of Ch'i." This must be an error based on his association with Hui-k'o.

[26]See Sekiguchi's Daruma no kenkyū, pp. 159-67, for the development of this anecdote. In addition to Dumoulin's article already mentioned above in note 23, see Kawashima Jōmyō, "Sōfuku ni tsuite," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXV:2 (1977), 146-47, and Yanagida's "Daruma-zen to sono haikei," pp. 134-36.

[27]T50.550a-c.

[28]T50.550b.

[29]See the reference to this monastery in Section One, Chapter I, Part 4, under Dharmamitra's name.

[30]This occurred sometime during the years 502-509, when Liang forces pacified the area.

[31]K'ai-shan ssu was built by Emperor Wu in 515. See Mochizuki, pp. 389a-b and 2614b-c.

[32]T50.550b.

[33]See the Liang shu, fascicle 5, Erh-shih-wu shih, II, 1775a-77d. This individual, whose personal name was Hsiao I, was an avid supporter of Buddhism and a prolific author.

[34]In addition to the HKSC, see the Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi T55.50b-51b, and Kawashima, p. 146. The Prince's illness, which began in 508 and became severe in 514, was also reported as "cured" in 516 through the efforts of Seng-yu, the author of the Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi. This is recorded in the KSC, T50.412a-b. The Prince's biography may be found in the Liang shu, fascicle 22, Erh-shih-wu shih, II, 1797a-b.

[35]The Hui-yin san-mei ching was translated by a Southerner, Chih Ch'ien, but it is associated in the Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi with Dharmarakṣa, a Northerner.

[36]The Chinese text occurs at T15.460c-68a. The phrase wu-nien pu-tung pu-yao occurs at T15.461b.

[37]To add an additional bit of speculation, it is possible that Seng-fu's role as a follower of Bodhidharma active in the South at this time may have contributed in some way to the famous story of the encounter between Emperor Wu and Bodhidharma. (See the beginning of this Chapter.) This hypothesis cannot be corroborated, but it recalls Kawashima's plausible suggestion that Seng-fu's activities in Szechwan were the basis of the inclusion of the name Tao-fu in an anecdote that first appears in a text from Szechwan.

[38]T50.551c-52c. Hui-k'o's name is actually given here as Seng-k'o, also known as Hui-k'o, but it is Hui-k'o that is used in Bodhidharma's HKSC biography. Hui-k'o's birthplace is given in the CFPC and LCSTC as Wu-lao because of a ritual avoidance associated with the T'ang ruling family. See Yanagida's Shoki no zenshi, I, 145.

39T50.552a.

40Ui, p. 40, mentions a story concerning a monk of this name. However, it only appears much later and is irrelevant to the events in question here.

41T50.480c-81a. On the impact of Hui-k'o's teachings on Hui-pu, see Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 29, note 5.

42We know that Hui-k'o had passed the age of forty when he met Bodhidharma around the year 525, hence the birthdate of ca. 485. His date of death has been deduced on the basis of the following: (1) Layman Hsiang's letter to Hui-k'o, to be discussed in Section Three, Chapter I, was written and presumably answered at the beginning of the years 550-59. Hence Hui-k'o was still alive in 550. (2) Hui-k'o's biography precedes that of Seng-ta, who died in 556. Because Tao-hsüan lists his subjects according to the chronological order of their deaths, Hui-k'o therefore died in or before 556. (In this particular fascicle, the respective dates of death of the primary subjects of each entry are 524, 524, unknown, unknown, ca. 530 (Bodhidharma), Hui-k'o, 556, 560, 559 (following one textual tradition), 571, etc. There is only one minor discrepancy in this sequence.

Most scholars interpret a line in the HKSC to imply that Hui-k'o was still alive in 574. At T50.552b, the text says that T'an-lin protected the scriptures and statuary during the persecution of 574 "together with the fellow-student(s) [of] Hui-k'o (yu K'o t'ung-hsüeh)." I interpret this as a reference to T'an-lin's cooperation with his fellow-students under Hui-k'o, rather than to his fellow-student, Hui-k'o. Hui-k'o's second-generation successor Ching-ai is in fact described as a protector of the Dharma during the period in question. (See note 44 below.) The modern position that Hui-k'o lived long enough to experience the persecution of 574 is no doubt influenced by the epitaph for him contained in the Pao-lin chuan. Since this text was written in 801, its contents cannot be considered historically reliable.

Kamata Shigeo's "Hokushū haibutsu to Zen," Shūgaku kenkyū, VI (April, 1964), 60-65, attempts to find evidence for the influence of this persecution on Hui-k'o's thought. While I accept neither the assertion that Hui-k'o lived until after 574 nor the attribution of passages within early Ch'an literature specifically to Hui-k'o, it is still possible that Kamata's conclusions are relevant for the Ch'an School as a whole.

43T50.552.b.

44Ching-ai and his students were active in defense of the Dharma during the persecution of 574. He and his seven known students were involved, collectively, in the study of the Vinaya, Mādhyamika treatises and the Ta chih-tu lun, the Avataṃsaka Sūtra and other Mahāyāna texts, etc. See T50.625c-28a, 433c, 434a, 488a-89c, 516c-17b, 578b-c, 586c-87a, 626c, and 628a-30b.

Fa-k'an was also a follower of the Mādhyamika — or at least is known to have visited the San-lun School center on Mount She. A devoted meditator, the most interesting facet of his HKSC biography is a quota-

tion that links his teacher, Dhyāna Master Ho, to the Shou-leng-yen ching. See T50.652b-c.

Hsüan-ching was a resident of [Ta]-chuang-yen ssu in Ch'ang-an. (This is the former Ch'an-ting ssu and future residence of Shen-hsiu, née Wei-hsiu, as discussed in Section One, Chapter II, Part 8 and Section Two, Chapter III, Part 10.) He was also an expert in the Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras associated with Mañjuśrī. Since Shen-hsiu cites one of these Sūtras as the scriptural basis of the East Mountain Teaching, Hsüan-ching may have constituted an important link between the Bodhidharma tradition and the Northern School. Unfortunately, he had no known successors. See T50.569b-c and Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 298, or T85.1290b.

[45]These interpolated references to the Laṇkāvatāra Sūtra will be introduced and discussed in Part 8 of this Chapter.

[46]On Ching-ai, see note 42 above. Mizuno Kōgen, "Bodaidaruma no ninyūshigyō-setsu to Kongō zammai kyō," Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu kenkyū kiyō, XIII (1955), 57, points out that there is no direct evidence that T'an-lin studied under Bodhidharma. Although Mizuno accepts the description of T'an-lin as a fellow-student of Hui-k'o's, he suggests that T'an-lin later studied under Hui-k'o. (See note 42 above.)

[47]See Yanagida, Daruma no goroku, p. 27. The beginning date of T'an-lin's known translation activities implies that he was born no later than 506.

[48]T50.666a-c.

[49]Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 119, suggests that Fa-chung's style of lecturing was more intuitive than the traditional practice of doctrinal exposition.

[50]T50.666b. Yagi Shinkei, "Ryōgashū kō," Bukkyōgaku seminā, XIV (October, 1971), 58, suggests that the "later successor" to Hui-k'o mentioned in the first paragraph of this passage was Hui-hao (547-633), under whom Fa-chung is known to have studied sometime within a span of six years around the second decade of the seventh century. Yagi traces the line of succession as follows: Hui-k'o -- Hui-pu -- Fa-lang -- Ta-ming -- Hui-hao. Note that all four of these successors to Hui-k'o were associated with the Mādhyamika. See a similar analysis in Hirai Shun'ei, Chūgoku hannya shisōshi kenkyū — Kichizō to Sanron gakuha — (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1976), pp. 333-34.

The last sentence of the translation before the list is a paraphrase and involves a minor repunctuation, omitting the first period in line 13 of the Chinese. As to my re-ordering of the list, in the original nos. 1 to 4 below II-D and nos. 1 to 4 below III-C actually occur at the very end, after V-B. The gloss after II-D-4 begins with the character ming, "name," which Yanagida has suggested is an error for ko, "all." See Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 22.

[51]The presence of Dhyāna Master Ts'an's name in this list has been a problem in the study of early Ch'an. Eighth century Ch'an

sources are obviously ignorant of the biography of Seng-ts'an, and it is possible that he came to be considered the Third Patriarch because of the appearance of his name at the head of this list. There was a figure named Seng-ts'an who lived at about the right time (529-613), but he was an exegete and debater and a very prestigious personage in the Sui capital. Although his biography imparts a sense of occultish mystique, the only explicit similarity to those of the other figures listed here is his association with the San-lun School. See T50.510c, 514c, 527b, and 546a. Both modern scholars and the eighth century Ch'an authors refrain even to consider the possibility that this Seng-ts'an might be the individual listed here.

[52]T50.547b. See also Hirai, pp. 292 and 340. The HKSC contains the biography of a monk named Hung-chih, but he died on Mount Chung-nan in 655, before Hsi-ming ssu was founded.

[53]See Section One, Chapter II, Part 8.

[54]Kamata Shigeo's "Shotō ni okeru Sanronshū to Dōkyō," Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo kiyō, XLVI (March, 1968), pp. 59-62, contains a convenient compilation of the references to Ta-ming and a discussion of his Mount Mao San-lun School faction.

[55]T50.552b-c.

[56]See his "Leng-ch'ieh tsung k'ao" in the Hu Shih wen-ts'un, (Shanghai: Ya-tung t'u-shu kuan, 1930), IV, 212, or the Ko Teki zengaku an, p. 172.

[57]"Shina yuishiki gakushijō ni okeru Ryōgashi no chii," Shina Bukkyō shigaku, I:1 (1937), 21-44. One of Yūki's points is the explanation of an apparent difference between the theories of early and later She-lun School figures as a result of the study of the Laṇkāvatāra.

[58]T50.666c.

[59]For Chih-i's characterizations of Northern Dhyāna Masters, see note 25 to Section Three.

As to the question of why the devotees of Ch'an might have been interested in the Laṇkāvatāra, D. T. Suzuki's observations are relevant. In his Essays in Zen Buddhism (First Series), pp. 87-88, Suzuki describes this Sūtra as a rambling collection of notes, lacking in supernatural phenomena and mystical formulae, but filled with a deep philosophical meaning and presented in terms of dialogues between the Buddha and a single Bodhisattva, rather than between the Buddha and a number of other figures. It is difficult to say how significant these characteristics of this text were to the earliest Ch'an figures.

Perhaps the best modern interpretation of the basic import of this scripture is that it sought to unite two basic strains of Mahayana thought, those of the ālaya-vijñāna or "storehouse consciousness" and the tathāgata-garbha or "matrix of the Buddha." This interpretation has been suggested by Shimizu Yōkō, "Nyūryōgakyō no shiki no sansosetsu ni tsuite -- nyoraizō to arayashiki no dōshi o megutte -- ," Indogaku

Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXV:1 (1976), 162-63. See also Yin-shun's "Sung-i Leng-ch'ieh ching yü ta-mo-ch'an" in the Ch'an-tsung shih-shih k'ao-pien, pp. 211-22.

[60]T50.666b. The term "correct contemplation of non-attainment" (wu-te cheng-kuan) occurs in Chi-tsang's San-lun hsüan-i, T45.10c. See Kuno Hōryū's "Gozu Hōyū ni oyoboseru Sanronshū no eikyō," Bukkyō kenkyū, III:6 (1939), pp. 51-88, and "Ryōgazen," Shūkyō kenkyū, I:3 (1939). The problems of Fa-chung and the early Ch'an and Mādhyamika Schools have been discussed briefly by Hirai Shun'ei in his "Shoki Zenshū shisō no keisei to Sanronshū," Shūgaku kenkyū, V (April, 1963), 77-79.

[61]See Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 26-28.

[62]Mizuno Kōgen's "Bodaidaruma no ninyūshigyō-setsu to Kongō zammai kyō" is the fundamental statement on the origins of the Chin-kang san-mei ching. Mizuno's textual comparison of this Chinese sūtra, the HKSC, and the EJSHL implies that the sūtra borrowed from the EJSHL itself and not from (or, at least, not only from) the HKSC. See pp. 54-56.

[63]See Chapter V, Part 9.

[64]T50.606b. I have rendered Tao-hsin's unknown teachers consistently in the plural, although the Chinese lacks any specific indicators of number. Later tradition identifies Seng-ts'an as one of these.

In the third paragraph of the translation, three periods mark the omission of the four characters ssu-yü te chien, "if you wish to see" (p. 606b, line 12), which are superfluous.

In the following paragraphs, I have rendered the characters chung-tsao ssu as the proper name of a monastery. Whether or not this is a proper name or not, the meaning is "monastery constructed by the congregation." Shiina, "Tōzan hōmon keisei no haikei," p. 179, for example, interprets these three characters in the declarative sense, but in an epitaph introduced on the following page in his article they occur in nominal form. Shiina also notices that this epitaph, which includes information about the history of the monastery in question, implies that Tao-hsin only entered Huang-mei in or after 627, when the monastery was allegedly built. Although the epitaph in question seems to contain early information, its date of construction is late enough (1019) that we cannot use it to overturn the evidence of the CFPC. See the original text in Shiina, p. 180, or the Hupeh chin-shih chih, fascicle 7, pp. 45-47.

[65]See Chapter III, Part 10 and note 125 for a hypothesis on the origins of Tao-hsüan's information regarding Tao-hsin that would give the date 660 a more specific validity.

[66]See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 17-18, and the primary sources mentioned there, and Shiina, "Tōzan hōmon keisei no haikei," pp. 178-79. Shiina suggests that Ts'ai first visited Tao-hsin at Huang-mei at the time of his official appointment in 650 to a post in what is now Chekiang Province. Since Tao-hsin died in 651, Ts'ai no doubt continued his religious affiliation with (and, presumably, financial support of)

Hung-jen after this date.

[67]See ibid., pp. 376 and 386, as well as section K of the translation in the Appendix to this Section. One source of Tao-hsin's biography that is no longer extant is an epitaph by Tu Cheng-lin. See Yanagida's note on pp. 385-86. Tu Cheng-lin is mentioned in the HKSC entry for Fa-chung, T50.666c. Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 83-84, suggests that this epitaph was not actually written by Tu, although it was probably composed by the early eighth century. Since the CFPC account of Tao-hsin's life contains so little that does not also occur in the HKSC, it is possible that this epitaph contained no new substantive information. See Yamazaki Hiroshi, Chūgoku Bukkyō - bunkashi no kenkyū, (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1981), pp. 163-83, for a study of Tu Cheng-lin's Buddhist activities.

[68]The LCSTC gives Tao-hsin's term of study under Seng-ts'an as twelve years, the basis of which is unknown. See Shoki no zenshi, I, 167, or T85.1286b.

[69]Shoki no zenshi, I, 379-80. If this anecdote is to be taken seriously, one can only wonder how Tao-hsin could have entered a city under siege. Perhaps the rebels were unconcerned about one seemingly harmless monk.

[70]Sekiguchi Shindai makes much of this possible meeting between Chih-k'ai and Tao-hsin, using it as an argument for the connection between early Ch'an and the T'ien-t'ai School. See Daruma daishi no kenkyū, p. 274. Shiina points out that there actually existed three or four different monasteries on Mount Lu with the name Ta-lin ssu, so that Chih-k'ai and Tao-hsin may not have even resided at the same location. See "Tōzan hōmon keisei no haikei," p. 184.

Whether or not the two ever met, and whether or not Tao-hsin imbibed heavily of Chih-k'ai's religious spirit while at Ta-lin ssu may be immaterial to the issue of T'ien-t'ai/Ch'an interaction. Chih-k'ai was more of a San-lun than a T'ien-t'ai figure (see his HKSC biography at T50.570b-c), while a closer and more fertile contact between the two Schools must have occurred during Shen-hsiu's period of residence at Yü-ch'üan ssu, where Chih-i once lived. In addition, Nakagawa Taka has shown that even where "Tao-hsin" uses T'ien-t'ai sources, the ideas most characteristic of his thought do not occur in the original versions of those sources themselves. See her "Zenshū dai shiso Dōshin zenji no kenkyū," Bunka, XX:6 (1956), 893-96.

[71]T50.599c-600a. The reference to all sentient beings possessing the "first taste of dhyāna" (ch'u-ti wei ch'an) is reminiscent of the words of encouragement spoken by an unnamed monk to Seng-ch'ou. See Section One, Chapter II, Part 3.

[72]T50.602c-603b. Shan-fu studied under Fa-min, Chih-yen, and other masters whose names are unknown. Fa-min's HKSC biography occurs at T50.538b-39a. For Chih-yen, see T50.602a-c. Chih-yen is remembered as the second patriarch of the Ox-head School, a status of questionable historicity. See Sekiguchi's "Gozu-zen no rekishi to Daruma-zen," Zenshū shisōshi, pp. 251-58. Yanagida discusses both Fa-min and Chih-

yen briefly on p. 36 of Shoki Zenshū shisho.

The criticism of Shan-fu as a pratyeka-buddha is unusual. The only other similar usage of which I am aware was directed at the Japanese Zen Master Dōgen in the thirteenth century. See Imaeda Aishin, Chūsei Zenshūshi no kenkyū (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku shuppan kai, 1970), p. 37.

[73]T50.600a-b.

[74]The inaccuracy of the traditionally-accepted meeting between Tao-hsin and Fa-jung is discussed by Sekiguchi in his Daruma daishi no kenkyū, pp. 111-20.

[75]One reference to Yüan-i is in Shen-hui's writings, for which the reader must refer to Suzuki's now-rare Tonkō shutsudo Kataku Jinne zenji goroku (Tōkyō: Morie shoten, 1934), p. 58. The LTFPC includes another reference, for which see Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, II, 86, or T51.181c-82a.

[76]For the CFPC and LCSTC accounts, see Shoki no zenshi, I, 386 and 268-88, or T85.1289b-90a (for the LCSTC). The LTFPC account is based very closely on these, containing only a few fanciful additions and one or two details from Shen-hui's account. See Shoki no zenshi, II, 92-93, or T51.182a-b, and pp. 59-60 of Suzuki's edition of Shen-hui's "recorded sayings" mentioned in the note immediately above. The SKSC biography occurs at T50.754a-b.

[77]This detail is stated at the beginning of Hung-jen's SKSC biography.

[78]Ui, p. 139, suggests that Hung-jen met Tao-hsin at Ta-lin ssu. Ui counts backward from Tao-hsin's date of death the number of years the two men are supposed to have spent together, but such figures are prone to exaggeration.

[79]Shen-hui's account implies such a move by saying that Tao-hsin taught at Mount Shuang-feng and Hung-jen at Mount P'ing-mu "to the east of Mount Shuang-feng." The move is perhaps implied by Tao-hsüan's statement that well after Tao-hsin's death Hung-jen and others examined the departed master's physical remains and removed them to their "present location." See T50.606b. Shiina discusses this issue in some detail in his "Tōzan hōmon keisei no haikei," pp. 173-74, concluding that near the end of his life Hung-jen may have moved in order to accomodate a growing congregation. Whatever the original validity of this move may be, it is reflected in the modern placement of monasteries and ruins on Mount Shuang-feng. See Tokiwa Daijō and Sekino Tadashi, Shina Bukkyō shiseki hyōkai (Tōkyō: Bukkyō shiseki kenkyūkai, 1927), IV, 154-59.

[80]Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 55-56, includes a discussion of the various dates given for Hung-jen's death. The fact that his residence was made into a monastery is stated in the LCJFC, Shoki no zenshi, I, 273, or T85.1289c.

[81]This text was written about 782 and taken to Japan by Saichō, where the manuscript is now officially recognized as a National Treasure. See Yanagida's "Zenseki kaidai," p. 469, and Yampolsky, pp. 70-77. The text occurs at Z2B, 19, 483a-88c. The character pieh ("separate") given in the title of the printed text does not occur in the original manuscript.

[82]Shoki no zenshi, I, 273, or T85.1289c. The notion of a list of ten disciples is no doubt borrowed from the traditional biography of Confucius, just as the idea that all Hung-jen's favorites had died recalls that sage's grief over Yen-hui's untimely death.

[83]See Yanagida's note in Shoki no zenshi, I, 286. Shiina, p. 182, points out that the eulogy was probably written at the very beginning of the eighth century, rather than just after Hung-jen's death.

[84]The most convenient reference for these lists is Ui, pp. 140-41.

[85]See Shoki no zenshi, II, 137, or T51.184b-c.

[86]Yanagida's "'Shishū Sen zenji sen, Hannya shingyō so' kō," Yamada Mumon rōshi koki kinen shū: Hana samazama, ed. by Yanagida Seizan and Umehara Takeshi (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1972), pp. 145-77, contains the text of Chih-hsien's commentary and, on p. 148, a brief discussion of Chih-hsien's life. Chih-hsien's studies under Hsüan-tsang are supposed to have taken place in 621, at the famous translator's age twenty-two. Yanagida suggests that the link between these two men was fabricated because of the existence of Chih-hsien's commentary on the Heart Sutra (Hannya shingyō in Japanese), which Hsüan-tsang translated.

[87]The two Northern School texts that mention Hui-neng are the epitaph for Lao-an's student Ching-tsang (see Part 14 of this Chapter) and a curious work to be discussed in Chapter V, Part 8.

The early sources for Hui-neng's biography are actually not in agreement about the date of his studies at Huang-mei. Wang Wei's inscription for Hui-neng, which was commissioned by Shen-hui and thought to have been written around the year 740, gives no date for these studies. See Yampolsky, pp. 66-67, for a convenient synopsis of this epitaph. The Shen-hui yü-lu and LTFPC have Hui-neng going to Huang-mei at his age twenty-two and departing eight months later, in 659 or 660. See Suzuki's Kataku Jinne goroku, p. 62, and Shoki no zenshi, II, 98, or T51.182b. Fa-hai's preface to the Platform Sūtra dates the event at 661. The Sūtra itself lacks any such reference, although it agrees with Shen-hui's account in having Hui-neng at Huang-mei for eight months. The Ts'ao-ch'i ta-shih chuan, which was written in 782 or 783, uses the year 674. See Yampolsky, pp. 60 and 72.

It is obvious that, in general, the later the text, the later were Hui-neng's supposed dates of study under Hung-jen. The conclusion that Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng did not study under Hung-jen at the same time was first mentioned to me by Robert Zeuschner.

Finally, Ui, p. 161, inverts logic when he argues that because of the Platform Sūtra story, Shen-hsiu must have been at Huang-mei when

Hui-neng received his religious confirmation from Hung-jen. It is more reasonable to deny the historicity of the Hui-neng myth.

88See Ui, p. 143, and T51.8c. Chih-hung was born in Lo-yang, lived for a time at Shao-lin ssu, and studied under Hung-jen at Huang-mei and, eventually, under P'u-chi. He is known to have written odes on the events of his travels, but none of them survive. His dates may have been approximately 650-730.

89See T50.758a and Ui, pp. 158-59. Heng-ching is also known as Hung-ching; see T50.732b-c and Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 210, note 16. The date of Tao-shun's departure from court is given in the SKSC biography of an associate; see Ui, p. 158.

90T50.731b. The name "Yin-tsung" is based on this monk's lay surname, just as in the cases of Ma-tsu Tao-i of the Hung-chou School and the Ox-head School monk Ho-lin Hsüan-su, who was also known as Ma-tsu or Ma-su.

Yin-tsung's reputation was based primarily on his construction of ordination platforms and the ordination of thousands of people in the Chiang-tung area. He also supervised the construction of a massive image of Maitreya in or near the capital, probably sometime during the years 689-95. If Yin-tsung did in fact study with Hung-jen and Hui-neng, it is possible that he helped popularize the East Mountain Teaching and the figure of Hui-neng. Yin-tsung's Hsin-yao chi may have been the source of some of Shen-hui's anecdotes.

91See T50.889b, Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 226 and 259, and Yampolsky, pp. 112-13, 120, and 165-68.

92Hung-jen's lesser disciples are discussed by Ui, pp. 149-50 and 153-58. Two of these figures, Hsüan-shih and the nun I-sheng, are listed in separate locations by Tsung-mi as representatives of the "Pure Land Ch'an of South Mountain" (Nan-shan nien-fo men ch'an). See Kamata Shigeo, Zengen shosenshū tojo, pp. 48 and 87, or T48.400c and 402c. These two figures are discussed by Sekiguchi, Daruma daishi no kenkyū, pp. 303-304 and 310.

One figure of some importance who is supposed to have studied under Hung-jen is Fa-ch'ih (635-702), who was associated with the rise of the Ox-head School. See his biographies at T50.757c (SKSC) and T51.228c (CTL) and the discussion in Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 130.

93The SKSC claims that Fa-ch'ih, just mentioned in the previous note, began his studies under Hung-jen at the age of thirteen, or in 647. The CTL biography gives the more likely age of thirty (664). The latter figure cannot be immediately accepted, since it does not fit well with the rest of Fa-ch'ih's biography. See my paper "The Ox-head School of Chinese Buddhism: From Early Ch'an to the Golden Age," R. M. Gimello and P. N. Gregory, eds., Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen, Studies in East Asian Buddhism, (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), pp. 169-253.

94Ui, pp. 86-87.

[95]The HKSC account of Tao-hsin's life refers to the "more than 500 people in the mountain [community]" at the time of the master's death. (See the translation at the beginning of this Chapter.) The figure of 1000 members of Hung-jen's congregation occurs in the Platform Sūtra. See Yampolsky, p. 127.

[96]Shiina discusses this issue on the basis of information regarding the lay supporters of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen and statements regarding the remarkable industry of Hung-jen and some of his students (Shen-hsiu, for example). Shiina's conclusion is that the monks at Huang-mei were diligent in the operation of their monastery and that this characteristic may have led eventually to the spirit of self-reliance typical of the later Ch'an School. Nevertheless, it is likely that the East Mountain community received financial support from Ts'ai I-hsüan and others and equally unlikely that the monks there maintained an agricultural operation of any significant size. See "Tōzan hōmon keisei no haikei," pp. 176-78. For a discussion of the economic foundation of Buddhist monasteries during the T'ang, see Ch'en, pp. 261-73, and the studies listed on pp. 523-26.

[97]See Yampolsky, p. 128.

[98]Ui's study of the Platform Sūtra may be found in the second volume of his Zenshūshi kenkyū), pp. 1-116. His theory on the origin of the text is stated on pp. 100-109. (See especially pp. 103-105. With the exception of this note and note 10 to the Introduction, all references to Ui are to the first of his three volumes.)

The innovation of the "pure regulations" is traditionally attributed to Po-chang Hui-hai (720-814), but there is no contemporary evidence with which to substantiate this claim. The CTL contains brief hints as to the existence of some type of Ch'an monastic regulations, but the oldest extant version of any complete set of them is the Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei, which may have been written in 1103. See T51.250c-51b and the prefatory analysis in Kagamishima Genryū, et al., Yakuchū Zennon shingi (Tōkyō: Sōtō shūmuchō, 1972), pp. 1-3.

[99]See Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 35-41 and 487-96, for a discussion of Fa-ju's life and an annotated edition of the epitaph in question. For the CFPC biography, see Shoki no zenshi, I, 390, and section 13 of the translation in the Appendix to this Section.

[100]Fa-min and Chih-yen have already been mentioned above with regard to Tao-hsin's student Shan-fu. See note 72 above.

[101]See the discussion of the biographies of P'u-chi and I-fu in the following Chapter. The Hui-tuan of Lo-yang who was involved in Fa-ju's resumption of teaching was probably P'u-chi's initial preceptor.

[102]Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 51.

[103]Only one man is known to have been a disciple of Fa-ju. This is Hui-chao, who is mentioned in the Shao-lin ssu pei, CTW, 279:20b. Hui-chao may be identical to a Dhyāna Master Chao mentioned in Chapter V, Part 8 below.

[104]See the Chiu T'ang shu, fascicle 191, Erh-shih-wu shih, IV, 3592b-c. Lo Hsiang-lin has commented on this biography in his "Chiu T'ang shu Shen-hsiu chuan shu-cheng," T'ang-tai wen-hua shih (Hong Kong, 1965).

[105]Wei Lo-hsia chu-seng ch'ing fa-shih ying Hsiu ch'an-shih piao, CTW, 240:11b-12b, and reproduced in Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 507.

[106]Chung-nan shan kuei ssu Ta-t'ung Tao-[hsiu] ho-shang t'a-wen, in Shoki no zenshi, I, 426-27. Also see the note on 430. The relationship of this inscription to the CFPC is not clear. Also, the characters kuei and Tao in the title are problematic, the latter being almost illegible.

Although it is quite possible that a stūpa was built for Shen-hsiu on Mount Chung-nan outside of Ch'ang-an, there is no record of such a memorial. On the other hand, Emperor Chung-tsung did construct a thirteen-story stūpa for the departed master at Nan-p'u shan on Mount Sung. One wonders if this were the actual location indicated. See Mochizuki, p. 2880b.

[107]Shoki no zenshi, I, 396 and 403.

[108]Ibid., pp. 295 and 298, or T85.1290a-b.

[109]Shoki no zenshi, I, 302, 306-307, and 312-13, and T85.1290b-c.

[110]Ching-chou Yü-ch'üan ssu Ta-t'ung ch'an-shih pei-ming ping hsü, CTW, 231:1a-4b. An annotated edition of this text occurs in Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 497-516. Shen-hsiu's other eulogists are recorded in the LCSTC and SKSC (the first of the three SKSC entries listed below).

[111]Hsieh hsi yü-shu Ta-t'ung ch'an-shih pei-e chuang, CTW, 224:5b-6a, reproduced in Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 502.

[112]These occur in fascicles 94 and 97, respectively. See the T'ai-p'ing kuang chi, ed. by Li Fang, et al. (10 vols.; Peking: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1961) II, 624-25 and 645. These stories are the basis of part of the material in the third of Shen-hsiu's SKSC biographies listed below.

[113]See note 104 above.

[114]T50.755c-56b, 812b-c, and 835b-c. The last of these includes a reference to Emperor Hsüan-tsung, which must be an error for Chung-tsung if the identification of Hui-hsiu and Shen-hsiu is to be accepted.

[115]T51.231b. The item found here and nowhere else is a verse attributed to Shen-hsiu on the foolishness of seeking enlightenment outside one's own mind. This verse may be authentic, but it is not very significant. Shen-hsiu is also mentioned in the TTC, pp. 34a, 34b, 35a, 42b, 43b, 44b, and 50a, but these references lack historical value.

[116]There are several different names given for Shen-hsiu's

birthplace in the primary sources, but with one minor exception they all refer to the same location. See Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 502-503.

[117]Shoki no zenshi, p. 302, or T85.1290b.

[118]Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 498.

[119]Shoki no zenshi, I, 396. Shen-hsiu's spiritual compatriot cannot be identified. It may have been Lao-an, who is said to have travelled about performing humanitarian services during and after the Sui Emperor Yang's canal construction projects. It is also possible that this assertion about Lao-an was made on the basis of Shen-hsiu's biography, however. See the discussion of Lao-an below.

[120]See the Epitaph, Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 499. For information about the monastery, see the note on p. 510-11. Yanagida points out that a monastery by this name existed as early as the year 467. It is mentioned as the residence of several T'ang Dynasty monks, but eventually came to be associated principally with Shen-hsiu.

[121]Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 498. Yanagida points out on p. 505 that the washing of feet indicates acceptance of a teacher and transcendence of the affairs of the world.

[122]See note 87 above.

[123]Shoki no zenshi, I, 396. The name T'ien-chü ssu may be an error for T'ien-kung ssu, since the latter is attested in the HKSC and the former is not.

[124]These events are summarized in Michihata Ryōshū, Tōdai Bukkyō-shi no kenkyū (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1957), pp. 335-41. A better discussion occurs in Stanley Weinstein, "Buddhism under the T'ang," forthcoming in the second volume of the Cambridge History of China: The T'ang Dynasty, which I have seen in a pre-publication version. Incidentally, the SKSC (T50.812b) states that the original edict enjoining parents to reverence both the emperor and their own parents was withdrawn, but no date is given.

[125]A corollary to this hypothesis is that Shen-hsiu was in Ch'ang-an in the early 660's and well-enough acquainted with Tao-hsüan to provide the information for the HKSC entry on Tao-hsin.

[126]Shoki no zenshi, I, 396.

[127]Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 498.

[128]Mochizuki's chronological table asserts that the Chiu T'ang shu, fascicle 95, and the SKSC, fascicle 8, indicate that Tu-men ssu was founded in 675. I do not find any such reference in the former, and the latter only mentions "Shen-hsiu of Tu-men," without any specification of a date. If the establishment of this monastery did take place in 675, this would imply that Shen-hsiu's ordination was the consummation of an extended local campaign.

[129]Empress Wu's father, Wu Shih-hu, was once the military governor of Ching-chou. His entrée into political power came from an association with Emperor Kao-tsu. If this were a factor in Shen-hsiu's choice of residence, there would be an interesting parallel between his life and that of Seng-ch'ou. That is, both of them were closely associated with the eventual wielders of imperial power long before their successful careers at court.

[130]See note 29 to Section Three.

[131]The CFPC claim occurs in Shoki no zenshi, I, 396, or section N of the translation in the Appendix to this Section.

[132]It is possible that the timing of Shen-hsiu's resumption of public activities was more closely related to political developments than to Hung-jen's death. Lao-an's disciple Yüan-kuei was ordained during the amnesty that followed the assassination of Crown Prince Li Hung by the future Empress Wu in 675. Since she was able to consolidate her power at this time, Shen-hsiu may have benefitted from this even more than Yüan-kuei. See note 154 below.

[133]See I-hsing's letter in the CTW, 914:16b-17b. Yanagida translates the critical lines of this letter in Shoki no zenshi, I, 311. In addition to Tu-men ssu in Ching-chou, during the last two decades of the seventh century the Northern School established a strong center at Shao-lin ssu and other monasteries on Mount Sung. Yet another center was established on Mount Chung-nan in the second decade of the eighth century. See Chapter IV, Part 1.

[134]Shoki no zenshi, I, 403. The Fo-tsu t'ung-chi (T49.369c) claims that Shen-hsiu entered the capital in 690, but the source of this information is unknown. Even the LTFPC, the early source most prone to inaccurate exaggerations, confirms his invitation in 700. See Shoki no zenshi, II, 129, or T51.184a.

[135]This is also corroborated in a work by the Japanese Tendai monk, Saichō. See Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 507.

[136]Ibid., p. 499.

[137]T50.724c.

[138]Shoki no zenshi, I, 306.

[139]See note 105 above. This is actually the oldest extant work to refer to the East Mountain Teaching, which is given here (near the end of the first paragraph) as tung-shan miao-fa.

Note the finely-wrought parallelism in the third and fourth paragraphs between south and north (Ching-nan and Yü-pei) and the Nine Rivers (Chiu-chiang) and Three Rivers (San-ho). Chiu-chiang is a city in what is now Kiangsi Province, while San-ho refers to the general area south, east, and north of the Yellow River in northern China.

[140]The LCSTC edict occurs on p. 302 of Shoki no zenshi, I, or T85.1290b. Chung-tsung's progress to Lung-men is mentioned in Mochizuki's chronological table; the original source is the Chiu T'ang shu, fascicle 7, Erh-shih-wu shih, IV, 3078a. (The progress is given as having occurred in the tenth month of the year in question.) The Epitaph, Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 499, states that at one point Shen-hsiu was given permission to return to Tu-men ssu, but that this favor was rescinded before he could take advantage of it.

As to the limited impact of Sung's Memorial, the Chiu T'ang shu states that the reverence accorded Shen-hsiu during Chung-tsung's reign was even greater than before. More specifically, a Sung Dynasty commentary on the T'ang translation of the Śūraṁgama-samādhi-sūtra states that Shen-hsiu obtained a copy of the text at the training center within the imperial palace, copied it, and took it back to Tu-men ssu in Ching-chou. Although this story is suspect because Shen-hsiu did not return to Tu-men ssu until after his death, it suggests that Shen-hsiu was active in the palace at Lo-yang at least until the year 705, when this translation was completed. See Tzu-hsüan's (964- or 965-1038) Shou-leng-yen i shu-chu ching, T39.825c. The fact of Shen-hsiu's acquisition of this text is also mentioned in the SKSC, T50.738c.

[141]See Shoki no zenshi, I, 305. Nakamura, p. 287b, cites a commentary on the Avataṁsaka Sūtra by Ch'eng-kuan as the locus classicus of the term ch'ü-ch'ü chiao.

[142]Shen-hsiu's last words should be considered along with the "questions about things" introduced in Chapter V, Part 14 below.

[143]See the Ta Sung seng-shih lüeh, T54.252c.

[144]Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 500.

[145]See the Eulogy and note 106 above.

[146]The Fo-tsu t'ung-chi refers to these ordinations as occurring under Lao-an in the fifth month of the Shen-lung period (706). See T49.372b. Lao-an's SKSC biography has the seventh month. (T50.823c.) See the discussion of his biography below.

[147]See Sung Tan's Sung-shan Hui-shan ssu ku ta-te Tao-an ch'an-shih pei-ming, CTW, 396:12a-14b, and the SKSC, T50.823b and 829c. Lao-an is also mentioned in the LCSTC (Shoki no zenshi, I, 273 and 295, or T85.1289c and 1290a), the LTFPC (Shoki no zenshi, II, 92, 122, and 129, or T51.182b, 183c, and 184a), and receives historically useless entries in the TTC, p. 55b (he is also mentioned on p. 35a), and the CTL, T51.231c.

[148]Hua-t'ai was associated with Li Yung (678-747), an important epigrapher of Northern School figures. It was also the eventual scene of Shen-hui's attack on P'u-chi and the Northern School in 732. See Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 114, note 3.

[149]The two Sung Dynasty sources are the Fo-tsu t'ung-chi, T49.370b, and the Fo-tsu t'ung-tsai, T49.584b. For the LTFPC, see Shoki

no zenshi, II, 129, or T51.184a.

[150]Although not necessarily intended to belittle Shen-hsiu, a story in the Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan, a Sung Dynasty text, demonstrates this implicit one-upmanship. While residing in the palace, on one occasion Shen-hsiu and Lao-an were assisted into the bath by female attendants. Hearing that only Lao-an went about taking his bath in complete composure, Empress Wu sighed in amazement and said: "Only through seeing him enter the bath have I learned of the existence of a Superior Man (ch'ang-jen)." Implicitly, Shen-hsiu comes out second-best in this observation. See Z2, 18, 8b.

[151]The SKSC states that Lao-an returned to Yü-ch'üan ssu briefly after Shen-hsiu's death. The earlier date for Lao-an's death fits better with the timing of Hsüan-ts'e's invitation to court, as discussed in the next Part of this Chapter.

One aspect of Tao-an's death that deserves at least passing notice is that the eccentric monk Wan-hui (632-711) clutched the dying monk's hands, stared at him crazily, and talked on and on incomprehensibly. As with Pao-chih and Fu Hsi of an earlier era, eccentricity was appreciated at court under the guise of religious inspiration. Wan-hui had supervised some of the services following Shen-hsiu's death and was officially ordained by imperial edict in 706. (See Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 513a.)

[152]See Yanagida's Zenseki kaidai, p. 458, and Ueyama Daishun, "Chibetto-yaku Tongo shinshū yōketsu no kenkyū," (details of publication unavailable), pp. 33-103.

[153]See the TTC, pp. 55b-56a, and the CTL, T51.461b. For Tao-shun, see Part 5 above.

[154]Yüan-kuei's very brief epitaph occurs in the CTW, 914:20a-c. His SKSC biography, which is not very informative, is at T50.828b-29b. The most interesting feature of this biography is a story about the conferring of the Buddhist precepts on the spirit of Mount Sung. A similar story occurs in the SKSC biography of Lao-an. Ui, p. 340, mentions a disciple of Yüan-kuei's named Ling-yün (d. 729) who resided at Hui-shan ssu on Mount Sung, but Ui's source of information is unknown. (Yüan-kuei was a resident of Hsien-chu ssu, also on Mount Sung.) Yüan-kuei is listed as a student of Lao-an's in the CTL, T51.224b.

[155]Tokiwa Daijō and Sekino Tadashi, Shina bunka shiseki (Tōkyō: Hōzōkan, 1939-41), II, plate 113.

[156]Ching-tsang's biography is known through an anonymous epitaph found in the CTW, 997:10a-11a; the Chin-shih ts'ui-pien, fascicle 87, compiled by Wang Ch'ang (4 vols.; Taipei: Kuo-lien t'u-shu ch'u-pan yu-hsien kung-ssu, 1964), III, 1524a-25a; and Tokiwa, II, plate 114 (1). Ching-tsang's native place was Chi-yin, the same as that of a student of Shen-hsiu's named Hsiang-yü. (See note 163 below.) Ching-tsang received official ordination in 708 and Hui-neng died in 713, so that the two were together for five years or less. If Lao-an actually died

in 709 it would have been four years or less.

157See the Ta-T'ang Ch'i-chou Lung-hsing ssu ku Fa-hsien ta ch'an-shih pei-ming, CTW, 304:12b-16b, and Ui, 154. Fa-hsien is probably identical to the individual named Hsien who is listed by Tsung-mi as one of Hung-jen's disciples. See Ui, 141.

158The fact that Fa-hsien is identified with Lung-hsing ssu in Ch'i-chou (1) verifies the approximate provenance of the epitaph, since this national monastic system was only established in 738, and (2) underscores the apparent demise of the center on Mount Shuang-feng, for which we have absolutely no information after Hung-jen's death.

159Shoki no zenshi, I, 273, or T85.1289c.

160Hsüan-ts'e's fortunes may have been affected by those of his student, Ching-chüeh. See Chapter V, Part 12.

161See the preface to Ching-chüeh's commentary on the Heart Sūtra, Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 597.

162Hung-jen's importance is demonstrated by Fa-hsien's epitaph, as discussed just above, by the continuity between his legendary image and that of Hui-neng, and by the existence of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, as discussed in Section Three, Chapter Two, Part 1.

163The figure of seventy major students is given in the Epitaph, Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 499. See the CTL, T51.224a-b for a list of nineteen of his students. Ui, pp. 275-95, discusses the biographies of fourteen of Shen-hsiu's students. The following is a brief resume of the lives of Shen-hsiu's lesser students:

A. Chü-fang (647-727) is given a biography in the SKSC, T50.759b-c, and the CTL, T51.232a-b, but he is unmentioned in earlier sources. (See Ui, pp. 284-85.) Early in his career he lectured on the "theory (or treatise[s]) of the Southern School" (nan-tsung lun), which must be a reference to the Mādhyamika. (Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 122.) Soon, however, he became aware of the importance of meditation and sought out Shen-hsiu. The first meeting between the two men is described in classical encounter dialogue style. Chü-fang's teaching supposedly emphasized both sudden enlightenment and gradual practice, with many of his students actually achieving the former. He taught in Han-ling in Shang-tang (a general location already mentioned with regard to Fa-ju) and An-kuo yüan in Yün-chou, then spent more than twenty years on Mount T'ai, where he died.

B. Chih-feng's biography is appended to that of Chü-fang in the SKSC, T50.759c. See also the CTL, T51.232b, and Ui, p. 286. There are several minor similarities between the biographies of these two men, but nothing of real interest here. Chih-feng gave up the study of the Yogācāra in order to devote himself to meditation.

C. Hsiang-yü's biography also occurs in the SKSC, T50.759c-60a. He is listed in the CTL, T51.224b, and discussed by Ui, pp. 286-

87. Hsiang-yü first studied the Taoist classics, then switched to Buddhism. He studied the Vinaya and visited numerous holy sites before becoming a student of Shen-hsiu's. Hsiang-yü died at the age of seventy-three at Mount Ta-fo ("Great Buddha") in Ying-chou (Chung hsien, Hupeh), but no date is given.

D. Ssu-heng (651-726) is known solely from an epitaph and a note of praise by Emperor Chung-tsung on his portrait. See Ui, pp 289-90. This monk was primarily an expert in the Vinaya who studied for a time under Shen-hsiu.

E. Hu-lei Ch'eng is known through a comment made by the compilers of the CTW and prefixed to a very brief epitaph written by Hu for Hsiao-liao, a student of Hui-neng. (See fascicle 913, p. 6a.) In this comment Hu is identified as a student of Shen-hsiu and active during the period 705-706. The CTL lists him as a student of Shen-hsiu's with the title of Dhyāna Master, so that he must have been a monk. (T51.224b.) The CTW's source of information was probably the CTL entry for Hsiao-liao, T51.237c. This individual may have been identical to the Hsiao-liao listed as a disciple of Wu-hsiang of Szechwan (T51.224c). Hu-lei, incidentally, is a name for the p'i-pa or Chinese lute.

F. Ch'ung-shen: Ui, p. 291, mentions the existence of a very tattered epitaph for this individual.

G. Tz'u-lang is listed in the CTL as a student of Shen-hsiu's who had three students of his own. See Ui, pp. 291-92. Of Tz'u-lang's three students, only one is known: Hsüan-tsung (682-767) of Mount Tz'u-chin in Shou-chou, whose biography occurs in the SKSC (T50.838b). Based on this biography, Ui infers that Tz'u-lang remained in Ching-chou to teach when Shen-hsiu went to Lo-yang in 701.

H. Hui-fu is listed in the LCSTC as one of four major successors, but his biography is unknown. See Shoki no zenshi, I, 320, plus Yanagida's note on p. 324, or T85.1290c, and Ui, p. 290. The LCSTC identifies Hui-fu as a resident of Mount Yü in Lan-t'ien, just to the east of Ch'ang-an. Ui suggests that he may be identical to the Hsiao-fu or "Little Fu" listed in the CTL, T51.224b, for whom there are listed three otherwise unknown disciples. (One of these disciples is listed as a resident of Lan-t'ien, which bolsters the probability of this identification.) There is a Hsiao-fu listed as one of the teachers of Mo-ho-yen, the famous Ch'an emissary to Tibet, but there are minor problems connected with this identification, as will be mentioned in Part 8 below. (See note 198.)

I. Ta-fu (655-743) is known through an epitaph, as discussed by Ui, p. 375. Ta-fu, or "Big Fu," was a Vinaya specialist who became a student of Shen-hsiu's at Yü-ch'üan ssu. He accompanied Shen-hsiu to court in 701 and in 707-10 was made abbot (shang-tso) of T'u-shan ssu, then Shan-fu ssu, Ching-shan ssu, and Lung-hsing ssu. The second and fourth of these in particular were important monasteries, so that Ta-fu must have played an important role in the Northern School's extension of power through-out the Ch'ang-an religious establishment. In 738 he was

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[179]This fact is implicit in Weinstein's analysis of the Sui-T'ang Schools in "Imperial Patronage in T'ang Buddhism," pp. 268ff.

[180]In addition to the sources listed in notes 177 and 178 above, see the SKSC, T50.760c-61a, and the Chiu T'ang shu entry for Shen-hsiu. Also see Ui, pp. 279-83, Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 322-23, and Tanaka Ryōshō, "Daishō zenji Fujaku ni tsuite," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XVI:1 (1967), 331-34.

[181]For Heng-ching, see note 89 above. The Preceptor Tuan is probably the monk mentioned in the CFPC with regard to Shen-hsiu's return to public activities in 675.

[182]See p. 9a of the epitaph.

[183]The Chiu T'ang shu and SKSC have this appointment occurring during Shen-hsiu's life in respect for his advanced age, although contextual clues in the latter text imply that it actually occurred after Shen-hsiu's death. Tanaka, "Daishō zenji Fujaku ni tsuite," p. 332, discusses the accounts of this attempted appointment and decides that it occurred after Shen-hsiu's death and was not accepted by P'u-chi. I suspect that P'u-chi chose to defer to Lao-an.

For a discussion of Wu P'ing-i's biography and the background of Shen-hui's criticism, see Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 111 and 116, note 14.

[184]P'ei Kuan is known to have been in conflict with the very powerful Li Lin-fu around this time. He was not, however, the only high-ranking official associated with the Northern School to run afoul of this powerful politician. In 747 Li Yung was put to death, Li Shih-chih committed suicide after having been stripped of office the previous year, and Fang Kuan was banished. These men were associated with P'u-chi, Fa-hsien, and I-fu, respectively. See the chronological table in Tōdai no shijin — sono denki, ed. by Ogawa Tamaki (Tōkyō: Daishukan shoten, 1975), p. 692.

[185]This is Tu-ku Chi's epitaph for Seng-ts'an, CTW, 390:21b-24b, mentioned by Ui, p. 296.

[186]The epitaph that mentions the "single fountain-head of the Northern School" is that mentioned above in note 175. Some of the references to Hung-cheng are listed by Ui p. 310. The epitaph for Hung-cheng's student Ch'i-wei (720-81), CTW, 501:13a-15a, was written by Ch'üan Te-yü (759-818), who also wrote that for Ma-tsu Tao-i. See Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 354, for comments on this epigrapher's importance. Ch'üan Te-yü was Ch'i-wei's great-nephew. Ch'i-wei's career was unique in that at age nine he studied Esoteric Buddhist practices under Vajrabodhi and later studied Ch'an under a nun before becoming Hung-cheng's disciple. Ch'i-wei's epitaph is interesting for (1) its reference to P'u-chi as the seventh generation from Bodhidharma and complete omission of Shen-hsiu's name, (2) its numerous references to Ch'i-wei's family, which obviously derive from the relationship between him and his epigrapher, and (3) its extensive but unimaginative use of

standard Ch'an plattitudes and cliches. See Ui, pp. 325-26.

The other epitaph to which I have alluded in the text is that by Li Hua for Ch'ang-chao (705-63), CTW, 316:17a-18a. See Ui, pp. 325-26. This monk actually studied under P'u-chi, Hung-cheng, and an unknown master named Ching-shou. Ui suggests that this may be a mistake for Ching-ai [ssu], so that the individual in question is actually T'an-chen (b. 703) of that monastery. (Ui also mentions Fa-yüan of the same monastery, but T'an-chen's date of birth makes him a more likely candidate.)

[187]The most complete study on I-hsing is Osabe Kazuo's Ichigyō zenji no kenkyū (Kōbe: Kōbe Shōka Daigaku Keizai Kenkyūjo, 1963). Ui, pp. 299-300, discusses the general outline of I-hsing's biography. A passage from I-hsing's commentary on the Vairocana Sūtra will be introduced in Section Three, Chapter II, Part 4.

[188]See the SKSC, T50.761b-c, and Ui, pp. 300-301.

[189]See the SKSC, T50.834a-b, Ui, pp. 305-306, and Ming-ts'an's work in the CTL, T51.461b-c.

[190]As a precocious youth, Li Mi was favored by Chang Chiu-ling, Chang Yüeh, and Yen Shan-chih, all of whom were associated to a degree with the Northern School. See his biography in the T'ang shu, fascicle 139, and the Chiu T'ang shu, fascicle 130.

[191]See Ui, p. 306.

[192]See Ui, pp. 307-8, and Mochizuki, p. 3883a-c. Tao-hsüan's dates are from the latter source.

[193]See Ui, pp. 295-315.

[194]Ui, p. 329, lists the 126th and final known member of the Northern School, beginning with Shen-hsiu. This number does not include Chih-hung, who studied under Hung-jen and P'u-chi.

[195]Those with some experience in the South include Tao-shu, Ch'ung-kuei, Ch'üan-chih, Yüan-kuan, Ch'eng-hsin, Jih-chao, Fa-jung, Ch'ung-yen, and Chen. Those without are Heng-cheng, T'an-chen (d. 791), Ch'i-wei, Ch'ang-chao, and Shen-hsing (in the Chinese pronunciation).

[196]The landmark study in this field is Paul Demieville's Le Concile de Lhasa, Bibliotheque de l'Insitut des hautes etudes chinoises, Vol. VII (Paris: Impr. nationale de France, 1952). Substantial additional work has been done in Japan, principally by Ueyama, Obata, and Okimoto. Their findings are summarized in Jeffrey Broughton, "Early Ch'an Schools in Tibet," R. M. Gimello and P. N. Gregory, eds., Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen. I have relied heavily on Broughton's article in the preparation of Part 8 of this Chapter.

With regard to the debates themselves, Okimoto Katsumi, "Tonkō shutsudo Seizōbun Zenshū bunken no kenkyū (1)," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXVI:1 (1977), 460, has suggested that they should not be

treated simplistically in terms of the victory and defeat of two separate schools of thought. The English reader may wish to consult Joseph F. Roccasalvo, "The Debate at bSam yas: A Study in Religious Conflict and Correspondence," Philosophy East and West, XXX:4 (1980), 505-20. Unfortunately, Roccasalvo attempts to explain the Chinese position on the basis of the works of Suzuki and Dumoulin.

[197]For example, the patently absurd link between Preceptor Kim (Wu-hsiang) and Wu-chu in the LTFPC could have been motivated by the prestige of the former in Tibet.

[198]Mo-ho-yen is listed in the Tibetan pseudo-lineage mentioned above in note 165. His actual teachers are listed in the Tun-wu ta-sheng cheng-li chüeh, Demieville, plate 156b, and repeated and discussed in Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 459-60, note 20. In addition to Chiang-ma [Tsang], whose identity is certain, the text lists "Hsiao-fu Chang ho-shang" and "Ta-fu Liu ho-shang." These may be I-fu and Hui-fu. As Yanagida notes, Jao Tsung-i has argued that the Ch'an emissary to Tibet was also a student of Shen-hui's, based on the occurrence of the name Mo-ho-yen in a list in one of Tsung-mi's works, but it is possible that Tsung-mi added Mo-ho-yen to his list of Shen-hui's successors because of an inferred relationship between the teachings of the two men. In any case, Yanagida notes the occurrence of the same name in an Esoteric Buddhist context, and it is impossible to know whether all these citations refer to the same individual. See Jao, "Shen-hui men-hsia Mo-ho-yen chih ju-Tsang, chien lun ch'an-men nan-pei tsung chih t'iao-ho wen-t'i," Hsiang-kang Ta-hsüeh wu-shih chou-nien chi-nien lun-wen chi, I (Hong-kong: Hsiang-kang Ta-hsüeh, 1964), 173-78.

Whatever Mo-ho-yen's true background, the two most influential Ch'an groups in Tibet at this time were apparently the Pao-t'ang faction of Wu-chu and the Northern School. This conclusion is made by Obata in his "Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidai hōbō ki," (included in Yanagida, Shoki no Zenshi, II, 325-37) and reiterated, with additional information, in his "Chibetto no Zenshū to Zōyaku gikyō ni tsuite," p. 667. In another article, "Chibetto-den Bodaidarumatara zenji kō," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXIV:1 (1975), 232, Obata suggests that Mo-ho-yen's description as the successor to the Seventh Patriarch of Ch'an makes him, in effect, an extension of Wu-chu's Pao-t'ang faction. (Were the materials in question in Chinese rather than Tibetan, I would have assumed that the term "Seventh Patriarch" was a reference to Chiang-ma Tsang.)

[199]The term "transmission history" or "transmission text" is an adaptation of the compound tōshi (teng-shih in Chinese) or "lamp history" used by Yanagida, which is itself adapted from the various titles including or implying the three characters ch'üan-teng lu, or "records of the transmission of the lamp," as in the title of the CTL. Well-known examples of the other two genre would be the Lin-chi lu or The Records of Lin-chi (Rinzai-roku in Japanese) and the Pi-yen lu or Blue Cliff Records (Hekigan-roku).

The English terminology used here was developed in the course of preparing my "The Development of the 'Recorded Sayings'Texts of the Chinese Ch'an School," tr. from Yanagida Seizan, "Zenshū goroku no keisei," Lewis Lancaster and Whalen Lai, eds., Early Ch'an in China and

Tibet, Berkeley Buddhist Studies, no. 5 (Berkeley, CA: Lancaster-Miller Press, 1983), pp. 185-205.

[200]This term was developed in the same context as those mentioned just above. It refers to the dialogue (*wen-ta*) resulting from the encounters (*chi-yüan*) between master and disciple.

[201]This interpretation of the identity of the public case anthologies is based on my interpretation of comments made in private conversation by Professor Yanagida in 1975.

[202]*T*51.196-467. See Yanagida's "Zenseki kaidai," p. 478, for information about this important text. Although the *CTL* was presented to the throne in the year 1004, the text may have undergone some revision shortly after this date.

[203]See T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1955), pp. 36-54, K. N. Jayatilleke, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, pp. 470-76, and Mochizuki, pp. 2268b-69a.

[204]See Ètienne Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien — Des origines a l'Ere Saka —*, Bibliotheque du *Museon*, Vol. 43 (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, Universite de Louvain, 1958), pp. 69-71.

[205]See, for example, Heinrich Dumoulin, S. J., *A History of Zen Buddhism*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), pp. 36-38, and D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism, (First Series)*, p. 73.

[206]The first of these lists occurs in the Mahāsaṃghika *Vinaya* (*T*22.492c-3a), translated in 416-18 by Fa-hsien and Buddhabhadra. The second is found in a Chinese commentary to a work found in the Pāli canon of the Theravādins (*T*24.684b-85a). This text, known as the *Shan-chien lu pi-po-sha*, describes the importation of the *Vinaya* to Sri lanka and the international *Vinaya* campaign carried out by Moggaliputta-tissa. The translator of this work, Saṃghabhadra, defines his own religious ancestry according to the first five names given in the list in question. (See the *Li-tai san-pao chi*, *T*49.95b.) This and some of the following information is discussed by Mochizuki, pp. 3067b-68a.

[207]The first list, which ends in the name Dharmatrāta, occurs at *T*55.89a-b. The transcription given here as Prajñātāra (?) could indicate Paratāra; the Chinese is Po-lo-to-lo. The second list, which includes three irrelevant names after Dharmatrāta, is located at *T*55.89c-90a.

[208]See Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, pp. 223-30, which includes references to the various Chinese works and a summary of the account in question. The two Chinese translations of the *A-yü wang ching* contain slightly different statements of the transmission. The earlier text, which may have been translated as early as 306 (but see Mochizuki, p. 93a), presents a somewhat disorganized set of transmission anecdotes (*T*50.114a-16b) involving the Buddha, Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda, and Śāṇavāsa. The later translation, which was done by Saṃghabhadra in 512,

includes a straightforward statement of the transmission scheme and is in part organized into chapters on the basis of this version of the transmission. (The lineage is listed at T50.152c and repeated in its entirety at the end of the text, T50.169c.) Although it is is of course possible that the two Chinese translations simply represent variant originals of comparable antiquity, in view of the other material introduced here it seems likely that the theory of the transmission per se was developing in Kashmir over the course of the fourth and fifth centuries.

[209]These two innovators were Fa-ju — or, rather, his anonymous epigrapher -- and Shen-hui. See Part 9 of this Chapter.

[210]The list of masters given within the Sūtra itself may be found at T15.301c. Tht in Hui-yüan's preface occurs just above, at 301a-b, as well as in the Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi, T55.65c-66a. Hui-kuan's preface occurs only in the latter work, the names in question being found at T55.66c-67a. The contents of the two prefaces are so nearly identical that they must have been prepared on the basis of the same lectures by Buddhabhadra.

The Chinese for Puṇyalāta (?) is Fu-jo-lo, possibly identical to the Prajñātāra (?) or Po-lo-to-lo mentioned just above. It is difficult to understand how the Sūtra and its two prefaces could contain such different versions of the transmission, even allowing for the problems of interpretation from Buddhabhadra's lectures.

[211]T15.301a-b or T55.65c-66a.

[212]Note that the Schools of Buddhism referred to here were distinguished on the basis of the Vinaya, rather than doctrinal interpretations. Also, if we read the text very precisely, what is actually referred to here is only the fact that Ananda's special relationship to the Dharma is unmentioned in the scriptures, not the inability of the scriptures to describe the Buddha's teachings.

[213]See Chan-jan's commentary on the Mo-ho chih-kuan (T46.147c) and the HKSC (T50.564b). The latter version actually includes reference to two other individuals named Chien and Tsui. (These two individuals are mentioned in the list given in Section One, Chapter II, Part 9.) Perhaps because the latter of these two definitions of the transmission fails to mention Hui-wen, it goes largely unnoticed by the later T'ien-t'ai tradition.

[214]See the Mo-ho chih-kuan, T46.1a-b. In traditional T'ien-t'ai exegetics, the transmission from the Buddha to Siṁha Bhiksu is referred to as the chin-k'ou hsiang-ch'eng or "transmission of the golden mouth," and that from Nāgārjuna to Hui-wen, Hui-ssu, and Chih-i is known as the chin-shih hsiang-ch'eng or "transmission of the present teachers." See Andō, p. 7, or Fukuda Gyōe, Tendaigaku gairon (Tōkyō: Bun'ichi shuppan, 1954), pp. 14-16. For information on the Fu fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan, see Mochizuki, pp. 4493c-94b.

[215]The Ta chih-tu lun passage occurs at T25.755b and its mention by Tsung-mi at Z1,14, 276a. Both are mentioned in Yanagida, Shoki

Zenshū shisho, pp. 611–12.

[216]T50.394c.

[217]The reader should recall the dialogue recorded in the HKSC between Tao-hsin and his disciples on the subject of the transmission, which suggests that the practice of choosing a single successor was known during the 660's. See Chapter III, Part 2.

[218]See, for example, Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun, T85.1272a.

[219]This text occurs in the Tun-huang manuscript P3559, just after the CFPC (607/26:2).

[220]See Mochizuki, pp. 559b–60a. Part of the Tso-ch'an san-mei ching translated by Kumārajīva was apparently written by Pārśva. See Section One, Chapter I, Part 4.

[221]See note 19 to Section One.

[222]See note 103 to this Section.

[223]See Hirai, p. 326.

[224]See Chapter III, Part 7 of this Section.

[225]See Chapter III, Part 15 of this Section. There is no obvious relationship between the passage attributed to Hsien here and in Daruma no goroku, p. 239.

[226]See the list of Hung-jen's disciples included in the passage from the LCJFC introduced in Chapter III, Part 5.

[227]See the text in Yanagida's Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 487–88, and the Japanese translation on pp. 37–38.

[228]This interpretation is stressed by Yanagida, pp. 38–39.

[229]There is a parallel of sorts between this oversight and the Chinese adaptation of theories about the demise of Buddhism, which are generally subsumed under the term mo-fa or "final [period of] the Dharma." In both cases statements and ideas originally referring to Kashmir and/or the western regions in general were re-interpreted to refer specifically to China.

[230]The emergence of the San-lun School is considered to have been an important development in the growth of sectarian consciousness in Chinese Buddhism. Nevertheless, even though Chi-tsang and his contemporaries in this School were also very conscientious in recording several generations of their own religious predecessors, I am not aware of any statement of theirs reaching six generations. See Hurvitz, pp. 79–80, citing T'ang, Fo-chiao shih, pp. 758ff, and Itō Ryūju, "Sanron gakuha ni okeru shiji sōjō to Zenshū," Shūgaku kenkyū XIV (March, 1947), 117–22.

[231]See the Ting shih-fei lun in Hu Shih's Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, p.284.

[232]See Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 48, and Shoki no zenshi, I, 25-26.

[233]See Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 48 and 57, note 2, for the background of this observation. The sources Yanagida cites were in error; the epitaph for I-fu mentions Dharma Master Fei as a teacher but says nothing of any specific referral of I-fu to Fa-ju, while the epitaph for P'u-chi does not mention Fei at all.

[234]See Shoki no zenshi, I, 424, or section 19 of the translation in the Appendix to this Section.

[235]See Shoki no zenshi, I, 346 and 420, or sections 4 and 18 of the translation. I cannot help wondering if Tu Fei was not paid a commission for writing the CFPC.

[236]The title of the CFPC uses the character chi 紀, "annals," rather than the modern homophone meaning "records" 記. (Shen-hui's Ting shih-fei lun corroborates this usage.) Yanagida comments on the significance of this choice in Shoki no zenshi, I, 328, and on the general attitude of the CFPC to the HKSC in Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 54.
Incidentally, the transmission statement included in P3559 and mentioned in note 328 to Section Three below is obviously based on the CFPC.

[237]See Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 87-100, and Shoki no zenshi, I, 31-34.

[238]The graves of one of Wei-shih's brothers and her daughter, Princess Yung-t'ai, have been two of the most spectacular archeological discoveries of modern Chinese history.

[239]This work is mentioned in Li Chih-fei's preface to Ching-chueh's commentary on the Heart Sūtra, Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 597.

[240]See the LCSTC, Shoki no zenshi, I, 52-53 (this passage is lacking in T85).

[241]Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 58, suggests that the LCFJC was written after Hsüan-ts'e's entry into the capital in 708. I feel that it is also probable that he transmitted it to Ching-chüeh before that monk's presumed departure from the capital in 710. If Ching-chüeh received materials from the capital much after this date, he would have learned of the compilation of the CFPC, which does not seem to have been the case.

[242]On this monastery, see ibid., pp. 90-91 and 98, note 11. Another Northern School monk named Ling-cho was also associated with the same monastery, as mentioned above in Chapter IV, Part 5, no. 3.

[243]Yanagida has suggested that Hsüan-ts'e's inclusion of Fa-ju in

the list of Hung-jen's disciples as a resident of Lu-chou rather than Shao-lin ssu represents an attempt to deny his influence as a founder of Ch'an in the two capitals (Shoki no zenshi, I, 284). On the probable contents of the LCJFC, see Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 59-60. Hsüan-ts'e's attitude toward the HKSC may be attributable to his earlier personal association with Tao-hsüan.

[244]Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 64, 66-70, and 74.

[245]The scriptural quotations, etc., mentioned in item (1) are two numerous to be listed here; see Yanagida's notes in Shoki no zenshi, I. The passages based on the Hsiu-hsin yao lun are mentioned in the notes to the translation of that work in Section Three, Chapter II of this paper; also see the discussion in Part 4 of that Chapter. The material mentioned in items (3) through (8) occurs in the sections of the LCSTC devoted to the individuals involved.

[246]On the relationship between the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and the LCSTC, see Yanagida's Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 79-82.

[247]See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 122, 140-41, 287-88, and 312-13, or T85.1284c, 1285b, 1289c-90a, and 1290b-c.

[248]See Sekiguchi, Daruma no kenkyū, pp. 335-43, and Yanagida, Yaburu mono, p. 236.

[249]See Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 335-40.

[250]This is a major thesis of ibid., pp. 181-209.

[251]For example, although the LTFPC includes a prominent reference to Shen-hui's sermon at Hua-t'ai in order to bolster its own specious claims to the succession from Hui-neng, it omits any mention of the fact that the sermon in question was delivered as an attack on the Northern School. See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, II, 154-55, or T51.185b-c.

[252]The epitaphs by Yen and Tu are listed in note 171 above. See p. 15b of the former. One anecdote involving I-fu is included in the T'ai-p'ing kuang chi, II, 645-46 (fascicle 97).

[253]See the epitaph by Li Hua in the CTW, 320:4b-8a. Fa-yün's biography is summarized in Ui, pp. 298-99.

[254]See the epitaph, also by Li Hua, CTW, 319:12b. On the following page of the epitaph (13c), Hui-chen is quoted as teaching that one should be "without practice [as such] but never ceasing. Transcending mind, form is pure. When both are pure they have been transcended. With transcendence comes birthlessness (i.e., nirvāṇa)..." These ideas are reminiscent of the Wu fang-pien, a fact which makes the passages quoted from this epitaph even more significant.

[255]On Hsüan-lang, see the epitaph by Li Hua, CTW 320:1a-4b. Obviously, it is quite possible that the primary reason why prototypic encounter dialogue material found its way into these three epitaphs may have been their common authorship. On Fa-ch'in, see the discussion of

his biography in my article on the Ox-head School.

[256]Our only source of information about Shen-hui's banishment is Tsung-mi. See Hu Shih's biographical study of Shen-hui in the Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, pp. 64–66.

NOTES TO SECTION THREE

[1]Sukuki felt that Bodhidharma wrote the EJSHL and its miscellaneous appended material, the Chüeh-kuan lun of Ox-head School vintage, the closely related Wu-hsin lun, and Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun. On the accretions to the EJSHL, see his Kōkan Shōshitsu issho oyobi kaisetsu (Ōsaka: Ataka Bukkyō bunko, 1936), pp. 10 and 14. Suzuki is very explicit about his acceptance of all traditional material at face value, except where there is definite evidence of misrepresentation. For his views on the other works mentioned, see his studies in the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II, 108-41, 161-87, and 209-10, plus supplementary volume I, pp. 576-89. For more accurate attributions and other useful textual information, see Yanagida's "Zenseki kaidai," pp. 454-57, and the sources listed there.

[2]In general, I feel that the chronologically later portions of this material tend to be found closer to the end of the manuscript in question. Certainly, the passages attributed to Dhyāna Masters Hsien, Hsien (different characters), An, and Chüeh, and Dharma Master Tsang could have been uttered by the Northern School figures Fa-hsien, Ching-hsien, Lao-an, Ching-chüeh, and Chiang-ma Tsang. Even more interesting, the statement attributed to Dhyāna Master Hung considers a topic frequently discussed by Ma-tsu Tao-i of Hung-chou. See Yanagida, Daruma no goroku, pp. 233-35, 239-43, and 246-49. Okimoto discusses certain Tibetan translations of some of this miscellaneous material in his "Chibetto-yaku Ninyū shigyō ron ni tsuite," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXIV:2 (1976), 999-992 (sic).

[3]There has been considerable disagreement over the years about the authorship of this miscellaneous material. The section translated here under the provisional title "Second Letter" has been considered by some to be the preface to some work, perhaps the subsequent portion of the Tun-huang manuscript, rather than simply to the brief verse included here. I have followed the usage in Yanagida's Daruma no goroku. For a convenient review of the positions taken by different scholars, see Tanaka Ryōshō's "Shigyōron chōkansu to Bodaidaruma-ron," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XIV:1 (1965), 217-20. I do not believe there is any conclusive argument for attributing different portions of the manuscript to Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, or other early figures.

For the portions of the translation here taken from the HKSC, see T50.552b-c.

[4]See the CTL, T51.458b-c. Yanagida, Daruma no goroku, pp. 15-21, contains a discussion of the details of manuscripts, titles, and textual history, plus a list of important secondary studies.

[5]The title and reference to the preface by T'an-lin do not occur

in the Tun-huang manuscript, but are added by Yanagida on the basis of the LCSTC. See his Shoki no zenshi, I, 127-32. I have omitted the customary annotation for the balance of this translation in deference to Yanagida's Daruma no goroku, pp. 27-31 and 36-47. My interpretation of the text does not differ from Yanagida's in any substantial way.

[6]These are the four stages of attainment in the Hīnayāna, beginning with the Stream-winner and culminating in the state of Arhat.

[7]This is a reference to the fifth member of the Noble Eightfold Path.

[8]A maṇi-pearl is a wish-giving gem. The allusion here is to something that is valuable but not recognized as such. In other contexts, the ability of Inherent Enlightenment to cleanse away the spiritual impurities of its possessor is described as the hypothetical ability of a pearl to clarify the water in which it is submerged.

[9]Suzuki offers the following translations for these terms: Entrance by Reason or Entrance by Higher Intuition and Entrance by Conduct or Entrance by Practical Living. See his Manual of Zen Buddhism (New York: Grove Press, 1960), p. 73.

[10]See Daruma no goroku, p. 41, or the Tao-te ching, 63, and the Lun-yü, 14.

[11]Many years later Huang-po Hsi-yun (d. 850) was to say something quite reminiscent of this Practice: "Just utilize your old karma according to the consequences of your conditions (sui-yüan) and don't make any new transgressions." Huang-po's student Lin-chi I-hsuan alludes to both this and the following practice when he says: "Utilize your old karma according to the consequences of your conditions, spontaneously (jen-yün) putting on your clothing, walking when you want to walk, sitting when you want to sit, without ever activating (ch'i) a single moment's desire (ch'iu) for enlightenment." See Yanagida's Zen shisō — sono genkei o arau —, Chūkō shinsho series, No. 400 (Tōkyō: Chūō kōron sha, 1975), p. 55.

[12]The Bukkyōgaku jiten, ed. by Taya Raishun, et al. (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1955), p. 87, has a good definition of ch'iu as "seeking after something without cease." Nakamura's Bukkyōgo daijiten does not give tṛṣṇā as an equivalent for the single character ch'iu, but note the compound ai-ch'iu (aigu in Japanese), which is given as such (p. 15c).

[13]See note 332 below for another comment on the internal structure of the EJSHL.

Before we leave the Four Practices it is well to note Yanagida's interesting suggestion that they may constitute a reinterpretation of the Four Foundations of Mindfulness along Mahāyānist lines, specifically those of the Perfection of Wisdom. This possibility is interesting in view of the importance of the Four Foundations in the thought and practice of Seng-ch'ou, a contemporary of Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o. The correspondences would be developed as follows:

1) Mindfulness of the body: The first Practice of the EJSHL

is based on the direct, personal experience of suffering. It would not be too extreme to suggest that such suffering was primarily physical, i.e., lack of food, water, and shelter, as well as various forms of vilification and abuse by others.

2) Mindfulness of feelings: Rather than just emotional responses, this refers to any impression or perception experienced (shou) by one's physical/sensory apparatus, including the mind. The second Practice refers to all good and bad eventualities.

3) Mindfulness of the mind: Craving, the subject of the third Practice, is the single most important obstacle to a perfectly functioning mind and, at the same time, the quintessential feature of the unenlightened mind.

4) Mindfulness of dharmas: Whereas the feelings of the second Foundation of Mindfulness refer to all sensory and emotive impressions, "dharmas" refers here to all the fundamental building blocks of an individual sentient being's physical and psychological existence: sensory capabilities, feelings, perceptions, memories, his physical form, etc. This is entirely different from the definition of Dharma (fa) that is used in the fourth Practice. One could argue that the fourth Practice describes the ability to act in accord with the Dharma of śūnyatā with respect to all dharmas, but this interpretation is somewhat forced.

[14]This idea is similar to the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra's concept of tsung-t'ung or "penetration of the truth," i.e., the true inner understanding of the ultimate message of the scriptures as opposed to shuo-t'ung or "penetration of the preaching," a conceptualized understanding of the words and formulae of the text and nothing more. See Yanagida's Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 52, for the importance of this idea in the Northern School and his Zen shisō, pp. 17-18, for its relevance here. The term tsung-t'ung occurs in section C of the CFPC; see note 261 to Section Two.

[15]The HKSC version reads simply: "To be mysteriously identified with the Tao (= enlightenment?), serene and inactive, is called the Entrance of Principle."

[16]See the discussion of the concept of the Buddha Nature in the Hōbōgirin, II, 185-87.

[17]"Hokushūzen no shisō," Zenbunka Kenkyūjo kiyō, VI (1974), pp. 71-72. The word tan occurs again, similarly interpretable, in the fourth Practice.

[18]On the subject of faith, note Tanaka's observation that a pair of terms related to this concept in the EJSHL also occur in Esoteric Buddhist texts translated into Chinese in the early eighth century. As Tanaka himself admits, the inverted temporal sequence mitigates against any conclusion concerning Bodhidharma's identity in terms of Indian religious developments, but perhaps there is some relationship between the Ch'an and Esoteric traditions in China. The two terms are shen-hsin or "profound faith" and hsin-chieh or "accept and understand," occurring in the first Entrance and the fourth Practice, respectively. Similar usages occur in the Ch'an-men ching and Sheng-chou lu. See Tanaka's

"Daruma-zen ni okeru shin ni tsuite," Shūkyō kenkyū, XXXVIII:2 (1965), pp. 84-85.

Another speculative suggestion that should be introduced here is T'ang Yung-t'ung's opinion that the language of the EJSHL is reminiscent of the Upaniṣads, specifically, the Mandukya Upaniṣad and commentary by Gauḍapāda. I cannot accept the accuracy of this comparison. See T'ang's Han Wei liang-Chin nan-pei ch'ao Fo-chiao shih, p. 791. T'ang also wrote in a letter to Hu Shih, his teacher, that Bodhidharma's treatise resembled Brahmanist and Upaniṣadic writings. Hu's reply includes the suggestion that the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, on which Bodhidharma supposedly based his teachings, was a product of Buddhism's spread to South India and its admixture with non-Buddhist elements. T'ang's letter and the reply were written in July, 1928. See the Ko Teki zengaku an, pp. 235 and 239.

While these specific speculations are now clearly obsolete, it is still permissable to wonder whether there is any influence of non-Buddhist thought on the EJSHL. It is possible that sentences 3A-B of the Entrance of Principle may be taken to describe a type of meditation very much like the "cessation of the transformations of consciousness" that constitutes the classical definition of Yoga (yogaś citta vṛtti nirodhāḥ). In addition, the distinction between the Two Entrances could be interpreted to resemble the distinction between jñāna and karma yoga.

[19]See (for no. 2) T50.596c; (3) Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 356, or section F of the translation in the Appendix to Section Two, and T51.743c (mentioned by Ui, p. 14); (4) Chih-yen's K'ung-mu chang, T45.559a-b; (5) T48.403c and 405b and Kamata, Zengen shosenshū tojo, pp. 116 and 141; (6) T48.386b and T51.219b; and (7) Z2, 3, 454a.

[20]Ui, p. 21.

[21]T'ang, pp. 784-85. Other scholars to discuss "wall-contemplation" are Lü Ch'eng, Masunaga Reihō, Suzuki Kakuzen, and Takamine Ryōshū. Lü, in his "T'an-t'an yu-kuan ch'u-ch'i Ch'an-tsung ssu-hsiang te chi-ko wen-t'i," Ch'an-tsung shih-shih k'ao-pien, ed. by Shih Tao-an, Hsien-tai Fo-chiao hsüeh-shu ts'ung-k'an, No. 4 (Taipei: Ta-sheng wen-hua ch'u-pan she, 1977), pp. 202, suggests a connection with the "totality-sphere" techniques of meditation (kṛtsna-āyatana, or kasiṇa-āyatana in Pāli). Lü's idea is that in order to contemplate the element earth one begins with a disk of mud erected on a frame in front of oneself, rather in the fashion of a wall.

In a similar vein, Masunaga has compared the same technique of early Buddhism to the visualization of the sun or the character "one" (i) in the East Mountain Teaching. See his "Zenshisō no Chūgokuteki keitei," Bukkyō no kompon shinri — Bukkyō ni okeru kompon shinri no rekishiteki keitai — , ed. by Miyamoto Shōson (Tōkyō: Sanseidō, 1957), p. 795. I do not find either suggestion very compelling.

Suzuki's comments are extensive but inconclusive. See his "Hekikan shiron (I)" and "Hekikan shiron (II)," Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu kenkyū kiyō, XXXIII (March, 1975) and XXXIV (March, 1976), 26-46. His musings are summarized in his "'Hekikan' to 'kakukan' ni tsuite," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXIV:1 (1975), 124-129.

Takamine's very brief comments occur in his Kegon to Zen to no tsūro (Nara: Nanto Bukkyō kenkyūkai, 1956), pp. 11-12.

[22]The first of the passages introduced here is from "Shoki Zenshū to shikan shisō," p. 261-62. The second passage, as well as that given just below, are from Zen shisō, pp. 29-30.

[23]Hu understood the history of early Ch'an as a transition from an essentially Indian level of complexity to the intrinsically simple approach that suited the Chinese so much better. See his "Development of Zen Buddhism in China," Chinese Social and Political Science Review, XV:4 (1932), 475-505, reprinted in the Ko Teki Zengaku an, 722-691 (sic). Suzuki was more inclined to believe that the heart of Zen (to use the Japanese pronunciation which he preferred) was shared by Indian Buddhism and even other religious systems, but that the mode of expression changed according to variations in time and place. See, for example, his "The Historical Background of Zen Buddhism," Zen Buddhism, ed. by William Barrett, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1956), pp. 48-58 and 74.

[24]T50.598a-b, introduced in Yagi, "Ryōgashu kō," p. 61. T'an-lun was born no later than 547, and the events described here took place after he became thirteen. Yagi suggests that T'an-lun's teacher was Ching-tuan (543-606), a successor to Ratnamati and Seng-shih. (He is identified here only as Dhyāna Master Tuan.)

[25]T50.590a. The experiences described here probably occurred in or before 595.

In addition to the evidence introduced here regarding T'an-lun and Ching-lin, it is instructive to consider Chih-i's comments regarding two teachings held by "Northern Dhyāna Masters." One of these, the tenth of his three Southern and seven Northern p'an-chiao schema, is that there is "only One Vehicle, not Two and not Three. With One Sound is the Dharma preached; according to the identity (of the listener) is it understood differently." (T33.801b) This Teaching of the One Sound (i-yin chiao) is directly opposed to the orthodox Ti-lun School position regarding the Three Vehicles. (See Ochō, Hokugi Bukkyō no kenkyū, pp. 41-42.) Hui-k'o is said to have learned the One Vehicle from Bodhidharma, so that it might be possible to associate this teaching directly with these early Ch'an figures. Unfortunately, Chih-i's rebuttal of this teaching yields no further information about it. (T33.805a-b.)

The ninth of the three Southern and seven Northern schema, which is also attributed to Northern Dhyāna Masters, elucidates two types of Mahāyāna teachings, the Mahāyāna With Characteristics (yu-hsiang ta-sheng) and the Mahāyāna Without Characteristics (wu-hsiang ta-sheng). The former teaches the progression of the Bodhisattva through the Ten Stages, whereas the latter holds that "the True Dharma is without graduated distinctions [and that] all sentient beings constitute the characteristic of nirvāṇa." This teaching is said to be based on the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra and the Sūtra of the Questions of Ssu-i [Bodhisattva] (Ssu-i ching). (Also T33.801b) Yagi, "Ryōgashū kō," p. 52, has shown that the "Mahāyāna Without Characteristics" is also based in part on the Vimalakīrti Sūtra and introduces evidence from Chih-i's writings to the effect that this teaching was basically no different from the doctrine of sudden enlightenment expounded by Tao-sheng in the fifth century.

That is, since the True Characteristic of the dharmakāya is without characteristics and undifferentiated, realization thereof occurs completely and all at once, in a sudden flash, without admitting to any stages of partial realization.

Incidentally, Yagi, pp. 53-54, observes that Tao-hsüan's HKSC essay on exegetes refers perjoratively to those who studied the Laṅkāvatāra and Abhidharma literature and who broke the precepts, became attached to eating and drinking, and "took false knowledge as true understanding and confused consciousness to be perfect wisdom." (T50.549b) Yagi feels that this last phrase is reflective of the Northern Dhyāna Masters mentioned by Chih-i; I suspect that Yagi interprets such behavior as an antecedent to the eccentricity and iconoclasm of later Ch'an masters. Unfortunately, there is no direct proof that any of this evidence relates directly to the members of the early Ch'an School.

[26]T50.603a.

[27]T9.369c and 370a. See the discussion of shou-i ts'un-san and shou-i pu i in Chapter II, Part 2 of this Section.

[28]This treatise was introduced by Sekiguchi in his Daruma daishi no kenkyū, pp. 49-81. A transcription of the text may be found on pp. 463-68 of that work. Sekiguchi accepts the date 681, then makes the incredible assertion that the text may actually be a valid work of Bodhidharma's. My own reaction is that, even if this were one of the texts referred to in the LCSTC and CFPC as being in circulation under Bodhidharma's name, as Sekiguchi suggests, that would not be enough to prove that such an attribution were accurate.

I also find Sekiguchi's interpretation of the relationship between this text and the EJSHL unconvincing. (See pp. 69-81.) The text seems much more closely related to the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, since it contains the phrase shou pen-ching hsin, "maintain the originally pure mind." (Sekiguchi, p. 465.) Shou-hsin is without question the most distinctive slogan of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. (See section I of the translation below for the four-character version of this slogan.) The treatise in question also contains other phrases and topics of discussion similar to those found in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and Northern School works in general, but I cannot discern any criteria for determining the provenance of the text.

[29]Sekiguchi, Daruma daishi no kenkyū, pp. 246-70, analyzes the relationship between the Ch'eng-hsin lun and ideas generally attributed to Tao-hsin. I believe it is much more likely that Shen-hsiu discovered this work during his quarter-century of residence at Yü-ch'üan ssu, the monastery of its author Chih-i, rather than that Tao-hsin found it during his brief stay at a former residence of a sometime student of Chih-i's. (See pp. 272-73.) An alternate title for this work is Cheng-hsin lun or Treatise on the Realization of the Mind.

[30]See the text in Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 487-89, and Section Two, Chapter V, Part 9.

[31]See the following two Parts of this Chapter for textual

information and an English translation of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. For the JTAHY, see Parts 6, 7, and 8. The position that there is a developmental relationship between shou-i and shou-hsin and/or the texts in which they are explained is held by Sekiguchi, (Zenshū shisō shi, p. 85), Yin-shun (Chung-kuo Ch'an-tsung chih, p. 80), Suzuki ("Zen shisōshi kenkyū, dai-ni — Daruma kara Enō ni itaru — ", in the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II [Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1968], 272), Masunaga ("Zen shisō no Chūgokuteki keitai," p. 794), and Yanagida ("Chūgoku Zenshū shi," in Zen no rekishi — Chūgoku — , Kōza Zen, No. 3, ed. by Suzuki Daisetsu and Nishitani Keiji (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1967), pp. 26-27. (Both Suzuki and Masunaga devote closer attention to the practice of "viewing a single thing" (k'an i-wu) than to shou-i and shou-hsin.)

[32]See Yanagida Seizan, Shoki no zenshi, I, 213 and 263-64, or T85.1287c and 1289b.

[33]See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 263-64, or T85.1289b.

[34]See section V of the translation below.

[35]It is impossible to determine the exact date of compilation of the Inscription on Relying on the Mind. Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 266, n. 17, lists the early ninth century works in which it first appears or is mentioned.

[36]The Shinsen zenseki mokuroku compiled by the Komazawa University Library (Tōkyō: Komazawa toshokan, 1962) contains detailed information about the various editions of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun under the headings Ichijō kenjishin ron (I-sheng hsien tzu-hsin lun in Chinese; p. 6a), Saijōjōron (Tsui-shang sheng lun; p. 139a), and Shūshin yōron (Hsiu-hsin yao lun; p. 173a). Also see Tanaka Ryōshō's useful guide to Tun-huang materials pertaining to Ch'an, "Tonkō Zenshū shiryō bunrui mokuroku shokō," Komazawa Daigaku kenkyu kiyō, XXIX (March, 1971), 11-16, and Yanagida's "Zenseki kaidai," p. 455. The following summary combines information from all three of these sources.

The Hsiu-hsin yao lun was published in Korea in 1570 under the title Choesangsŭng'non, (Tsui-shang-sheng lun in Chinese, or The Treatise on the Supreme Vehicle). This was republished several times, one edition of which (originally printed in Japan in 1716) is reprinted in Z2, 15, 415a-17b and T48.377a-79b. It is also included in the Sŏnmun ch'waryo printed in Korea in 1907, an anthology often used by Japanese scholars earlier in this century (the Japanese pronunciation is Zemmon satsuyō). One of these earlier scholars was Nukariya Kaiten, who argued that the Tsui-shang sheng lun did not represent Hung-jen's true teachings. See his Zengaku shisōshi, I, 371-74. The discovery of this text and other Ch'an-related materials among the Tun-huang manuscripts has rendered Nukariya's position obsolete, even though some of his observations about the text itself are still valid.

The first notice of any of the Tun-huang manuscripts of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun was apparently that in Ch'en Yüan's Tun-huang chieh-yu (6 vols.; Peking: Kuo-li Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yuan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so, 1931), in which it is listed as ms. chou 宙-04. Since the beginning of this Peking ms. was damaged, he used the title I-sheng hsien tzu-hsin lun (Treatise on the One Vehicle of Manifesting One's Own Mind). This

title is based on material at the end of the treatise itself. (See section W; also see the alternate titles occurring at the end of some of the mss. and mentioned in note 103 below.) The identity and significance of this Peking manuscript was confirmed by Suzuki during his visit to Peking in 1934. He published a collotype facsimile of this ms. in his Tonkō shutsudo Shōshitsu issho (Ōsaka: Ataka Bukkyō bunko, 1935) and a printed edition in his Kōkan Shōshitsu issho oyobi kaisetsu (Ōsaka: Ataka Bukkyō bunko, 1936), pp. 41-55.

In the meantime Tokushi Yūshō announced the existence of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun among the Tun-huang mss. in the possession of the Library of Ryūkoku University in Kyōto. See his "Shōshitsu rokumonshū ni tsuite," Ryūkoku gakuhō, CCCIX (June, 1934), 316-18. Suzuki published side-by-side transcriptions of the Korean, Peking (edited and augmented on the basis of the Korean text) and Ryūkoku mss. in his Kōkan Shōshitsu issho oyobi kaisetsu, pp. 41-52. In 1938 Suzuki visited England, where he discovered three additional mss. in the Stein collection (S2669, S3558, and S4064). Around 1941 he edited these three mss. together with the Korean and Peking versions, the result of which was published in 1951 in his Zen shisōshi kenkyū, dai-ni. This is contained in the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II, 303-309. According to a note on p. 270 of this volume, Suzuki does not seem to have used the Ryūkoku ms. for this edition. He also failed to distinguish between the three Stein mss., referring to them all as the "original text" (gembon).

All the other known mss. of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, i.e., S6159, P3559, P3434, and P3777, were discovered by Yanagida Seizan on the basis of information in various catalogues and through an examination of microfilm copies of the British collections. Tanaka, p. 11, also notes the existence of a Tun-huang ms. of this text in Leningrad, unavailable to Western scholars.

At present there are nine different mss. and one printed of this text: P3434, P3559, P3777; S2669, S3558, S4064, S6159: Peking chou-04; Ryūkoku University Library No. 122 (the Kammon daijō hōron ms.); and the printed Korean edition. S6159 is fragmentary, being incomplete at both beginning and end, and has not been consulted in the course of this study. Since Suzuki's editions suffer from problems of inaccuracy and because they were done without knowledge of some of the most important mss., I have compiled a new edition for the purposes of this study. Fortunately, I have had access to Professor Yanagida's handwritten, side-by-side transcription of all the extant versions of the text, which I have double-checked against photocopies of the original mss.

There are significant differences between some of the different versions of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. The Korean text has obviously been edited to make certain passages more readable and the terminology a little more positive and complex. This editing, as well as the retitling of the text, probably occurred in China. This inference is based on the similar, if less extensive, editing of P3559. The other mss. contain numerous minor differences, but resemble each other in using consistently simpler terminology than P3559 and the Korean version.

The textual environment of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun in P3559 is also quite different from that in the other unprinted mss. This extremely important ms. includes the following material:

a) the Yüan-ming lun, which will be presented in translation in Chapter III;

b) a brief statement on Ch'an that is heavily laden with Yogācāra and tathāgata-garbha theory terminology;

c) the Hsiu-hsin yao lun itself;

d) some 55 lines of miscellaneous material preceded by the heading Hsiu ho-shang chuan (The Transmission of Perceptor [Shen]-hsiu), part of which will be introduced in translation in Chapter III, Part 13 below;

e) the Ch'üan fa-pao chi (CFPC), already discussed and presented in translation in Section II;

f) the Ch'ou ch'an-shih i (The Intention [Mind ?] of Dhyāna Master [Seng]-ch'ou), an interesting text even in spite of the obvious falsity of its attribution to Seng-ch'ou;

g) the Ch'ou ch'an-shih yüeh-fang (The Prescription of Dhyāna Master [Seng]-ch'ou), also spurious;

h) the Ta-sheng hsin-hsing lun (Treatise on the Practice of Mind in the Mahāyāna), also supposedly by Seng-ch'ou;

i) a verse by P'u-chi (different from that contained in Suzuki's Shōshitsu issho);

j) a few lines of miscellaneous material;

k) the Chin-kang wu li (Five Obeisances of the Vajra) by a Preceptor Yao, an unknown figure; and

l) some fifty lines of miscellaneous "contemplative analysis" material (see Chapter III, Part 6 for a definition of this term) related to the recitation of the Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra.

Although some of the individual works listed above are represented in other Tun-huang mss., i.e., items b, c, e, and k, this is the only ms. to contain two or more, let alone all of them. The reverse side of this ms. was copied in 751, the obverse probably in the same year or shortly thereafter. (See note 160 below.) For a discussion of the ms. as a whole, see Yanagida Seizan, "Den'hōbōki to sono sakusha -- Perio 3559-gō bunsho o meguru Hokushūzen kenkyū no sakki, sono ichi -- ," Zengaku kenkyū, LIII (July, 1963), 45-71.

In contrast to the composition of P3559, seven different mss. contain some or all of the works listed below, always in the same order:

a) the Ssu hung shih-yüan (The Four Great Vows), apparently first used by Chih-i;

b) the Ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men (Dhyāna Master [Bodhi]dharma's Teaching of Contemplation), which describes seven different types of meditation (see Sekiguchi, Daruma daishi no kenkyū, pp. 295-316);

c) an essay provisionally entitled by Suzuki as the Fa-hsing lun (Treatise on the Dharma Nature), which manifests probable influence by Shen-hui (see the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II, 444-45);

d) the Liao-hsing chü (Stanzas on Comprehending the Nature), which will be quoted in Part 4 below (see the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II, 450-52, but note that Suzuki was unaware of P3777 and another Peking ms. to contain this work, sheng 生-67);

e) the Ch'eng-hsin lun (Treatise on the Clarification of the Mind), which was written by Chih-i but transmitted within the Ch'an tradition, rather than the T'ien-t'ai School (see the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II, 443-44, and Sekiguchi, Daruma daishi no kenkyū, pp. 246-94);

f) two mantras for warding off sleepiness and entering into samādhi, attributed to the esoteric Buddhist master Śubhākarasiṃha, who arrived in Ch'ang-an in 716, plus a line from the Nirvāṇa Sūtra;

g) the Hsiu-hsin yao lun;

h) some "contemplative analysis" material provisionally titled San-

pao wen-ta (Dialogues on the Three Jewels) and reproduced in the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II, 445-46; and

i) Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun (Treatise on the Contemplation of the Mind), which will be discussed in Chapter III of this Section.

Excluding S2583 and the Peking ms. sheng-67, which contain only the single items b and d, respectively, the specific contents of each ms. are as follows:

	P3434	Peking	S4064	S3558	P3777	S2669	Ryukoku
a)						X	X
b)						X	X
c)						X	X
d)			X	X	X		
e)	X	X		X	X	X	X
f)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
g)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
h)						X	X
i)							X

For detailed information regarding the contents and physical descriptions of the various mss., see Nakata Banzen, "Tonkō bunken no saikentō -- toku ni Kōnin no Shushin yōron ni tsuite -- ," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XVII:2 (1969), 714-17. The Ryūkoku Library ms. is in Tibetan booklet form, but all the others are conventional Chinese rolls. S2669 actually begins with some irrelevant material on military strategy and warfare. Finally, P3434 bears cyclical characters corresponding to the year 893 on its reverse side, which could represent its approximate date of transcription.

The only modern translation of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun other than the one presented here is an English rendition by W. Pachow in "A Buddhist Discourse on Meditation from Tun-huang ," University of Ceylon Review, XXI:1 (1963), 47-62. Pachow's translation is generally accurate, but it suffers from a tendency to interpret the text in terms of Ceylonese Buddhism, the occasional use of questionable English constructions, and a complete lack of annotation. In addition, it was based on only one ms. S4046, with some reference to S2669 and S3558. I have consulted Pachow's translation frequently in the compilation of that presented below, but I have been influenced more strongly by the recommendations of Professor Yanagida, with whom I had the privilege of discussing this text during several private meetings in Kyoto in 1976-77.

The edited text found in the Appendix to Section Three has been compiled with reference to all the mss. and printed versions discussed above. Textual variants have been recorded in the notes only when absolutely necessary. A bold dot has been placed in the text to mark the location of any such variants; specification of the length of the phrase involved has been done in Chinese and is inclusive of the character so marked.

[37]Huang-mei hsien, Hupeh.

[38]The Ryūkoku ms. has only the last five characters of this title, which is presumably due to an error of transcription. Other titles for the text were mentioned in note 36 above. Some of these

occur at the end of the text, as mentioned in note 115 below.

39The phrasing of this section is a bit jumbled and repetitive. This is also true of other sections of the text, especially the questions. The term hu-ching, lit. "to protect purity," i.e., "to take care of," also occurs in the Ch'an-men ching (Sūtra of Ch'an) and the poetry of Han-shan. See Yanagida's "Zemmonkyō ni tsuite," Tsukamoto hakase juju kinen Bukkyō shigaku ronshū (Tōkyō: Tsukamoto hakase juju kinen kai, 1961), p. 880, and Iritani Sensuke and Matsumura Takashi, Kanzanshi, Zen no goroku, No. 13 (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1970), p. 11.

40Both the immediate context and the overall intent of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun imply that the word shen, "body," is a mistake for hsin, "mind." Nevertheless, all versions have the former. This also includes the long passage based on this and the succeeding sections of the text quoted in the Tsung-ching lu, T48.588b. The same substitution of shen for hsin may be found on occasion in other early Ch'an documents and may represent more than an error of transcription.

41The Chinese for "[not subject to the laws of] generation and extinction" is simply pu sheng pu mieh. Below this phrase will be translated without parentheses.

42This passage does not occur in any of the Chinese translations of the Sūtra and Treatise on the Ten Stages, nor in the section of the Avataṁsaka Sūtra corresponding to the former. See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 152. The passage does occur in Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun (see the analysis in the next Part of this Chapter), the Tsung-ching lu (in part; T48.858b) and, inexplicitly, at the end of the Tun-huang manuscript of a commentary (Z1, 41, 206a) on the Heart Sūtra attributed to Hui-ching (578-645). This last would be the earliest known appearance of the passage in question, but it may have been added by a later copyist. The passage in question is not integrally related to the commentary itself. In addition, the authorship of the commentary is in itself problematic, since Hsüan-tsang only translated the very short Sūtra in question some four years after Hui-ching's death. See Mochizuki, p. 4266a.

The passage in question also occurs in the LCSTC, Shoki no zenshi, I, 146, or T85.1285c. The following textual evidence implies that the LCSTC is quoting the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, rather than vice versa:

a) The LCSTC adds explicatory material throughout, including a supporting quotation from the Avataṁsaka Sūtra. This line from the Avataṁsaka Sūtra does not occur in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, but Ching-chüeh quotes it in his commentary on the Heart Sūtra. See Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 609.

b) The LCSTC substitutes the more explicit "How could the sun's light achieve brightness and purity?" for the the Hsiu-hsin yao lun's short and ambiguous "How could the sun ever be extinguished?" Because of multiple meanings of the character lan 爛, the Hsiu-hsin yao lun question could also be read "How could the sun ever shine [through the clouds]?" This reading is acceptable, but the LCSTC makes the question more explicit. In addition, the LCSTC removes the phrase "the answer says" (ta yüeh), which occurs in the other text without the necessary "the question says" (wen yüeh).

c) The LCSTC uses the term ming-ching ("bright and pure") in the rhetorical question just cited above and two other times in this section. This term is used nine other times in the LCSTC (five of these are in the JTAHY attributed to Tao-hsin), but not once in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun.

d) The LCSTC adds the phrase "sitting quietly and purely" (mo-jan ching-tso) which, as Yanagida notes in Shoki no zenshi, I, 152-53, is one of Ching-chüeh's special points of emphasis.

e) Finally, shortly after this passage in the LCSTC there occurs a few lines that are also found in section O of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun.

[43]Section F has a similar phrase, shen-chung chen-ju ("Suchness within the bodies [of sentient beings and Buddhas]").

[44]See Yanagida's comments on the significance of this usage, which are introduced in Chapter I, Part 5 of this Section.

[45]The original mss. all have the character chi 即, "namely," which has been amended to lang 朗, "bright," on the suggestion of Professor Iriya Yoshitaka.

[46]The concept expressed here is identical to that in the metaphor used to describe the meaning of the "untainted" (wu-jan) in the Ta-sheng fa-chieh wu ch'a-pieh lun. See Ui Hakuju, Hōshōron kenkyū (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1979), p. 396, and Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 154.

[47]Below shou-hsin is translated without the aid of brackets.

[48]See the term "sun of wisdom" (hui-jih) in section L.

[49]The Hsiu-hsin yao lun abbreviates the passage in question. See T14.542b. The same passage also occurs in the miscellaneous material attached to the EJSHL, the Chüeh-kuan lun of the Ox-head School, and the Tun-wu yao men attributed to Hui-hai. See Yanagida's Daruma no goroku, p. 246, and Tokiwa Gishin and Yanagida Seizan, Zekkanron: Eibun yakuchū, gembun kōtei, kokuyaku (Kyōto: Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1976), p. 91, or the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II, 191; and Hirano Sōjō, Tongoyōmon, Zen no goroku, No. 6 (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1969), p. 51.

[50]The locus classicus for the term hsin-yüan is the Awakening of Faith, where it refers to the mind as the source of illusion and hence of all dharmas. More specifically, it is the point at which ignorance begins to operate within one's tathāgata-garbha, when the tathāgata-garbha switches from being the one Pure Mind to the mind of illusion. The infinite dharmas that comprise phenomenal reality are said to "exist" solely on the basis of the ignorant mind -- the Pure Mind is non-discriminating and thus does not recognize their existence. The transformation that occurs within the tathāgata-garbha is not a temporally definable event, but is only an expedient explanation of the present state of being of ordinary, unenlightened people. See Hirakawa Akira, Daijō kishin ron, Butten kōza Series, No. 22 (Tōkyō: Daizō shuppan sha, 1973), p. 109. The Hsiu-hsin yao lun seems at times to confuse this first arising of the ignorant mind with the Pure Mind that constitutes the Buddha Nature.

[51]Also T14.542b.

[52]Shu-hsiu originally referred to dried meat offered to a teacher upon one's first application for instruction. It is thus an application or matriculation fee, but I have rendered it as "tuition fee" in order to make the passage more readable.

[53]The True Mind is so named because it is part of the perfect realm of the absolute, or Suchness.

[54]Unidentified. Śikṣānanda's translation of the Awakening of Faith contains a vaguely similar line, as has been pointed out to me in a personal communication by Tokiwa Gishin of Hanazono College. See T32.585b, lines 7-8. Unfortunately, the two passages are not similar enough to be used as evidence that the Hsiu-hsin yao lun was written after Śikṣānanda's translation was done in 695.

[55]This section is obviously directed against the Pure Land practice of nien-fo or "mindfulness of the Buddha." The term nien-fo is used in the Wu fang-pien (Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, III [Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1968], 168, and section Intro.:C of the translation below) and in the Ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men (T85.1270c). The Kuan-hsin lun emphasizes the importance of actual contemplation, rather than the mere oral recitation of the Buddha's name. See T85.1273a.

Certain of Hung-jen's students were Pure Land practitioners, and the Szechwan lineages which claimed descendance from him had very distinctive approaches to nien-fo that were influenced by Ch'an doctrine. See Tsukamoto Zenryū, Tō chūki no Jōdokyō (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1975), pp. 307-11. The JTAHY shares the anti-Pure Land bias of this text. See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 213-14, or T85.1287c.

[56]Similar usages of the word t'a or "other" occur in a translation by Chu Fa-hu (d. ca. 308), T12.149c, and in Chih-i's Fa-hua hsüan-i, T33.766c. Also see the JTAHY in Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 226, or T85.1288b.

[57]The term pen-hsin or "fundamental mind" occurs in the Vimalakīrti Sūtra, T14.541a.

[58]T8.752a.

[59]This question has interrogative particles at both beginning and end. Similar redundancies occur in sections B and L. The compound sheng-ssu has been translated below as either "birth and death" or "saṁsāra."

[60]Cheng-nien or Correct Mindfulness is the seventh member of the Noble Eightfold Path. The formula "to not generate false thoughts and extinguish the illusion of personal possession" (wang-nien pu sheng wo-so-hsin mieh) occurs nine times in this text. Except where the two phrases thereof are separated by a third phrase, it has been translated simply as "to not generate false thoughts or the illusion of personal possession." The translation of wo-so-hsin is based on the Ta chih-tu

lun: "The self (*wo*) is the basis of all illusions. First one becomes attached to [the belief that] the Five *Skandhas* constitute the self. Then one becomes attached to external things as one's possessions (*wo-so*)." (T25.295a.) *Wo-so-hsin* is thus the belief that things external to the self belong to the self, a sort of compounded ignorance. This usage occurs in the *Wu-liang-shou ching* and the *Chin-kang san-mei ching*, T9.373b. See the definition in section R below.

[61]Literally, "having various false conditions" (*chung-chung wang-yüan*).

[62]This probably refers to a *sūtra* of Chinese authorship listed as the *Hsin-wang p'u-sa shuo t'ou-to ching*, or *The Sūtra on Austerities Preached by the Bodhisattva [Named] Mind-king*. See the *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu*, T55.677b. Shen-hui quotes from what is presumably the same text in his *Wen-ta tsa ch'eng-i*. See the *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, III, 285. The only other known reference to the *Hsin-wang ching* is a quotation from it in Tsung-mi's commentary to a portion of the *Avataṁsaka Sūtra*, the *Hua-yen ching hsing-yüan p'in su ch'ao*, Z2, 7, 409d.

[63]Literally, if the conditions are "conjoined" or "coincide" (*ho*).

[64]Because of the verbal usage of *hsin* here, I have translated it as "to rely on." The idea here is related to that of "faith" or "conviction," another meaning for the same character, since one must first accept the reality of the Fundamental Mind and then make a firm commitment to depend on its guidance at all times. In a private conversation, Professor Yanagida pointed out to me that in the compound *hsin-hsin*, the character in question has a meaning very similar to *chen*, "true," and should be translated along the lines of "perfected." *Hsin-hsin*, a term which occurs at the beginning of the answer in section S, refers to the enlightened state of mind that constitutes the actualization of the ultimate within one's own person. Hence the famous work attributed to Seng-ts'an, the *Hsin-hsin ming*, should be rendered as either *Inscription on Relying on the Mind* or *Inscription on the Perfected Mind*.

[65]T14.540b. The wording of the original is slightly different.

[66]Literally, during "walking, standing still, sitting, and lying down" (*hsing-chu-tso-wo*).

[67]A paraphrase of a lengthy section of the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*, beginning with this line, occurs in the *Tsung-ching lu*, T48.426a, where it is attributed to a "former worthy." The same work also includes this line in its description of Hung-jen's teachings, T48.940a.

[68]Literally, the "twelve divisions of the canon" (*shih-erh pu ching*). The emphasis is not on the fact that the scriptures are traditionally divided into twelve sections, but that *shou-hsin* is the basic teaching of all those scriptures. The same term occurs in sections L and Q.

[69]Many of the questions in this text contain the word chih, "to know," and should be translated as "How is it known that...?" or "How do you know that...?" This is almost always matched with ku chih, "therefore, it is known that...," at the end of the answer that follows. This pattern has been translated faithfully so far, but will now be dropped for reasons of simplicity. As in this section, the logic of the text's argumentation is often more apparent than real.

[70]The logical series of A implies B, B implies C, and so on, has been abbreviated somewhat. Similar abbreviations occur in the original mss.

[71]See the Lotus Sūtra, T9.9a. The impact of the doctrine of expedient means contained in this important scripture is very strong in this and the following sections. The phraseology here has been modified somewhat in the process of translation.

[72]The point of seeing the Buddha is to be able to receive his teachings directly rather than through the second-hand authority of written scriptures and later teachers. The advantage of the Pure Land teachings, which were quite popular at this time, was that they enable the devotee to become reborn in a situation where they could hear the Buddha's teachings directly and become enlightened more easily than while alive. This line could also be understood as "to see one's own identity as a Buddha."

[73]In Ch'an texts the term wu-wei often has the connotation of "not doing anything." This depends on context, of course, as it can also mean "inactive," in the Taoist sense, or "unconditioned." See section L.

[74]There is a very similar statement in the LCSTC, in which the Buddhas achieve enlightenment through "seated meditation" (tso-ch'an). See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 143, or T85.1285c.

[75]See the I-chiao ching or Sūtra of the Bequeathed Teaching, T12.1111a, where the exact wording is a little different. The original mss. of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun differ on which character to use as the verb, "to fix" or "to regulate." All the three variants, chih 止, cheng 正, and chih 制, have the same meaning in this situation: to seize control of the mind and subdue its hyperactive tendencies. As Yanagida points out in Shoki no zenshi, I, 245, this line is quoted very frequently in Ch'an texts.

[76]The word men ("gate," "doctrine") is absent from the original at this point, but has been added on the basis of usages in section I and the question in section K.

[77]The phrase shan ho ta-ti, "mountains, rivers, and the great earth," occurs here as a single unit for the first time in any Ch'an text. Also see the Wu fang-pien, Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, III, 220 (IIIB.38).

[78]The term hui-jih, "sun of wisdom," also occus in Wang Wei's (700-61) epitaph for Hui-neng. See Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, p. 541. Note the similar terms, fa-jih, "Dharma-sun," in section D and fo-jih, "sun of Buddhism," in the LCSTC, Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 273, or T85.1289c.

[79]The LCSTC contains a passage that is clearly an exegesis of this part of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 112, or T85.1284b. The original mss. differ on the last part of this line.

Suzuki, who believed firmly that chien-hsing, "to see the [Buddha] Nature," was an innovation of Hui-neng's, has suggested that P3559 maintains an older and more reliable reading with its tzu-jan ming hsien, "naturally the brightness is manifested." The Korean text has the similar ming tzu-jan hsien. However, if one take the character chu 住, "to reside," in S2669 as a mistake for hsing 性, "nature," then fully six out of eight texts containing this section have the compound chien-hsing. Even P3559 and the Korean edition have this compound in other sections, the latter even including it in a part of section O where it does not belong. Hence it can hardly be said that either of these texts were unaware of this compound or avoided it on principle. In fact, the concept of seeing or manifesting one's Buddha Nature is a central thesis of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun.

[80]The same compound, fa-t'i, "Dharma-essence," occurs near the end of section E, where it was rendered "essential reality."

[81]The original is slightly different. See T12.520b.

[82]The rest of this section is problematic. At one point the original mss. (excluding the Korean edition) have hsin 心, "mind," where they should have sheng 生, "to generate." The Korean edition is considerably simplified at this point, while P3559 omits two characters, resulting in its own unique but quite acceptable reading: "When you do not generate false thoughts, [the Buddhas] are generated within your consciousness and the illusion of personal possession is extinguished. Within this consciousness (i.e., within the Buddha Nature ?) one should first maintain awareness of the True Mind. You will achieve Buddha-hood upon doing so."

[83]See a similar statement in section Q. The phrase ch'ien ching wan lun occurs with roughly the same usage in the Chin-kang san-mei ching, T9.367a, the Tun-wu yao-men, Hirano, p. 99, and the Tsung-ching lu, T48.943ab. The Chin-kang san-mei ching passage is quoted in the Chu-ching yao ch'ao, T85.1196b.

[84]This passage does not occur as such in the Lotus Sūtra. See T9.12bff for the general context.

[85]This logic embodies the assumption of gradualism, or at least of the need for religious effort prior to the sudden experience of enlightenment.

[86]This is from the Lotus, T9.15c-16a. The original is slightly

different. The same passage is also used in the *Lin-chi lu*, where it is interpreted as an expression of enlightenment. That is, the enlightened person has the fortitude to exist in hell without any discomfort at all. See Yanagida Seizan, *Rinzairoku*, Butten kōza, No. 30 (Tōkyō: Daizō shuppan sha, 1972), p. 135, or T47.500a.

[87]Similar phrases occur in Chih-i's *Hsiu-hsi chih-kuan tso-ch'an fa-yao*, T46.465c and 466c. Also see the *JTAHY*, Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi*, I, 248 and 255, or T85.1288c and 1289a.

[88]The description of meditation that follows here is noticeably different from that contained in the *Sūtra* itself. There the contemplation on the setting sun, which is the first of sixteen different techniques, is described in part as follows:

> Sit upright facing the West and clearly contemplate the sun. Keep the mind still and think of it single-mindedly. Visualize the sun as it is about to set, in the form of a hanging drum. Having done so, one should become able to see it brightly, whether ones eyes are open or closed... (T12.342a.)

The reader has no doubt noticed that very few of the scriptural citations in the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* follow their respective originals precisely.

[89]Similar material occurs in the *Tun-wu chen-tsung chin-kang pan-jo hsin-hsing ta pi-an fa-men yao-chüeh* (hereafter abbreviated as *Tun-wu chen-tsung yao-chüeh*), which is a product of the Northern School. See Ueyama Daishun, "Chibetto-yaku *Tongo shinshū yōketsu* no kenkyū," p. 99.

[90]The first of these lines resembles a passage in the *Avataṁsaka Sūtra*, T9.395a, while the second is taken, with slight changes in wording, from the *Awakening of Faith*, Hirakawa, p. 170, or T32.577b.

[91]This could also be read "to all the scriptures [preached by] all the Buddhas in the ten directions of space."

[92]The preceding statements about those who "comprehend the mind" occur, with one phrase omitted, in the *LCSTC*, Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi*, I, 146, or T85.1285c. The last phrase may also be found in the *Tun-wu yao-men*, Hirano, p. 89.

[93]The text has *tsao-ta* 造大, "to make great." A similar compound, *tsao-tz'u* 次, occurs in the Korean edition and in the *JTAHY*, Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi*, I, 241, and T85.1288c. Another related term, *tsao-tso* 作, occurs in the *Lin-chi lu*, Yanagida, *Rinzairoku*, p. 92. See Yanagida's explanation on the same page.

[94]A similar passage occurs in the *JTAHY*, Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi*, I, 146, or T85.1285c.

[95]The term *wu-chi* (*avyākṛta* in Sanskrit) is used in Abhidharma and other types of *Buddhist literature* to refer to states of mind that have neither good nor bad influence on one's subsequent condition. In

Ch'an texts it refers to a dull state of trance or mental stupor, as the section that follows describes.

[96]The source of this citation and the one that follows is unknown. They occur together, without attribution, in the same passage of the *LCSTC* already mentioned in note 94. As Yanagida observes (*Shoki no zenshi*, I, 157), the term *ching-ch'eng*, "sincerity," probably occurs on the basis of influence from T'an-lin's preface to the *EJSHL*, where it is used in reference to Hui-k'o. It also occurs with reference to Hui-k'o in the *LCSTC*, p. 128 or *T*85.1285a. The topic of the second scriptural quotation is also discussed in the *Tun-wu yao-men*, Hirano, p. 99.

[97]This name appears in the *Tun-wu yao-men*, Hirano, p. 11.

[98]The eight winds are listed in section T below. They also occur in the *Wu fang-pien*, *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, III, 174 and 194, and section II:B of the translation in Chapter III below. Also see the *Tun-wu yao-men*, Hirano, p. 11.

[99]See the *Tun-wu yao-men*, Hirano, p. 11. The fact that this one section of the *Tun-wu yao-men* contains three items also found in this section of the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* (see the previous two notes) cannot be coincidental. The same section of this supposedly "Southern School" text also contains the four characters *wang-nien pu sheng*, "to not generate false thoughts," one of the catchword phrases of the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*. See note 59 above.

[100]"Hung-jen" tends to use *wu* 吾 in reference to himself alone and *wo* 我 in reference to himself and people in general.

[101]The most similar line in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* does not actually refer to space, but to Bodhisattvas. See *T*12.520b.

[102]It might be better to revise this passage to read "the two teachings of meditation and practice" (*ting-hsing erh men*) or "the two teachings of principle and practice" (*li-hsing erh men*). Although I have chosen to avoid such editorial intervention, by any reading this passage implies a recognition of the two teachings referred to here as the East Mountain Teaching and the Northern School. See note 217 below.

[103]*Chih* 至, "utmost," has been taken as an error for *chih* 志, "ambition." The same substitution occurs in the second question of section S.

[104]The two characters *wu-ch'u* are used as a compound in the *Tun-wu chen-tsung yao-chüeh*, where they figure prominently in the explanation of a famous line from the *Diamond Sūtra*. See Ueyama, p. 96 (P2799, lines 22-23).

[105]One of the textual variants, *yeh-yeh*, means "to be in constant motion." See the *Lien-mien tzu-tien*, ed. by Fu Ting-i (Taipei: Taiwan Chung-hua shu-chü, 1969), II, 2187.

[106]Similar descriptions of meditation occur in the Wo-lun ch'an-shih k'an-fa (Dhyāna Master Wo-lun's Method of Contemplation), Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II, 452, and the JTAHY, Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 249, or T85.1288c-89a.

[107]See T12.382c-84c and T14.554c-55c. The Nirvāṇa Sūtra chapter mentions Akṣobhya Buddha and contains some material on morality vaguely reminiscent of that in the Vimalakīrti Sūtra chapter, but it is difficult to imagine why they should be cited together here. The latter is quoted in the Tun-wu yao-men, Hirano, p. 18.

[108]The Sanskrit term brahmacarya refers to the practice of transcending desires and maintaining the precepts. It is also translated as ching-hsing.

[109]The compound mo-lien, "to polish and train," hence, "to cultivate," also occurs in section Q. It is very suggestive of the concept of polishing dust and tarnish off of a mirror, but the immediate context here does not imply to the removal of the dusts of illusion (the five desires and the eight winds of good and ill fortune), but development of the ability to remain unaffected by them even in their presence. Like the lotus blossom, which rises unsullied out of the mud, the Bodhisattva is supposed to operate within this world without being defiled by it. "Cultivating the Buddha Nature" is synonymous with "cultivating the mind," as in the title of this treatise.

[110]The sūtra has not been identified. The precise meaning and extent of the quotation are uncertain.

[111]There is a vernacular usage, te-li, "to receive the benefit" of someone else's advice, teaching, or efforts. Following this, "Hung-jen" would be saying: "Now that you have had the good fortune to hear this teaching..." See Iriya Yoshitaka, Hō koji no goroku, Zen no goroku, No. 7 (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1973), p. 68.

[112]The dictionaries list four different sets of "four dependences" (ssu i), but the reference here is probably to the "four dependences of the Dharma" (fa ssu i) mentioned without explication in the Ta chih-tu lun, T25.195b. These are the dependences on (1) the Dharma rather than on people, (2) sūtras that contain the complete Buddhist teaching rather than only a portion thereof, (3) ideas rather than words, and (4) wisdom rather than knowledge. See Ui Hakuju, Bukkyō jiten, (Tōkyō: Daitō shuppansha, 1938), p. 393.

[113]The inference that Hung-jen had nothing to do with the compilation of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun has been mentioned in Part 1 of this Chapter. It is possible that the treatise referred to here is not the entire Hsiu-hsin yao lun, but only the essay-like first part of it. According to this interpretation, Hung-jen's disciples wrote sections C through M on the basis of his previous teachings and presented the result to him for his personal comments and additions, which are recorded in sections N through W. If this interpretation were correct -- and I am not at all certain that it is -- then the present text would resemble the Tun-huang version of the EJSHL in being composed of a

preconceived doctrinal statement and the records of oral comments on that statement. The _Hsiu-hsin yao lun_ differs in only recording the comments of one individual.

[114]This appears at first glance to be an admission that "Hung-jen" was not concerned with helping others. It seems better to assume that such endeavors were simply left uncovered in this one text. The avoidance of this topic is one of the characteristics that distinguish the East Mountain Teaching from the Northern School. The _Wu fang-pien_ never fails to mention "benefit of self" without also referring to "benefit of others," while the _JTAHY_ is directed not only at students but also the teachers of Ch'an.

[115]This could also be read "If you do not believe me, you will be eaten..." P3559 punctuates after the character _wo_, "I," which implies that its Central Asian readers followed this reading. The Ryukoku ms. has _che_, "one who...," instead of _wo_, also indicating the variant reading. However, the _Tun-wu yao-men_ contains a much more explicit version of the same passage that substantiates the reading followed in the translation, a reading that makes better sense as Hung-jen's own vow. See Hirano, p. 117.

Immediately following the text as given here, P3559 includes an 80-character passage pertaining to Shen-hsiu. This passage is reproduced in Yanagida's "_Den'hoboki_ to sono sakusha," p. 48, and translated in part in Chapter III, Part 13 of this Section. This is followed by an alternate title for the _Hsiu-hsin yao lun_: _Tao fan ch'ü sheng hsin-chüeh_, or _Oral Determination of the Mind that Leads Ordinary People to Sagehood_.

P3777 lists a totally obscure year period and copyist's name, while S2669 and the Ryūkoku ms. repeat the title as found in section A, excluding only Hung-jen's name and place of residence. S4064 and the Peking ms. have no closing title, while the other Tun-huang mss. lack the end of the text itself, including the title. The Korean has a confusing postscript mentioning some of the persons involved in the text's printing and publication. See _T_48.379b.

[116]See note 42 above. The inference that this passage and its metaphorical construction derived from a late seventh century Chinese source is mine, but I believe this represents Professor Yanagida's position as well.

[117]_T_39.579a, also repeated briefly on p. 746c-47a.

[118]_T_39.579b contains the _Diamond Sūtra_ line _ying wu-so-chu erh sheng ch'i hsin_ (the _Taishō_ edition of I-hsing's work has _...erh chu ch'i hsin_). This line is most often associated with Hui-neng, but was first noticed within the Ch'an School in the _Tun-wu chen-tsung yao-chüeh_, which was purportedly written in 712. See the text in Ueyama, p. 96.

I-hsing's commentary must be placed at the very end of his life, since it was apparently edited immediately after his death by two other monks. Therefore, it was written well after the _Hsiu-hsin yao lun_. See Mochizuki, p. 3376b.

[119]Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi*, I, 146-47, and *T*85.1285c.

[120]See *Shoki no zenshi*, I, 112, or *T*85.1284b. On the *Chu-fa wu-hsing ching*, see Yanagida's note in *Daruma no goroku*, p. 79.

[121]See the *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, II, 450. The text uses the terms *ching-hsing*, "Pure Nature," *fa-hsing*, "Dharma Nature," *hsin-hsing*, "Mind Nature," and *fo-hsing*, "Buddha Nature." The subject of the opening clause of the passage introduced here could be any of these.

[122]The most prominent example of the use of *shou-i*, "guarding the will," in the sense of Buddhist mindfulness is the *An-pan shou-i ching*. The subject of this work is *ānāpāna-smṛti*, or the Mindfulness of Breathing. See *T*15.163a-73a.

In view of the assertions made in the Conclusion of this paper, it is also relevant that Ching-ying Hui-yüan uses the term *shou-hsin* in his definition of *śamatha*. See his *Ta-sheng i-chang*, *T*44.665c, as cited in Fukushima, "Jōyōji Eon no shikan kenkyū," p. 6.

[123]As mentioned in note 50 above, the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* seems at times to confuse the "mind-source" (*hsin-yüan*), the primary function of delusory consciousness which is responsible for the appearance of the myriad *dharmas*, with the pure mind (*ching-hsin*) or Buddha Nature. Thus, even more than in other texts like the *Kuan-hsin lun* that posit a sharp dichotomy between the pure and defiled aspects of mind, in the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* the importance of the Buddha Nature and the emptiness of the discriminative mind are only two aspects of the same coin.

[124]See section R, which briefly describes the ability to "respond to all the myriad different realms of... consciousness by activating transformations as numerous as the sands of the River Ganges."

[125]One of the oldest occurrences of the term in reference to Buddhism is in a memorial submitted in the year 166 to Emperor Huan of the Han Dynasty by Hsiang K'ai. The relevant passage is translated in Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, p. 37. On p. 333, note 104, Zürcher glossed *shou-i* as a "Taoist technical expression which in archaic Buddhist translations is sometimes used to render *samādhi*," citing Maspero and T'ang Yung-t'ung. On p. 435, note 96, Zürcher further suggests that *shou-i* was also used in early translations as an equivalent for *dhyāna* and notes its probable derivation from lines in the *Tao-te ching* and *Chuang-tzu* mentioned two notes below.

Shou-i also occurs in the Chinese translation of the *Dhammapada*, i.e., the *Fa-chü ching*, as well as in other early translations and the *T'ai-p'ing ching*. See T'ang, pp. 110-11. Other such citations are listed and commented upon in Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi*, I, 234-35.

Finally, for the background of *shou-i* in Taoist literature, see Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, "Bukkyō no zenpō to Dōkyō no shuichi," *Chisan gakuhō*, XXVII-XXVIII (November, 1964), 109-25.

[126]See Yoshioka, pp. 119-20.

[127]See the *Tao-te ching*, 10 and 42, and the *Chuang-tzu*, 11 (twice).

[128]For the *Pao-p'u tzu*, see Yoshioka, pp. 110-12, or James R. Ware, tr., *Alchemy, Medicine, Religion in the China of A.D. 320: The Nei P'ien of Ko Hung (Pao-p'u tzu)* (Cambridge and London: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), pp. 301-308.

[129]See the descriptions of *shou-i pu t'ai* or "maintaining the one without tiring" in the *Pao-p'u tzu* and *shou-i pu shih* or "maintaining the one without losing [it]," as quoted in Yoshioka, p. 114.

[130]See Yoshioka, p. 116.

[131]*Ibid.*, p. 124.

[132]See *Shoki no Zenshi*, I, 225, or *T*85.1288a. For an analysis and complete translation of the *JTAHY*, see David Chappell's "The Teachings of the Fourth Ch'an Patriarch Tao-hsin (580-651)," Lewis Lancaster and Whalen Lai, eds., *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, Berkeley Buddhist Studies, no. 5 (Berkeley, CA: Lancaster-Miller Press, 1983).

[133]*T*14.539b.

[134]This is an excellent example of the sort of equivalence discussed in Iriya Yoshitaka's "Kū to jō," *Fukui hakase juju kinen tōyō bunka ronshū* (Tōkyō: Waseda University Press, 1969), pp. 97-106.
In the following lines of this passage, it is difficult to distinguish the idea of empty space from that of non-substantiality.

[135]See the *Pan-chou san-mei ching*, *T*13.899b and 905c.

[136]See section G of the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* and note 56 above. Chappell translates *t'a* as "objectified," which accurately indicates the importance of the subject-object dualism here.

[137]The use of archery practice as a metaphor for meditation occurs in many texts, but Yanagida suggests that the specific language of hitting successively smaller targets was an innovation of the *JTAHY*. See his note in *Shoki no zenshi*, I, 246-47.

[138]The term "discrimination" here represents *chüeh-kuan* or *vicāra*, the ability of the mind to discriminate and understand anything. "Perceptions" is a translation of *ssu-hsiang*, which has a meaning quite different from that in modern Chinese usage. In archaic Chinese Buddhist terminology it refers to the third of the Five *Skandhas*, *saṁjñā*, which takes as its object the second *Skandha*, *vedanā* or "feelings." See Yanagida's note, *Shoki no zenshi*, I, 254, and his article, "'Shisō' to iu go o megutte," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, VIII:1 (1960), 206-11.

[139]According to Kamata, *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, p. 74, the term *yüan-lü hsin* or "the mind of conditional mentation" refers to the mind's activity of sensory and conceptual discrimination. Kamata points out that the Yogācāra tradition used the term to refer to all eight *vijñānas* and the the term *yüan-lü* was derived from the compounds *p'an-yüan* and

ssu-lu.

[140]The first part of this sentence is only a tentative translation of the Chinese.

[141]My impression is that "Tao-hsin" uses the term "single place" (i-ch'u) in a more profound sense than simply a single physical location. Rather, he is referring to a state of mind that is existentially solitary in its purity. Earlier in the text there occurs the line "alone in a pure and ultimate location" (tu i ch'ing-ching chiu-ching ch'u). See Shoki no zenshi, I, 205, or T85.1287b.

[142]Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 256, translates this as to sway the upper body back and forth seven or eight times, which is in accord with contemporary practice in Ch'an and Zen meditation halls. The original text reads an-ma, for which Nakamura, p. 27a, gives the Sanskrit equivalents paripīḍana and prapīḍana and the definitions "to press everywhere" and "to massage the hands and feet."

[143]The English phrase "completely effaced in profound obscurity" is an interpretive paraphrase of the four characters yao-yao ming-ming, which refer to a realm of mysterious darkness with which the meditator becomes united. The term yao-ming is found in the Tao-te ching, Chapter 21, and the Chuang-tzu, 11. It also occurs in Seng-chao's Nieh-p'an wu ming lun, T45.157b.

[144]Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 258, equates the otherwise unknown term lien-hsin, "to regulate the mind," with shou-hsin, "to maintain the mind," and she-hsin, "to concentrate the mind."

[145]The conjunction of the terms for non-substantiality and purity is reminiscent of Iriya's argument, cf. note 134 above.

[146]The "mind of the sage" (sheng-hsin) is a term associated with Seng-chao. See his Pan-jo wu chih lun, T45.154b. The term chih-chieh or "virtuous fidelity" is apparently used in order to represent the purity and constancy of influence of the Buddha Nature within sentient beings.

The sentence regarding the functioning of the "abstruse numen" (yu-ling) is based loosely on Seng-chao's Nieh-p'an wu ming lun, T45.157c. I have followed the translation in Jōron kenkyū, ed. by Tsukamoto Zenryū (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1972), p. 61. See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 258.

[147]T14.541a. The term huo-jan refers to the sudden experience of a very expansive, unimpeded state of consciousness. My own interpretation is that it resembles the overwhelming feeling one experiences on reaching the top of a tower, when after a long climb one is suddenly able to see in great distances all around. The phrase quoted here occurs in sections 19 and 30 of the Platform Sūtra. See Yampolsky, pp. 141 and 151.

[148]Shoki no Zenshi, I, 287, or T85.1289c.

[149]For a discussion of these remarks, which constitute criticism of Taoist positions, see Kamata Shigeo, "Shoki Zenshū no rōsō hihan," Shūgaku kenkyū, X (March, 1968), 58-64.

[150]I believe that it is very significant that the JTAHY, and early Ch'an in general, arrives at its sudden teaching by identifying itself with the most profound understanding of conventional Mahāyāna Buddhism and simply omitting the traditional preconditions to that understanding.

[151]Shoki no Zenshi, I, 205, or T85.1287b.

[152]Tanaka Ryōshō, "Dōshin-zen no kenkyū," Komazawa Daigaku kenkyū kiyō, XXII (March, 1964), 145-47.

[153]P'u-chi's epitaph contains an interesting quotation of his teachings, which is relevant to the topic at hand and to other issues to be introduced below:

> By concentrating the mind on a single locus, one ceases thinking about the myriad conditions. One may achieve penetration in an instant, or one may gradually achieve realization over [a period of] months and years -- [but in either case] one illuminates the essence of Buddha-hood (fo-t'i). This [teaching] has been transmitted to me: Point directly at the dharmakāya. Maintain your mindfulness naturally, like filling a vessel with drops of water or walking on frost or ice. By doing so one will be able to "open the gate" of expedient means. By directly indicating its precious characteristic, one enters deeply into the original treasury. By comprehending the pure cause, one's ears and eyes are no longer sense organs; sound and form are not sensory realms... (CTW, 362:6b-7a)

[154]Pu-ch'i is an important term within Northern School doctrine. See the occurrence of ch'i in the Wu fang-pien, section Intro:B, and note 340 below.

[155]Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 199, or T85.1287b.

[156]Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 226, or T85.1288b.

[157]See the Ta-sheng k'ai-hsin hsien-hsing tun-wu chen-tsung lun (hereafter abbreviated Chen-tsung lun), Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, III, 327. The same text, pp. 326-27, discusses the four wisdoms of Yogācāra philosophy, which culminate in that likened to a great mirror.

[158]The most explicit example of the influence of the EJSHL of which I am aware occurs in the Ta-sheng hsin-hsing lun attributed to Seng-ch'ou in the Tun-huang ms. P3559. (See note 24 above for mention of this text among the contents of P3559). Near the beginning of this text (678/29:3) occurs the statement that one "first enters the 'gate' of Principle from the outside, and second activates the 'gate' of Function from Principle" (i ts'ung wai ju li-men, erh ts'ung li ch'i yung-men). The ideas expressed in this sentence and the terminology with which they are expressed, constitute a link between the EJSHL and

the doctrines of Shen-hsiu and the Northern School, as discussed in the next Chapter. (See Part 13 in particular.)

159 The Kuan-hsin lun is represented in quite a few mss.: seven from Tun-huang (S646, S2595, S5532, P2460, P2657, P4646, and another at the Ryūkoku University Library); a Korean printed edition in the same anthology mentioned above regarding the Hsiu-hsin yao lun; two mss. at the Kanazawa Bunko, which were copied in 1201 and 1252 (the latter was apparently copied from the former); and a Japanese printed version contained in the Shōshitsu rokumonshū (An Anthology of Six Texts from Bodhidharma's Cave). In Korean and Japanese printed versions, the text occurs under the name P'o-hsiang lun or Treatise on the Destruction of Characteristics. (See T48.366c-69c.)

The Kuan-hsin lun was one of seven Ch'an-related texts discovered by Yabuki Keiki in the Stein collection in London and displayed in Japan in 1917. See note 161 below.

In 1932 Kamio Isshun published an article showing that the version contained in the Korean and Japanese editions, which attributed the text to Bodhidharma, was actually a work of Shen-hsiu's known as the Kuan-hsin lun. His evidence came from Hui-lin's (750-820) I-ch'ieh ching yin-i, a non-Ch'an School and thus relatively reliable source first compiled in 788 and put in its final form in 806 or 807. See Kamio's "Kanjinron shikō," Shūkyō kenkyū, New Series II:5 (1932), 98-104. This article was an important stimulus to the modern study of early Ch'an.

In 1934, Tokushi Yūshō published an analysis of the entire Shōshitsu rokumonshū that expanded on Kamio's findings. This was his "Shōshitsu rokumonshū ni tsuite;" see especially pp. 221-28.

Also in 1934, D. T. Suzuki published a collated edition of all four mss. known at the time: S2595 (Suzuki used the printed edition in T85.1270c-73b, a less-than-reliable source); the Kanazawa Bunko mss., which he edited as one; and the printed Korean and Japanese editions. In 1936 Suzuki republished this collated edition in his Kōkan Shōshitsu issho oyobi kaisetsu, adding the Ryukoku Library ms. See the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, Suppl. vol. I (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1971), 576-645, for this final edition, and p. 647 for bibliographical information supplied by Furuta Shōkin.

Yanagida's Zenseki kaidai, pp. 456-57, mentions the occurrence of the title Kuan-hsin lun and quotations from the text in certain Chinese and Japanese works, details of the Kanazawa Bunko version's transmission to Japan, and the existence of a tranlation of the text into Uighur.

160 The most comprehensive discussion of this work to date is Tanaka Ryōshō's "Tonkōbon Emmyōron ni tsuite," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XVIII:1 (1969), 204-207. As Tanaka notes, the earliest known reference to this text is in Ch'en Yüan's catalogue of Tun-huang materials remaining in China, the Tun-huang ch'ieh-yu lu, V, 441b, which contains a brief description of Peking ms. Fu [illegible]-6. Kanda Kiichirō's "Den'hōbōki no kanchitsu ni tsuite," Sekizui sensei kakoju kinen ronsan, (Tōkyō, 1942), was the first article to describe the opening section of P3559, in which the text in question is found. Unfortunately, the first part of this ms. was then unknown. This led Kanda to misconstrue the title Yüan-ming lun as referring to the immediately following 45 lines of text, rather than to the preceding 217. Kanda noted the existence of

the Peking ms. and P3664, but he must not have seen the latter of these himself. This is because his listing of the chapter titles of the text include only those which occur in P3559. From the contents of the opposite side of P3664, we now know it to be the beginning of P3559. Since the opposite side of P3018, the continuation of P3559, bears the date 751, this is the terminus ad quem for all the material in these three mss. (See Tanaka, p. 207. Incidentally, P3018 is one of the mss. containing a portion of the miscellaneous material attached to the EJSHL. It bears the title P'u-ti-ta-mo lun or The Treatise of Bodhidharma. Yanagida's Daruma no goroku, p. 15, indicates that P3018 is only a partial record of this material.)

Yanagida's important "Den'hōbōki to sono sakusha," pp. 47-48, summarized Kanda's analysis -- including the error regarding the application of the title Yüan-ming lun -- and added the suggestion that the material in question had been written by some Northern School figure. Yanagida also mentioned the existence and presumed wartime destruction of a ms. owned by Ishii Mitsuo (Sekizui), the existence of which had in turn been mentioned previously by Suzuki in his comments on the Chüeh-kuan lun, an Ox-head School text occurring in the same ms. (Suzuki's observation occurs in his and Furuta Shōkin's edition of the Chüeh-kuan lun, i.e., Zekkanron [Kyōto: Kōbundō, 1935], a rare volume which I have not been able to consult. This reference is drawn from Yanagida, p. 47.) Yanagida lamented the loss of the Ishii ms., since it might have included the eighth chapter of the text, which was inexplicably missing in P3559. As it turns out, the Ishii ms. was still in existence, but it too lacks this chapter.

Tanaka's article, already mentioned at the beginning of this note, corrected the error concerning the application of the title Yüan-ming lun and summarized all known bibliographic information about the text. Tanaka's new findings were made possible by his examination of a newly-discovered ms., S6184. This ms. is only a fragment of just a few lines in length, but it includes the title and some of the chapter headings of the text. Tanaka also noted that the Peking ms. contained the same title and headings, differing only in the addition of an attribution to Aśvaghoṣa. (The Chinese reads Ma-ming p'u-sa tsao.) P3664, as mentioned above, consists of the opening section of P3559 and also includes the same title and chater headings, although without any attribution of authorship. The evidence of these three mss. was enough to show conclusively that the title Yüan-ming lun refers to the nine-chaptered treatise, rather than the 45 lines following that title in P3559.

Finally, Okabe Kazuo's very brief resume of these matters, "Emmyōron," in Tonkō Butten to Zen, ed. by Shinohara Toshio and Tanaka Ryōshō, Kōza Tonkō, No. 8, (Tōkyō: Daitō shuppan sha, 1980), pp. 344-49, includes the information that the Ishii ms. is now at the Tōyō Bunko in Tōkyō. It is apparently not available in microfilm or published form, nor even for inspection on a regular basis. Nevertheless, Okabe reports that Tanaka was able to see it in a special viewing in July, 1973. At this time Tanaka observed the title for the eighth chapter and the fine print annotation "included in the above two chapters" (i-shang erh-p'in t'ung-shuo). Evidently, there is no independent eighth chapter.

The translation below is based solely on P3664 and P3559. (See note 189 below for the juncture between the two.) The former, which I have transcribed from photocopies of the microfilm, is difficult to read

because of shoddy calligraphy and the extremely poor condition of the ms. For P3559 I have had the benefit of Professor Yanagida's transcription, which I have checked against the photocopies of the microfilm. Obviously, the Ishii ms. would have been of use in this study, but it is apparently not available. However, since this ms. is apparently limited to the titles for Chapters Eight and Nine, the text of Chapter Nine, the title Yüan-ming lun, and the 45 lines that also follow the Yüan-ming lun in P3559, the loss is probably not that significant. (See Tanaka, pp. 204-205.)

In the same sense, the Peking ms. would also have been useful, but apparently only the first half of it (120 lines) is devoted to this treatise, the latter half being an abbreviated transcription of the Awakening of Faith. Even these 120 lines might not have been that useful, since they apparently abbreviate the P3664/P3559 version throughout. (The combined length of this version is 277 lines.) Also, 84 lines of the Peking ms. are said to be damaged, although the extent of this damage and its distribution throughout the ms. is unclear. Therefore, my inability to consult the Peking and Ishii mss. has been only a minor obstacle to the preparation of an authoritative translation.

Finally, my reconstruction of the original title of the text is based on material found in the text itself. See the reference to a topic of discussion in the "Yao-chüeh lun above" found in Chapter 3. The topic actually occurs in the earlier part of the text in question. The term yüan-ming does not occur in the text, unlike terms such as the yüan-chiao fang-pien in the reconstructed title.

See note 163 for remarks concerning my edition of the Chinese text, which is found in the Appendix to this Section.

[161]The Wu fang-pien was one of the very first set of Tun-huang mss., Ch'an material included, to become published in Japan. In May of 1917 an exhibit of "rotograph" reproductions was held at Shūkyō University (now Taishō University) in Tōkyō. The organizer of this exhibit, Yabuki Keiki, had examined the collection in London the previous summer and had selected a total of 132 items for display. Among there were included six Ch'an texts, plus a seventh whose relationship to Ch'an tradition was yet to become known:

C-16: Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men (three plates)
C-17: Kuan-hsin lun (one plate)
C-18: Lun (one plate)
C-19: Ta-sheng pei-tsung lun (one plate)
C-23: O-mi-t'o tsan-wen, P'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men
C-24: Ch'eng-hsin lun
A-7: Ch'an-yao ching, Ch'an-men ching ping hsü

The numbers given above are from Yabuki's original catalogue, the Shutain-shi [=Stein] shūshū Tonkō chihō-shutsu ko shahon Butten rotogurafu kaisetsu mokuroku (Tōkyō: Shūkyō Daigaku, 1917). I have used Chinese transliterations for convenience.

Yabuki must have felt that the first work listed above was particularly important, since he included three plates of it in his exhibit, or about four feet, five inches of the original ms. Although Yabuki had only enough space to define the text as a Ch'an dialogue, he did point out that the ms. (S2503) included a "poem in praise of Ch'an" (Tsan ch'an-men shih), a thirteen-character colophon, and the Ta-sheng

wu-sheng fang-pien men itself. (The plates were taken from this last work.) The poem and colophon are printed at T85.1291c-93a, while the other text occurs at T85.1273b-78a. (A brief concordance to Wu fang-pien texts is given below.)

Of the other texts displayed in 1917, the second was Shen-hsiu's treatise (Yabuki knew only that it was not Chih-i's work of the same name); the third was a portion of the material appended to the EJSHL (S2715) rediscovered in 1936 by D. T. Suzuki; the fourth was a brief homiletic that may be found at T85.1281c-82b; the fifth was identical to a text later to become better known through a ms. owned by the Ryūkoku University Library (see item b in the enumeration in note 36 above); the sixth was eventually to be recognized by Sekiguchi Shindai as a product of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i (see note 29 above); and, finally, the seventh has come to be recognized as having been written by members of the early Ch'an School. For the last work, see Yanagida, "Zemmonkyō ni tsuite," Tsukamoto hakase juju kinen Bukkyō shigaku ronshū (Tōkyō: Tsukumoto hakase juju kinen kai, 1961), pp. 869-82.

For reasons unknown, Yabuki only included two of the seven items listed above (C-17 and C-23) in his Meisha yoin (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1930). The contents of this work derived from his second sojourn in London in 1922-23, when he was apparently unable to re-examine some of the mss. he had seen before. Yanagida, who has been my source for most of the information above, suggests that the problem may have been a lack of mss. numbers in 1916. He also speculates that the mss. printed in the Taishō tripitaka were based on plates sent to Japan after Yabuki's 1922-23 visit. Yabuki's commentary on the work just mentioned, the Meisha yoin kaisetsu was published in 1933, also by Iwanami. Thus he was able to include references to text in volume 85 of the Taishō canon, which had appeared the year before. See Yanagida's "Tonkō no Zenseki to Yabuki Keiki (1)," Sanzō, LIV (April, 1972), 1-4.

In 1936, Kuno Hōryū discovered two new mss. of the Wu fang-pien in Paris: P2058, entitled Ta-sheng wu fang-pien — pei-tsung and (at the end) Pei-tsung wu fang-pien men, which Kuno describes as very clearly written but incomplete; and P2270, which he deemed complete but was very pale and difficult to read. At least the second of these two mss. was written by a well-known copyist named San-chieh ssu Tao-chen. Kuno made various comments on the content of the Wu fang-pien mss., and included a printed edition at the end of his article, "Ryūdōsei ni tomu Tōdai no Zenshū tenseki -- Tonkō shutsudo hon ni okeru Nanzen Hokushū no daihyōteki sakuin -- ," Shūkyō kenkyū, New Series XIV:1 (1939), 117-20 and 123-36.

Ui Hakuju included editions or reprintings of some of the mss. of the Wu fang-pien at the end of the first volume of his Zenshūshi kenkyū, which was also published in 1939. The Ta-sheng pei-tsung lun (Ui's text no. 5, pp. 447-48) was taken directly from T85.1281-82a and reflects the minor errors of that edition. The Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men (no. 6, pp. 449-67) was apparently based on a comparative study of T85.1273b-78a and S2503; since Ui occasionally indicates misprints in the former. Nevertheless, my own comparison with photocopies of the Tun-huang ms. indicates numerous errors remaining in Ui's text. Ui's edition of the Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien — pei-tsung (no. 7, pp. 468-510) was based on plates of the Pelliot collection mss. borrowed from Kuno. The untitled work published along with the Ta-sheng wu fang-pien — pei-tsung (no. 8, also pp. 468-510) was based on hitherto unpublished plates

of S2503 acquired from Yabuki. Although Ui's decision to print edited versions of the Pelliot and Stein collection mss. side-by-side was an important innovation, his work is not free from error. (I have been able to cross-check only the mss. from London.) Finally, the untitled work on pp. 511-15 (his no. 9) occurs at T85.1291c-93c under the title Tsan ch'an-men shih, but Ui notes that this title refers only to the poem found at the end of this textual unit. Ui apparently used the Taishō edition. (See his bibliographic comments on pp. 424-27.)

The last major contributor to the textual understanding of the Wu fang-pien was D. T. Suzuki, whose comments and editions were published posthumously in the third volume of his complete works. The actual work of editing was done sometime prior to June of 1949. (See Furuta Shōkin's note, Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, III, 562.) Suzuki focussed on the three most important mss. of the Wu fang-pien material: S2503, P2058, and P2270. From these mss. he isolated the following texts:

I (pp. 161-67): from S2503, plates 15-17, equivalent to Ui's untitled text no. 9, pp. 511-15, and the Tsan ch'an-men shih, T85.1291c-92c. Suzuki omits the poem from which the Taisho title derives.

II (pp. 167-89): from S2503, plates 18-28, entitled Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men, equivalent to Ui's text no. 6, pp. 449-67, and T85.1273b-78a.

IIIA (pp. 190-212): based initially on P2058 and (from p. 199) on P2270, this is equivalent to Kuno's text and Ui's text no. 7, pp. 468-510, with the exception noted in the following.

IIIB (pp. 213-220): based on P2270 and equivalent to pp. 132.10-136.10 of Kuno's text and pp. 498.2-509.13 of Ui's text no. 7.

IV (pp. 220-35): based once again on S2503, plates 9-14, and equivalent to Ui's text no. 8, pp. 468-510.

With the exception of his postulation that the fourth of his texts was the latest of the Wu fang-pien material (as discussed in the following note), Suzuki offers no rationale for his isolation of the above texts from the three mss. in question. Certainly, we must question the validity of the removal of some three thousand characters just before the final headings and title of text IIIA to create an independent text IIIB. In spite of these reservations, I have used Suzuki's editions because of their greater accuracy, more comprehensive nature, and wider availability than any other source. (I have spot-checked Suzuki's texts against the photographs of S2503 and found them generally accurate.)

[162]The order of texts in vol. III of the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū was apparently intended to reflect the internal development of the Wu fang-pien. Suzuki felt that the pinnacle of the Wu fang-pien's philosophy was related to the Avataṁsaka Sūtra, which is more apparent in his text no. IV. See p. 152. In private conversations in May of 1974, Professor Yanagida suggested to me that Suzuki's text no. I, although shorter and more fragmentary, may have been the last of the group because of its use of the word t'ung 通, "penetration" or "interpretation." See Takeda Tadashi's "Daijō gohōben no shohon no seiritsu ni tsuite," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū XIX:1 (1960), 262-66, for a statement on the difficulties of establishing developmental relationships between the various mss. Takeda feels that the Wu fang-pien existed in basic form during Shen-hsiu's life and that any variations or additions occurred within twenty years or so after his

death.

[163]P3559 lacks the character tao in its title for this chapter, but it occurs in P3664 and S6184. It is unfortunate that Tanaka did not list the titles as given in the Peking ms. (See p. 206 of the article mentioned in note 131 above.)

The nature of the Yüan-ming lun mss. has necessitated editorial conventions somewhat different from those used in the case of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. Except where absolutely necessary I have not indicated obvious errors of orthography. Common Buddhist abbreviations, such as those for Bodhisattva and nirvāṇa, have been reproduced faithfully. Some of the more easily recognizable cursive ideographs have also been retained. Punctuation has been added roughly in keeping with that in the original. Lacunae at the top or bottom of the line have been marked consistently with three boxes, while those occurring mid-line have been marked by one or more boxes in proportion to the size of the hiatus. P3664 is 61 lines in length; line numbering begins again at 1 for P3559.

[164]This title is partially obscured in P3664 and is therefore taken from the body of the treatise in P3559. It could be understood as "Distinguishing Heresy and Thereby Generating the Fundamental."

[165]Here P3664 lacks the character tao. The translation is based in part on the contents of the chapter in question.

[166]The compound translated here as "manifestations" is hsien-liang.

[167]This title occurs only in the Ishii ms. and P3664 and is partially obscured in both. The chapter itself does not occur in any of the extant mss. See note 131 above.

[168]Elsewhere in this paper the term ju-tao has been translated as "entering into enlightenment," but in this text it has the meaning of "first undertaking spiritual practice."

[169]The character ming is used in at least two ways in this text. Here and in lines 72 and 82 (both Chapter Four), for example, it occurs with the unambiguous meaning of "to understand." In line 46 (Chapter Two), for example, it is used with the meaning of "to explain." For an example of its used which could be interpreted in either way, see the very end of Chapter Four and note 209 below.

[170]Throughout this translation, words may be enclosed in brackets for either of two purposes. They may represent added material necessary for presentation in English, or they indicate my reconstruction of the text where damage to the ms. has resulted in lacunae. Five periods are used to indicate these lacunae, which almost always occur at the top and bottom of the lines in question.

[171]See note 139 above.

[172]This phrase occurs several times in this text, with the connotation of "what do you think about that?" At the very end of the

text it is used in a longer construction with the meaning of "if you do not appreciate" (i.e., "understand"). Prior to this phrase (line 7/1:7) occur four extraneous characters, one of them indecipherable form.

[173]This term occurs again in Chapter Six (line 74) below. It is also reminiscent of passages in the *Wu fang-pien*, which refer to the emancipation of the mind and then the body.

[174]The text has *hsiang* 想, "thoughts," a copyist's error for *hsiang* 相, "characteristics." Such mistakes are very common throughout this and other Tun-huang mss., including the line below that reads "If the influences were without characteristics..." There the character for "thoughts" or false conceptualization occurs, rather than that for "characteristics." The two characters differ only by the presence or absence of one four-stroke element. I will not annotate such errors of transcription in the pages below.

[175]the character is *ch'i*, "to arise; to generate, activate." In some Northern School contexts the idea of *pu-ch'i* or "non-activation" is very important; see note 340 below. Since this particular connotation is absent in the present text, I have translated the character *ch'i* variously according to context.

[176]The phrase is *jo yu shih se*, the meaning of the third character apparently being "to invest with materiality." See note 199 below.

[177]The character missing here is probably *tso*, "to make." Compare P3559, line 99.

[178]I find the specific wording of this line to be incomprehensible, including that part of the line corresponding to the previous sentence of the translation. I have tried to capture the general import.

[179]The word "verify" is a tentative translation of *shih*, normally meaning "real" or "truly." I have taken it in a transitive sense. Unfortunately, the character in the ms. is itself unclear. The Chinese for "numerous as grains of sand" is also problematic, being *kao ch'en* sha *chieh shu*. The first character, as it is, refers to a river in Shensi Province. This would be an interesting touch, it it were intentional. A more conventional phrasing would have been simply *wei-ch'en shu*.

[180]This translation is tentative because of the obscurity of the second character, but it fits the context. See line 44.

[181]It is a common injunction of Buddhism that the mind resides in none of the three locations relative to the body: interior, exterior, and intermediate.

[182]I am unaware of any precedent for this logic.

[183]Perhaps the logic is that body and mind could be termed "being" if they were totally unrelated entities, rather than different

aspects of the same reality.

[184]At the very end of the text is a reference to the Five Oceans and Ten Wisdoms (wu-hai shih-chih), which presumably refers to this item and the list in which it is contained. The meaning of the "Five Oceans" is unknown.

[185]The last of these three characters is only partially legible.

[186]There actually does not appear to be enough room for this part of the title, but consistency would require its presence.

[187]The Lotus uses the term "Teaching of the One Vehicle" rather than "Perfect Teaching." The Yüan-ming lun probably refers to the admonition in the Sūtra's chapter on expedient means. See T9.13cff.

[188]This is a tentative reading.

[189]The last line of P3664 and the first one of P3559 are identical. I find it difficult to understand how such a repetition could have occurred. Perhaps the separation of the two pieces took place during the very act of copying, and the line in question was repeated to show how the two pieces fit together. Line numbering in the transcribed text found in the Appendix to this Section has been initiated once again at this point.

[190]I have used different pairs, such as interior and exterior, within and without, etc., at different points in this paper.

[191]The allusion is probably to the metaphor of the mind as being like a monkey, which hops from one sensory window on the world to another in an undisciplined, hyperactive fashion.

[192]Judging from context, the point must be that this is a mistaken apprehension of or attachment to the dharmadhātu.

[193]Rather than "explanation," this could refer to a "transformation" of an unenlightened person's realm into that of an enlightened person.

[194]The redundant characters shih-chieh, "world," occur here. Three characters are missing just above.

[195]Shou 受, "to receive," is taken as an error for hsiu 修, "to cultivate."

[196]The reference is to a mahāllaka, an immense fish used as a metaphor for something stupid. See Nakamura, TT, 1278a-b.

[197]A tentative reading. An alternate interpretation would be: "Within this teaching there appears no essence of sentient beings, and the..... of the Buddhas are completely non-substantial."

[198]I have been unable to find the exact source of this quotation.

It may be only a rough paraphrase.

[199]The term used is chün-shih, "perfumed and materialized."

[200]See the occurrence of this term in the EJSHL, translated in the preceding Chapter of this Section.

[201]This would seem to conflict very directly with Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun, which interprets the three immeasurable kalpas of practice necessary to become a Buddha in a non-temporal fashion. This apparent contradiction is not significant; see the discussion of "contemplative analysis" in Part 6 of this Chapter. In the present context the connotation of the term is simply that one should practice constantly and without cease.

[202]This is reminiscent of the metaphor of waves and water found in the Awakening of Faith. See Hirakawa, pp. 119 and 125-27 or T32.576c.

[203]Li-hsing could be translated simply as "ideal practice." However, the emphasis on the necessity of achieving a balance of both understanding and practice occurs throughout this text. "Practice," in fact, seems to refer to activities undertaken on behalf of sentient beings, rather than meditative endeavors. This distinction, not to mention the specific term used here, is clearly reminiscent of the EJSHL. See the end of Chapter Six below and note 217.

[204]It is significant that a distinction is made between practitioners and non-practitioners -- all that is necessary is to undertake and continue spiritual practice. The Hsiu-hsin yao lun contains a similar injunction that its message cannot be understood with the ordinary mind. See section I of the translation in the previous Chapter.

[205]Here occur four characters which are indecipherable in the immediate context.

[206]This is a paraphrase. The text has, literally: "This is an other-understanding, not a self-understanding. This is an other-practice, not a self-practice."

[207]The Chinese translation for the term that is used here, san-shih-ch'i chu-tao fa-men, is not one of the several conventional ones. The Thirty-seven Requisites include the Four Foundations of Mindfulness, Four Kinds of Exertion, Four Bases of Power, Five Faculties, Five Strengths, Seven Constituents of Enlightenment, and the Eightfold Path. See Nakamura, I, 472b-d.

[208]The negative of "non-practice" is partially obscured, and the syntactical relationship between the phrases is in doubt.

[209]This could be rendered equally well as "Therefore, I first had to explain the worlds." On the different meanings of the character ming, see note 169 above.

[210]The character wu 無, "not," has been taken as i 亦, "also," so as to avoid a double negative.

[211]Sheng 乘, "vehicle," is presumably an error for sheng 生, "to generate."

[212]There are not false and correct in the sense of truth value, but in that of being in opposition to or accord with the spirit of Buddhism.

[213]Here ch'ien ching is used to mean a previous moment of mentation, rather than an object of concentration physically in front of oneself.

[214]Two very similar characters, chih 至 and tao 到, meaning "to come" and "to arrive," respectively, are used here. It is uncertain whether they were meant to have identical or slightly different connotations in this instance.

[215]See Chapter One, line 10, and note 173 above.

[216]Literally, "if from space you next contemplate the earth."

[217]The compound li-hsing occurs again a few lines below in the Yüan-ming lun. The correlation of such terminology with the two basic ideas of the East Mountain Teaching and Northern School should be obvious. See the Conclusion, Part 5, and notes 102 and 203 above.

[218]The topic of "self-enlightened sagely wisdom" (tzu-chüeh sheng-chih) is mentioned at least five times in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra. See T14.485a, 486c, 491b, 506c, and 510b. In the third and fourth instances there is also reference to the elements of phenomenal reality being the "manifestations of one's own mind," as in the Yüan-ming lun. Incidentally, the first and second instances utilize the metaphor of the mirror, which suddenly reflects reality without any false thoughts.

[219]I cannot find this statement at the corresponding locations of any of the readily available commentaries on the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra. The commentary referred to here may have bee one by Shen-hsiu, which he was introducing and summarizing in the lecture(s) that became the Yüan-ming lun.

In addition, I cannot find any other references to a world-system constructed on the basis of four disks, rather than three. See note 315 below.

[220]The term used here means "to revile the Dharma," although heresy seems to be the real problem, not blasphemy.

[221]According to Tanaka, p. 207, the Peking ms. includes this anecdote in Chapter 6. I have taken several small liberties with the text in order to present a smoother translation.

[222]See the list of ten items given in Chapter Two.

[223]This ending is very abrupt, as if the original conclusion of the text has been omitted or lost.

[224]Since this composite version of the Wu fang-pien is based on the text in the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, I have included specification of the ms., section, and page number for each segment. The first number, in Roman numerals, represents the ms. number in Suzuki's edition. ("IIIA" and "IIIB" refer to Suzuki's first and second sections of his third ms.) Then follows the major section of that ms. from which the segment in question was taken, i.e., "Int" for the Introduction, "Concl" for the Conclusion, and nos. 1-5 for each of the five Expedient Means. The next number, that just before the colon, represents the segment number as given by Suzuki. (Some of these segment labels are hyphenated numbers, such as "3-1.") Finally, the number after the colon is the page number in the zenshū edition. Hence the present example, "II.Int.1:167," means that the segment in question occurs on p. 167 in the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū edition and that it is the first one in the Introduction section of Suzuki's second ms.

[225]The distinction between "going counter to" and "being in accord with" the Buddha Nature (wei and shun) resembles the Yü n-ming lun's notion of "reverse" and "direct" types of contemplation (ni and shun). I wonder if Suzuki has erred in the transcription of the Wu fang-pien mss.; I have not been able to check his version against the microfilms.

The sentence included here in underlined form occurs in the text in slightly smaller characters. The same convention is followed below.

[226]This could be read as "When your minds are peaceful and motionless, what is it that is called purity?"

[227]See T8.749a.

[228]The characters ho yen wen, "the Preceptor asked," occur here but have been overlooked for reasons of simplicity.

[229]Nakamura, p. 1006c, says the following about tang-t'i (tōtai in Japanese): "The true nature of things as they are. A word that directly indicates their fundamental essence. Fundamental essence. The thing itself." According to this definition, tang-t'i refers to the true reality of Suchness itself, or tht of a specific object of contemplation. Since no such specific object is mentioned, I have chosen the more general alternative.

[230]The term chüeh-hsin is not very common in the Wu fang-pien. See the use of chüeh-hsing or "Enlightenment Nature" in the Conclusion, section A.

[231]This term occurs prominently and repeatedly in the Tun-wu chen-tsung yao-chüeh.

[232]See similar terms at III.B.1:213 and IV.Concl.3-1:233 (Conclusion, section B of the composite text).

[233]The text goes on to define these as the Tempter of the afflictions, that of thinking and mental confusion; the Tempter of the heavens, that of exterior limits and sensory realms; the Tempter of the skandhas, that of physical laziness; and the Tempter of death, that of the interruption of effort.

[234]I have omitted an exchange which equates the Buddha with the "three sixes" (san-liu). Suzuki edits this to read "three points" (san-tien), which are the three dots used to make the character "i" in the Siddham version of the Sanskrit syllabary. In esoteric Buddhism these dots are equated with the dharma-kāya, prajñā, and mokṣa. This usage is attested as early as the ninth century, and may well have been in use as early as the period in question. See Nakamura, p. 483a. However, it seems better to leave the text as it stands, and interpret the "three sixes" as a reference to the eighteen āyatanas or the capabilities, data, and consciousnesses associated with the six types of sensory awareness.

[235]Here occur the smaller characters ju yen or "entered [and] said," the meaning of which is unclear. (Could they be some kind of stage direction?)

[236]Pu-ch'i or "non-activation" is mentioned in Part 19 of this Chapter. On "maintain[ing] the True Mind," see the Hsiu-hsin yao lun.

[237]See Hirakawa, pp. 102 and 105, or T32.576b. These passages are discussed in Part 15 below.

[238]Suzuki's text I.1.4:163 includes an abbreviated version of the above material. Following this occurs a citation from a work called the Liu-ken chieh-t'o men or Teaching of the Emancipation of the Six Senses, otherwise unknown. The passage cited defines each sense organ as non-substantial and without self, etc.

[239]Suzuki's text II.1.10:171 relates different portions of the Awakening of Faith line quoted above to "self" and "other," but this subject is not continued elsewhere in the Wu fang-pien.

[240]We will see below that this compound must be translated using two synonyms.

[241]Suzuki's text I.1.5:163 contains an explanation of five different kinds of dharmakāya. These are based, the text tells us, on the Ta-t'ung fang-kuang ching or Sūtra on the Great Penetration of the Expanse, a Six Dynasties work that was probably composed in China. The relevant portion of this text is reproduced at T85.1348c, but its explanation of the five kinds of dharmakāya differs from that found here in the Wu fang-pien. The definitions given in the Northern School text contain two interesting points: (1) the term "merit" (kung-te) is defined by means of contemplative analysis, so that kung refers to the transcendence of thoughts and te to the manifestation of the absolute, and (2) there is a reference to the Dharma-kāya of Space, "which is equivalent to the realm of space," a concept that is reminiscent of the

Yüan-ming lun.

[242]The terms "unfolding" and "constriction" seem at first glance to be related to breathing meditation, but the usage here actually refers to the passive realization and active expression of enlightenment.

[243]Li-hsin, "to transcend the mind," may be an abbreviation for hsin li-nien, "the mind transcends thoughts." The same would be true of "transcend[ing] form."

[244]I am adding chieh hsiang 界相, not just chieh 界, as Suzuki does.

[245]The Three Self Natures that occur here are the older Chinese equivalents for the three svabhāva of the Yogācāra tradition, as found in the Chinese translations of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra. See Nakamura, pp. 113c and 1364a. I have taken the character shih 是 in the definition of the third Self Nature as an error for yuan 円.

[246]This opening dialogue is a composite of material from Suzuki's texts II.2.1:172, II.2.38:184, and IIIA.2.1:193. A different version occurs at what evidently corresponds to the same location in another manuscript, IIIB.1:213. This other version goes as follows:

"Do you perceive (chien, "to see") your body?"

"No."

"Do you perceive your mind?"

"No."

"Not perceiving the body, the body is emancipated. Not perceiving the mind, the mind is emancipated. Emancipation has the meaning of autonomous spontaneity (tzu-tsai).

"The characteristic of not perceiving the body and mind is without going and without coming. Vast and without a single thing, the Gate of Enlightenment (p'u-t'i men) opens of itself."

[247]Chih-chien is translated either as "knowing and perception" or "perceptive faculties," depending on the need for binominal symmetry.

[248]The Wu fang-pien's penchent for symmetry suggests that we should interpolate at this location a statement about the gate of wisdom and the sentence "The senses are motionless."

[249]Suzuki actually includes these two sentences in segment II.2.3.

[250]Although Suzuki indicates that this is a quotation from the scriptures, its exact source has not been identified.

[251]See the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, section T, and note 108 above.

[252]These three types of hearing seem to correspond with the differences in brain-wave activity of non-meditators and experienced practitioners of different types of meditation. That is, whereas non-meditators habituate quickly to a repeated auditory stimulus, experts in

Indian yogic meditation enter a state in which they never respond to the sound at all, and Zen meditators hear the sound each time in exactly the same way, without habituation.

Although the case of the non-meditator does not quite fit the *Wu fang-pien*'s statement about ordinary, unenlightened people, it is still possible to infer that early Ch'an strove to define a type of meditative endeavor substantially different from traditional Indian practices. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine whether the dichotomy implied here is completely culture-bound, i.e., Indian vs. Chinese approaches to meditation, or whether some precedent to this "constant practice" occurred in Indian Mahayana Buddhism.

[253]This passage has not been located within the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.

[254]This contradicts a well-known line in the *Tao-te ching*, 4.

[255]Here the character for "perception" is *shih*, not *chien*.

[256]*T*14.542b.

[257]*T*14.542c.

[258]*T*14.542b.

[259]At roughly this point in the corresponding passage, Suzuki's text II.2.20:178 has the following: "With Fundamental and Successive [Wisdoms], all locations (i.e., all types of sensory activity) are clearly distinct, all locations are emancipated, all locations are [engaging in] spiritual practice."

[260]Although this metaphor is common in Buddhist literature, it does not occur as given here in the *Lotus*.

[261]Suzuki's text IIIA.2.16:199 adds the concept of motionlessness to its answers regarding space and the lotus blossom. It also closes with the following line about the "unsurpassed Honored One": "Always in accordance with the characterless principle, illuminating the source of the fundamental mind."

[262]Suzuki's text IIIA.2.17:199 has added the idea of motionlessness, as just above, plus an interesting additional line. It has, in total:

> The mind's being motionless is the "Wondrous *Dharma*." The body's being motionless is the "Lotus Blossom." When body and mind are motionless, one enters the *Samādhi* of the Locus of Incalculable Meanings. This is called the *Sūtra of the Lotus Blossom of the Wondrous Dharma*.

A reference to the *Samādhi* in question occurs in the *Lotus* and is quoted in the *Wu fang-pien* just below.

[263]Suzuki's text IIIA.2.18:200 adds the phrases "open the gate of expedient means, manifest the path of truth (*chen-shih lu*)." The latter term also occurs in IIIA.2.19:200.

[264]This is abbreviated very slightly from the original, which occurs at T9.2b and again on p. 4a.

[265]It is interesting to see li-nien occur so explicitly as a substantive compound. The same usage occurs in the corresponding passage at IL2.31:181.

[266]Suzuki's text IL2.32:182 has shun, "to be in accord," instead of ju, "to enter."

[267]T9.5b.

[268]Also T9.5b.

[269]T9.6a. As Suzuki suggests, I am omitting the character wen, "question," that precedes this phrase.

[270]It is tempting to correlate this statement with the third of Bodhidharma's Four Practices. See the translation of the EJSHL in Chapter I of this Section.

[271]The text continues on to treat all the Six Perfections in the same manner. Suzuki's text IIIA.2.25:202 includes the same passage, but abbreviates all but the first Perfection. I have included only enough of this material to indicate the pattern.

[272]T14.546b. Like chih-hui, pu k'o ssu-i must be broken up for translation here. The reason for this will be apparent in the dialogue just below.

[273]T14.546a. The phrases below are from the same source.

[274]In this line I have translated both ch'u-hsin jen and ch'u-hsin as "beginner."

[275]Here I have left ssu-i and pu ssu-i undivided, in order to yield a more fluid English rendition.

[276]These are, of course, the Four Noble Truths.

[277]T14.544b.

[278]The reciprocal position occurs shortly below. I have used bold print in order to help the English reader distinguish the key sentences from the formulaic material.

[279]Note that this is not just the correspondence of serenity and illumination, but the correspondence of the two expressions of their correspondence.

[280]See T14.546b. "Enlargement or contraction" is only "increase or decrease" in the original, the volumetric nature of this change being understood.

[281]Suzuki's text III.3.5:207 correlates the gods of the Heaven of the Thirty-three with the five sense organs and five sensory consciousnesses. The scriptural passage just above is abbreviated from T14.546b-c.

[282]That is, they eradicate all mental activity, rather than just the dualistic discrimination that is the real problem.

[283]T15.36b-c.

[284]I have followed Suzuki in taking ch'i instead of chih .

[285]This text is otherwise unknown. Although the contents of the quotation from it are somewhat more annihilistic than the Wu fang-pien in general, its use here substantiates the fact that the members of the Northern School were circulating their own teachings under Bodhidharma's name.

[286]The first of these quotations is from Śikṣānanda's translation of the Avataṁsaka, T10.68c. The second is presumably from the same source.

[287]The interpretation that this is an enlightened perception is a concession to the occasional use of chüeh-hsin in the Wu fang-pien. Here the text has only chüeh.

[288]The dharmakāya has a "frozen" permanence because it is unrelated to the realm of activity, I believe.

[289]See Buddhabhadra's translation of the Avataṁsaka, T9.438c. Śikṣānanda's wording, T10.77c-78a, is different but more explicit. The lines quoted here were apparently fairly popular, even though their interpretation among members of the Northern School is not certain. It also in a fragmentary ms. of the Wu fang-pien (S2503) reprinted in the Taishō Tripiṭaka. See T85.1292c and note 161 above.

[290]The fundamental study of the Teaching of the Three Stages is Yabuki Keiki's Sankaikyō no kenkyū (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1927).

[291]See Yanagida's discussion of the origins of the Southern School in Shoki zenshū shisho, pp. 101-102. Yanagida begins with the statement: "The Southern School is predicated on the Northern School. Without the Northern School there could not have been any Southern School."

[292]Unfortunately, in the present context I will be unable to consider Shen-hui's historical role and his criticisms of the Northern School. On the latter subject, Robert Zeushner's doctoral dissertation, An Analysis of the Philosophical Criticisms of Northern Ch'an Buddhism (University of Hawaii, 1977).

[293]In some cases, the Sanskrit term prayoga seems a better equivalent than upāya for the Chinese term fang-pien.

[294]See Chapter Two, part B of the translation above.

[295]The general thrust of the *Kuan-hsin lun* is that one should eradicate the Three Poisons of craving, anger, and stupidity. This would seem to imply a conservative approach to religious practice, i.e., one of self-control, etc. However, the eradication of the Three Poisons is not presented as synonymous with but rather as sharply different from traditional moral and spiritual training. The eradication of the Poisons is contrasted with the tradition of the Buddha's three immeasurable *kalpas* of training, a tradition that is then redefined itself. (See item number 3 in the list below.) Exactly the same observation holds true for the *Kuan-hsin lun* as has already been made about the concept of mindfulness in the *JTAHY*: the most important innovation is that the recommended practice included no pre-requisites or preparation, but could be accomplished immediately. (See Chapter II, Part 7 above.)

[296]This would be equivalent to about six liters by Han Dynasty measures (when the Buddha's biography first became known in China) and twenty-one liters during the T'ang Dynasty (when Shen-hsiu was writing). In either case, this would have been a substantial volume of milk.

[297]The quotation is from the *Wen-shih ching* or *Sūtra on the Bath-house*. The original translation of the *Sūtra* itself is attributed to An Shih-kao and bears the full title *Fo-shuo wen-shih hsi-yü chung-seng ching*. See *T*16.803a for the list of seven items used here. A commentary on this scripture was discovered at Tun-huang, but it contains nothing like the material found in the *Kuan-hsin lun*. See *T*85.536c-40a.

[298]The *Kuan-hsin lun* occurs in printed form at *T*85.1270c-73b and in the *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, Suppl. vol. I, 592-643. The former is based on only one Tun-huang ms. and lacks the opening passage cited below (see note 310), while the latter is a side-by-side transcription of three versions of the text, each representing the edition of two mss.

[299]The term *kuan-hsin shih* derives originally from Chih-i's four criteria for commenting on the *Lotus Sūtra*. These are: *yin-yüan shih* ("Conditional Analysis"), which concerns the relationship between the Buddha and sentient beings; *yüeh-chiao shih* ("Doctrinal Analysis"), which begins with the correlation of the particular scriptural line or term with one of the Four Teachings (*Tripiṭaka*, Common, Unique, or Perfect); *pen-chi shih* ("Truth-level Analysis"), in which individuals or doctrines are approached in either their "fundamental" (*pen*) Mahāyāna or their "manifested" (*chi*) Hīnayāna, i.e., their ultimate or literal, identities; and *kuan-hsin shih* ("Contemplative Analysis"), which approaches each line from the scripture as a function or component of the "contemplation of the principle of the true characteristic of the one mind." See Nakamura, II, 963a-b, or Andō, *Tendaigaku*, pp. 43-45. Ui was the first to use the term in reference to the Northern School.

[300]See *T*85.1432b-35c and Yanagida, "Zenseki kaidai," p. 463.

[301]P2325 is reproduced at *T*85.1435c-45a. Although P2192 cannot

be dated precisely, it betrays no influence from Shen-hui's Southern School nor any specific knowledge of the Yüan-ming lun, Wu fang-pien, or even the LCSTC, etc. On the other hand, it does contain references to principle (li) and practice (hsing) and a statement on there "fundamentally not [being] a single thing." (See the Conclusion, Part 1.) The general outlook and style of metaphoric construction in this text implies a provenance similar to that of the Wu fang-pien.

302 The format used here for citations from microfilms of Tun-huang mss. is explained in "Abbreviations and Other Conventions," which is found just after the Table of Contents.

303 See similar sentiments expressed in the Ta-mo ch'an-shih lun, Sekiguchi, Daruma daishi no kenkyū, pp. 467-68.

304 This statement occurs at line 22:11/643.

305 The An-pan shou-i ching occurs at T15.163a-73a. Ui Hakuju's study of this text, which was published posthumously, attempts to separate the original scripture from the interpolated commentary. Unfortunately, no explanation of the criteria used in this process is either given or apparent. See his Yakukyōshi kenkyū (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1971), pp. 201-44.

A better attempt at deciphering at least the opening portion of the text is made by Aramaki Noritoshi, "Indo Bukkyō kara Chūgoku Bukkyō e -- Amban shui kyō to Kō Sōe - Dōan - Sha Fu jo nado -- ," Bukkyō shigaku, XV:2 (1971), 1-45. Also see Kawashima Jōmyō, "Amban shui kyō ni tsuite," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū XXIV:2 (1976), 750-53.

306 T15.163c-64b.

307 The term ko-i is often used by modern students of Chinese civilizations as a catch-word for an entire early phase of Buddhist-Taoist synchretism. The original meaning of the term was much more narrowly restricted, however. See Zürcher, p. 184.

308 See Michihata, Tō'ai Bukkyōshi no kenkyū, pp. 357-76, and Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 55-60.

309 For a convenient summary of Tung's ideas and works, see Li Wei-hsiung, Tung Chung-shu yü Hsi Han hsüeh-shu (Taipei: Chung-wen chih ch'u-pan she, 1979). Pages 66-73 deal specifically with his theories on yin-yang and the Five Elements. Andō, Tendaigaku, p. 45, mentions the shih ju-shih of the T'ien-t'ai tradition in the context of his explanation of "contemplative analysis." Also see pp. 139-41.

310 See the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, Suppl. vol. I, pp. 592-95. (The Taisho edition lacks this opening passage.)

311 This passage occurs at T85.1273c or Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, Suppl. vol. I, pp. 641-42.

312 T85.1272b or Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, Suppl. vol. I, pp. 624-25.

313See T85.1270c or the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, Suppl. vol. I, p. 598.

314T85.1273a-b or Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, Suppl. vol. I, pp. 640 and 642. The second of these two statements has already been included in the passage translated at the very end of Part 5 above.

315The Wai-tao hsiao-sheng nieh-p'an lun, a brief text translated by Bodhiruci and comprised of material associated very closely with the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, contains the following description of a non-Buddhist school known as the "mouth-power teachers" (k'ou-li lun-shih):

> Space is the cause of the myriad things. At the very beginning is born space. From space is born wind. From wind is born fire. From fire is born smoke. [From] smoke is born water. The water then freezes solid and forms the earth. From the earth is born the myriad plants. From the myriad plants are born the five grains. From the five grains is born sentience. Therefore, in our treatise it says: "Sentience is food; afterward, it is again no more (?). Space is called nirvāṇa."
>
> Therefore, the heretical "mouth-power teachers" say that space is permanent and is called the cause of nirvāṇa. (T32.158a)

The above is by no means identical to the teaching found in the Yüan-ming lun, but the similarity is striking. See Mochizuki, pp. 735c-36a and 915c.

In contrast to the Yüan-ming lun's four disks (see Chapter 7), the traditional Buddhist orthodoxy posits only three (wind, water, and metal). See T29.57aff, de La Vallée Poussin, L'Abhidharmakośa, II, 138ff, or Mochizuki, p. 1696a-b.

316See note 36 above.

317The three-fascicle Miao-li yüan-ch'eng kuan and a thirty-fascicle commentary on the Avataṁsaka are mentioned with attribution to Shen-hsiu in a Korean catalogue. Recently, passages from these and other writings by him have been culled from the works of a tenth-century Korean figure. The existence of these passages was originally announced by Ōya Tokujō; they have recently been published in Kim Ji-gyŏn, "Kōchū Hokkaizu entsu ki," Shiragi Bukkyō kenkyū, ed. by Kim Ji-gyŏn, et al. (Tōkyō: Sankibō Busshorin, 1973), pp. 380-84. One of the passages in question (p. 383) incorporates material attributed to Shen-hsiu in the Tsung-ching lu (T48.943a-b). See Yanagida's "Zenseki kaidai," p. 468.

One reason I have not used these passages in the present study is the possibility that they were written by a Hua-yen School figure named Shen-hsiu who lived later in the eighth century. See Sakamoto, Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū (Kyōto: Heirakuji shoten, 1956), p. 56, and T55.1166a and c. Resolution of this uncertainty will require careful study with reference to both the Ch'an and Hua-yen traditions.

318For the treatment of these subjects in the Kuan-hsin lun, see Part 8 above. Also see Chapters 6 and 3 of the Yüan-ming lun. (The critical passage in the latter Chapter is presented in Part 11 below.)

[319]The Yüan-ming lun refers to the penetration of space by mind and body (Chapter 2, eight paragraphs from the end), to one's wisdom, practice, and body, etc., filling space when the goal is achieved (Chapter 3, five paragraphs from the end), and to the equivalence of mind and form with space (Chapter 6, three paragraphs from the end). The Wu fang-pien discusses space in sections I.A, I.E, I.M, and II.K.

The Yüan-ming lun's discussion of sound may be found in Chapter 9. In the Wu fang-pien, see sections II.A and II.C-E.

Concerning the realms, see the latter part of Chapter 2 and the very end of Chapter 5 in the Yüan-ming lun and sections I.E-F in the Wu fang-pien.

[320]The most convenient reference in English for the p'an-chiao theories of the Hua-yen School is Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage in T'ang Buddhism," p. 304. For a more in-depth treatment, see Sakamoto, Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū, pp. 149-265. The list of ten meanings given in Chapter 2 of the Yüan-ming lun is reminiscent of the Hua-yen School's predilection to categories of ten, but this similarity is of little measurable significance.

[321]See Chapter Three, part C of the translation above.

[322]Professor Yanagida, in his "Shoki Zenshū to shikan shisō," pp. 264, asserts that the principle of non-substantiality was fundamental to the development of the Ch'an School from its very inception. This is in contrast to the traditional view, of course, which identifies the Northern School with the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra and the Southern School with the Diamond Sūtra and a new-found emphasis on the Perfection of Wisdom.

[323]See Ch'en, Buddhism in China, pp. 129-31, for a brief discussion of the Ch'eng-shih lun. Mibu Taishun, "Jōjitsuron ni okeru shikan," Shikan no kenkyū, ed. by Sekiguchi Shindai (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1975), pp. 139-45, contains a discussion of this text's doctrine of meditation.

[324]See T. W. Rhys Davids, tr., The Questions of Kind Milinda, Part I, Sacred Books of the East, No. XXXV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), pp. 43-45.

[325]This saying ("the path of words...") occurs first in the Ta chih-tu lun, T25.71c. (The two phrases are in opposite order from the later conventional usage, as they occur here.) See Nakamura, p. 429a.

[326]The connection with the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, Section P, is obvious.

[327]See the end of the first paragraph of this translation.

[328]See P3559, 17:9/391ff. It is possible that the passage introduced here is not specifically attributable to Shen-hsiu. The heading "transmission of Preceptor [Shen]-hsiu" occurs shortly above in the ms. (17:3/385). This is followed by a three-line exhortation to vigorous exertion in meditation, a space of one character, the heading "Mental Determination of Leading Ordinary People to Sagehood" (tao-fan

ch'u-sheng hsin-chüeh), two spaces, a statement on the transmission of the teaching from Bodhidharma to Hung-jen's disciples, and, finally, the passage in question. The second heading and transmission statement clearly refer to the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and, in my opinion, should be placed just after that text. (The transmission statement is clearly related to the CFPC, as already noted elsewhere above.) This leaves the passage in question directly after Shen-hsiu's exhortation.

[329]See note 42, item c above for a comment on the occurrences of the term ming-ching in the LCSTC.

[330]Suzuki's short introduction to his edition of the Wu fang-pien mss. in the third volume of his complete works (pp. 141-52) contains several references to the lack of clarity of the text. At one point, he even suggests that one of the text's position's was "irritating" (modokashii) to Shen-hui. Although we cannot accept Suzuki's preconceptions, it is understandable that the style of the Wu fang-pien offered him little reason to challenge them.

[331]This list includes the variant titles that occur in the mss., plus the scriptural correspondences as given by Tsung-mi. For the latter, see Kamata, Zengen shosenshū tojo, pp. 301-302, and Z1, 14, 277c-78b.

[332]I believe that the explication of five Expedient Means, rather than four, six, or some other number, is a reflection of the p'an-chiao tradition. Although this is only a superficial relationship, as is explained in the text below, it is consistent with the Northern School's adaptation of traditional Buddhist motifs to its own purposes.

Incidentally, this is not the only early Ch'an work to be compared with the p'an-chiao tradition: the structure of the EJSHL attributed to Bodhidharma seems even more organically related. That is, the Entrance of Principle and the Four Practices constitute a five-fold progression similar to that found in some "dividing the doctrine" schemes. For ease of reference, we may recall the Five Periods of the T'ien-t'ai system. Immediately after his enlightenment, the Buddha is supposed to have taught the Avataṁsaka Sūtra, which contained an unsimplified statement of the highest truth. Seeing that his message was not being communicated, the Buddha changed his approach and taught the very simple Hīnayāna teachings, progressively more sophisticated Mahāyāna doctrines, and eventually the most profound ideas of the Lotus Sūtra. Although this scheme was developed long after the composition of the EJSHL, the notion of beginning with the unadulterated truth and then progressing from the simplest to the most profound of religious doctrines is apparent in other, much earlier p'an-chiao schema, viz., Hui-kuan's theory as summarized in Hurvitz, pp. 219-24. This comparison suggests that the logical structure, if not necessarily its content, is thoroughly Chinese.

[333]This résumé is mentioned in note 331 above.

[334]See Hirakawa, Daijō kishin ron, pp. 57-61 and 95-101. Also see Yoshito S. Hakeda, tr., The Awakening of Faith — Attributed to Asvaghosha, Translated, with Commentary (New York and London: Columbia

University Press, 1967), pp. 12-15.

[335]See Hirakawa, pp. 99-100. The fact that the Wu fang-pien prefers the "matrix of Buddha-hood" over the "consciousness-only" theory fits with the rejection of the false view of the Sudden Teaching and Reverse Contemplation in the Yüan-ming lun. (See Chapters 2 and 5 of the translation above.)

[336]Ibid., p. 182, or T32.577c.

[337]Hirakawa, pp. 102-106, or T32.576b. The reader may also consult Hakeda, pp. 37-40. The differences between my translation and Professor Hakeda's may be ascribed to the particular usage of terminology in this paper and his more extensive knowledge of the commentatorial literature.

[338]The idea referred to here is not that of decay into non-existence or un-manifestness, but differentiation from successive thoughts.

[339]See Hirakawa's commentary, pp. 109-112.

[340]See the end of section IV.C of the Wu fang-pien translation above.

The Esoteric School master Śubhākarasiṁha criticizes the practice of meditation by students in Ch'ang-an as follows:

> You beginners are [in such] great fear of activating the mind and the motion of thoughts that you cease to make spiritual progress. In singlemindedly maintaining "no-thought" (wu-nien) as the ultimate, the [longer you] search, the more unattainable [is your goal]. (T18.945a)

(The text in which this passage occurs has been mentioned in note 170 to Section Two above.)

It is noteworthy that this criticism, which was addressed to a congregation led by Shen-hsiu's disciple Ching-hsien, certifies the popularity of both pu ch'i ("non-activation") and wu-nien ("no-thought") a decade before the initiation of Shen-hui's anti-Northern School campaign in 730. Also, the phrase "not a single thing" (wu i wu) occurs on p. 945b.

[341]See Kamata's discussion of Ch'eng-kuan's comments in Chūgoku Kegon shisōshi no kenkyū (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku shuppan kai, 1965), pp. 486-91.

[342]See the Ch'eng-hsin lun in the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II, 443-44.

[343]See note 29 above.

[344]T33.697c. Also see p. 707a and Mochizuki, p. 606a-b.

[345]T46.578a.

[346]See T15.462c, 469c, and 479a.

[347]See Chi-tsang's Ta-sheng hsüan lun, T45.49b, and Oda Tokunō, Bukkyō daijiten (Tōkyō: Daizō shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1954), p. 1210c. Sasaki Genjun's "Chie," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, II:2 (1954), 84-86, contains a concise definition of the background of the two types of wisdom in Indian Buddhism.

[348]Obviously, physical objects might be said to "transcend thought" in the sense that they are in and of themselves unrelated to thought, but it is only the practitioner's awareness of this fact that would have any real significance. Actually, to talk of "physical objects" or a reality that exists external to the practitioner is to miss the point of Buddhist philosophy in general, in which the only "form" that is actually encountered by any individual being occurs as dharmas of cognition.

[349]The Wu fang-pien statement occurs at Intro.B of the composite text. Other evidence of Northern School maintainence of the precepts occurs in the Ta-sheng pei-tsung lun, T85.1281c-82a. For a discussion of the Northern School's identification with Vinaya centers, see Shiina, "Hokushū-zen ni okeru kairitsu no mondai," Shūkyō kenkyū, XI (March, 1969), 139-59.

[350]The example of Ming-ts'an is the exception that proves this rule: his radical reform after 742 implies that his behavior was a calculated response to a specific situation at Nan-yüeh ssu rather than a general rejection of monastic discipline.

[351]See Yin-shun's Chung-kuo Ch'an-tsung shih, pp. 166. The Kuan-hsin lun's comments on nien-fo are mentioned in point 8 of the list included in Part 5 above. See T85.1273a or the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, Suppl. vol. I, pp. 636-40.

[352]See P3559, 26:9/614. This text was discussed briefly in Section Two, Chapter V, Part 8.

[353]See Iriya, "Kū to jō," pp. 97-106.

[354]See section II.B of the translation above.

NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

[1]*Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, Suppl. vol. I, pp. 622-24, or *T*85.1272a.

[2]See the *LCSTC*, *Shoki no zenshi*, I, 321, or *T*85.1290c.

[3]See Yanagida, *Shoki Zenshū shisho*, p. 501.

[4]See sections Intro.E and Concl.B of the translation above.

[5]See Yampolsky, p. 132, or *T*48.338a.

[6]See his "An Appeal for a Systematic Search in Japan for Long-hidden T'ang Dynasty Source-materials of the Early History of Zen Buddhism," *Bukkyō to bunka*, ed. by Yamaguchi Susumu (Kyōto, 1960), pp. 20-21, as cited in Yampolsky, p. 132, n. 39.

[7]See *T*48.349a. Yampolsky, p. 94, n. 9, suggests that this form of the verse probably appeared around 850. Also see *T*85.1206c for an interesting variation on "Shen-hsiu's" verse and the following elaboration: "There is no tree, but [its] image does exist. *(This is a metaphor for being in space.)* Streets in the wind [are marked by (?)] the tracks of birds."

The specific meaning of this passage is far from clear, but the following is certain: the verse in question occurs in conjunction with reference to the non-existence of the tree — as in one of "Hui-neng's" retorts — in a text that is obviously closer to Northern School writings than it is to the *Platform Sūtra*. That is, the ms. in question (it is only a fragment) uses a style of allegorical symbolism that is very similar to the "contemplative analysis" of the Northern School. Shen-hsiu used a similar reference to the "tracks of birds" in one of his "questions about things;" see Section Two, Chapter V, Part 14 above. Finally, it uses the phrase "non-activation" (*pu ch'i*) in a manner that is based on the *Awakening of Faith* and identical to Northern School usage (also p. 1206c).

[8]*The Zen Doctrine of No-mind* (London: Rider and Company, 1949), p. 22. Yampolsky, p. 94, also cites this passage and indicates its inaccuracy.

[9]See sections Intro.C and Intro.E. In addition, see line 27:1/636 of P3559 (attributed without basis to Seng-ch'ou) and the text mentioned in note 340 to Section Three, both of which use the phrase "not a single thing."

[10]"The Ox-head School of Chinese Buddhism: From Early Ch'an to the Golden Age," R. M. Gimello and P. N. Gregory, eds., *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, Studies in East Asian Buddhism, (Honolulu, HI: University

of Hawaii Press, 1983), pp. 169-253.

[11]See Yampolsky, pp. 89-91.

[12]Suzuki's Mushin to yū koto (Tōkyō: Daitō shuppan sha, 1939) is quite different in content from his The Zen Doctrine of No-mind. The latter work, pp. 15-21, contains a sincere attempt to portray Shen-hsiu's teachings accurately, but Suzuki indiscriminately uses sources of different historical value.

[13]"Zen to Indo Bukkyō," Zen no honshitsu to ningen no shinri, ed. by Hisamatsu Shin'ichi and Nishitani Keiji (Tōkyō: Sōbunsha, 1969), pp. 509-24.

[14]Ibid., p. 511. Vis-à-vis the term acitta, the Yogācāra scholar Ueda Yoshifumi has argued that the notion of acitta in Indian Buddhism is equivalent to no-mind in Ch'an and that the basic messages of the two religious systems are identical. Ueda quotes Suzuki and comments as follows:

> "Zen originated in India and after coming to China became mixed with Taoism and Confucianism. It flourished its greatest from the T'ang to the Sung Dynasties as a uniquely Chinese view of humanity and the world." [from the preface to Suzuki's Tōyō no kokoro]
>
> [Ueda comments:] In America and elsewhere, Zen appears to be generally understood as an amalgamation of Buddhism and Taoism. From the standpoint of one who has sought to understand the fundamental essence of Buddhism, I have a number of doubts about this sort of understanding. After considering what I have been able to understand thus far, it would seem that the fundamental essence of Zen is at the same time that of Buddhism (at least that of Mahāyāna Buddhism) and the fundamental essence of Buddhism is the same as that of Zen. It is untenable to suggest that the fundamental essence of Zen could not have developed without the addition of something completely different from that of Indian Buddhism. Certainly, we cannot deny the difference between Indian Buddhism and Zen. However, it is impossible even today to clearly determine whether this difference is a result of the admixture of Taoist or Confucian qualities -- qualities foreign to Buddhism -- or merely a different manifestation of the fundamental essence of Buddhism.
>
> The Zen tradition as transmitted from China has continued unbroken up to the present, so that while their numbers may be few, there are modern authorities who have truly understood what Zen is. On the other hand, our understanding [of Indian Buddhism] is based on a combination of the transmission of Buddhism through China -- in other words, what the Chinese understood -- and the post-Meiji (i.e., post 1868) innovations that were based on modern European philological and historical studies. Hence in comparison with wour grasp of Zen, it must be said that our understand of Indian Buddhism is extremely shallow... However presumptious it may be, it is possible to say this even of such figures as Drs. Ui Hakuju and Suzuki Daisetsu.

See Ueda's "Bukkyō ni okeru 'shin' no gainen," Zen no honshitsu to ningen no shinri, pp. 525-26.

Although Ueda's comments with regard to the understanding of Ch'an are well-taken, his analysis of Indian Buddhism and Yogācāra philosophy has not been universally accepted. I have refrained from using Ueda's conclusions because of the time that would be required to fully evaluate his work.

[16]See the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II, 216, or T85.1269a.

[17]Hattori, p. 512.

[18]Ibid., pp. 513-14, or Yampolsky, pp. 139 and 153. I have translated from Hattori's Japanese rendering, which appears not to have been based on the Tun-huang ms.

[19]Hattori, p. 520.

[20]Masunaga Reihō has attempted to draw just such a correlation in his "Daijō mushō hōben mon no kenkyū," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, III:2 (1955), 309-12.

[21]According to Fukushima's "Jōyōji Eon no shikan shisō," pp. 4-8, the Yogācāra translations of the sixth century discussed meditation in a fashion that was substantially different from that in those of the previous century. Where Kumārajīva's translations emphasized insight (vipaśyanā) to the virtual exclusion of concentration (śamatha), equating the former in true Mādhyamika fashion with the attainment of prajñā-pāramitā or the Perfection of Wisdom, the Yogācāra translations contained a more balanced treament. In addition, they attempted to supersede the Mādhyamika texts by including within the domain of insight meditation the analysis of both phenomenal and absolute reality, rather than only the latter. On the basis of these texts, concentration was also redefined by sixth century Chinese theoreticians as concentration on the absolute principle of ultimate reality, rather than on specific empirical objects.

[22]See note 10 above.

NOTES TO THE APPENDIX TO SECTION TWO

[1]The following translation is based on Yanagida's critical edition and Japanese translation of the CFPC, which may be found in his Shoki no zenshi, I, 327-435. For textual information, see pp. 38-39 of the same work. Because of the existence of Professor Yanagida's commentary, which is both copious and masterful, I have limited the annotation here to the bare minimum necessary for the English reader.

[2]See Hirakawa, pp. 72 and 323, or T32.576a and 581a.

[3]T16.497b. The first sentence of this section of the CFPC is also adapted from the same scripture, T16.507a.

[4]See the discussion of this passage in Chapter V, Parts 6, 9, and 11 of this Section.

[5]Yanagida explains this term on the basis of its occurrence at T16.499b.

[6]Yanagida suggests that this refers to the EJSHL and its appended material.

[7]Note the occurrence of a slightly different title at the very end of this work.

[8]Even though the CFPC is critical of the EJSHL and HKSC, the influence of these two sources is very evident in its treatment of Bodhidharma's biography.

[9]Note that the characters for the Wei魏 Dynasty and the area of Wei衛 are not identical.

[10]This prediction, which occurs in the HKSC, T50.552b-c, is repeated in section R of the CFPC.

[11]Chih-yen has been mentioned above with reference to Fa-ju (Chapter III, Part 7). Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 374-75, points out that the reference to Pao-yüeh here involves a chronological anachronism.

[12]A Preceptor Tuan of Lo-yang is mentioned with regard to P'u-chi's biography in Chapter IV, Part 5. See notes 101 and 121 above.

[13]I-fu's epitaph refers to a "secret transmission" from Shen-hsiu to I-fu that occurred just before the death of the former. See Chapter IV, Part 4 above.

[14]See the Diamond Sūtra (Chin-kang pan-jo ching), T8.751c; the Lun-yü, 17; and the Chuang-tzu, 26.

[15]My interpretation of this passage differs from that of Professor Yanagida, who feels that the CFPC is rejecting the Yüan-wu liao-i ching as an inferior expression of the Buddhist teachings.

[16]This prediction, which occurs first in the HKSC, has already been introduced above in section H of the CFPC.

[17]As Yanagida points out, this metaphor is based on a line in the Hou Han shu, 33, Erh-shih-wu shih, I, 769b.

[19]This phrase occurs in a quotation from the Lankāvatāra found in the Tsung-ching lu, T48.844b. Yanagida quotes at length from the passage in which it occurs in the Sūtra itself.

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INDEX OF CHINESE CHARACTERS

A-yü wang ching 阿育王経
A-yü wang chuan | | | 伝
ai-ch'iu 愛求
aigu (= ai-ch'iu) | |
An 岸
An 安
An-chou (Ying-shan hsien, Hupeh) | 州 (応山県)
an-hsin | 心
an-hsin wu-wei | | 無為
An-kuo yüan | 国院
an-ma 按摩
an-pan 安般
An-pan shou-i ching | | 守一経
An Lu-shan | 禄山
An Shih-kao | 世高
An-yang hsien | 陽県
buha Bukkyō 部派仏教
Chan-jan 湛然
Ch'an 禅
ch'an-chiao | 教
Ch'an-ching hsü | 経序
Ch'an-fa yao-chüeh | 法要決
ch'an-men | 門
Ch'an-men ching | | 経
Ch'an-men ching ping hsü | | | 并序
Ch'an mi-yao | 秘要
ch'an-shuo | 説
Ch'an-tao | 道
Ch'an-ting ssu | 定寺

Ch'an-yao ching 禪要經

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Chang-an Kuan-ting 章安灌頂

Chang Chiu-ling 張九齡

Chang Yüeh | 說

ch'ang 常

Ch'ang-an 長安

Ch'ang-chao 常超

Ch'ang-chou (Pi-ling hsien, Kiangsu) | 州(毘陵縣)

ch'ang-jen 長人

Ch'ang-li (Ling-yüan hsien, Jehol) 昌黎(凌源縣)

Ch'ang-sha (Hsiang-yin hsien, Hunan) 常沙(湘陰縣)

Ch'ang-sha ssu | | 寺

Ch'ang-[tsang] 長[藏]

chao 照

Chao (= Hui-chao ?) 超

Chao-chou (Ch'u-chiang hsien, Kwangtung) 韶州(曲江縣)

chao-liao hsin-yüan 照了心源

chao-yüeh san-mei 超越三昧

che 者

chen 真

Chen 甄

Chen 真

chen-chien | 見

chen-fa | 法

chen-hsin | 心

chen-ju | 如

chen-k'ung | 空

chen-shih hsin | 實心

chen-shih hsing | | 性

chen-shih lu | | 路

chen-tsung | 宗

Chen-tsung lun (abbrev.) | | 論

ch'en 塵

Ch'en-liu wei-shih (Wei-shih hsien, Hunan) 陳留尉氏

chieh-hsing	戒性
chieh-kuan	卽観
Ch'ieh	伽
Chien	鑒
chien (gradual)	漸
chien (perception)	見
chien-hsing	| 性
Chien-k'ang	建康
Chien o-ch'u-fo p'in	見阿閦仏品
chien-tz'u chih-kuan	漸次止観
chien-wen chueh-chih	見聞覚知
Ch'ien (= T'an-ch'ien)	遷
ch'ien ching	前境
ch'ien-ching wan-lun	千經万論
chih (wisdom)	智
chih (know)	知
chih (stop)	止
chih (ambition)	志
chih (utmost)	至
chih (come)	|
chih (regulate)	制
chih-chieh	志節
chih-chien	知見
Chih-chiang (Chiang-ling hsien, Hupeh)	枝江 (江陵県)
Chih Ch'ien	支謙
chih-ch'u	智処
Chih-feng	| 封
Chih-hsien	| 詵
chih-hui	| 慧
Chih-hung	| 弘
Chih-i	| 顗
Chih-k'ai	| 鍇
chih-kuan	止観
Chih-kuan fa	| | 法
chih-shih wen-i	指事問義
Chih-ta (= Hui-ta ?)	智達

Chih-te (= Chidŏk in Korean)	| 德
chih-ti	| 地
Chih-yen (Hua-yen School)	智儼
Chih-yen (San-lun School)	| 嚴
Chin (= Kim in Korean)	金
chin	|
Chin-kang pan-jo ching	|剛般若經
chin-kang san-mei	| | 三昧
Chin-kang san-mei ching	| | | |經
Chin-kang shen p'in	| | 身品
Chin-kang wu li	| | 五礼
chin-k'ou hsiang-ch'eng	金口相承
Chin-ling	金陵
chin-shih hsiang-ch'eng	今师相承
ching (sūtra)	経
ching (pure)	淨
ching (sensory realm)	境
Ching (= Heng-ching)	景
Ching-ai	靜藹
Ching-ai ssu	敬愛寺
ching-ch'eng	精誠
ching-chieh	境界
Ching-chou Yü-ch'üan ssu Ta-t'ung ch'an-shih pei-ming ping hsü	荊州玉泉寺大通禅师碑銘并序
ch'ing-ch'u k'an-ching	淨処看淨
Ching-chüeh	淨覚
Ching-hsien	景賢
ching-hsin	淨心
Ching-hsin chieh-kuan fa	| | 誡观法
ching-hsing	淨行
Ching-lin	靜林
Ching-nan	荊南
Ching-shan ssu	慶山寺
Ching-sheng (= Ch'ü-ch'ü Ching-sheng)	京声
Ching-shou	敬受
ching-shui	淨水

Ching-te ch'üan-teng lu 景德伝灯録
ching-t'i 淨体
Ching-tsang | 蔵
ching-tso ssu-wei 静坐思惟
ching-wen chi ch'an-kuan 経文及禅観
Ching-ying Hui-yüan 淨影 慧遠
ch'ing-kuei (= shingi in Japanese) 清規
Ch'ing-pu Ming 青布明
ch'ing-t'an 清談
Chiu 就
Chiu-chiang 九江
chiu hsiang | 想
Chiu-shih 久視
chiu tz'u-ti ting 九次第定
Chiu T'ang shu 旧唐書
ch'iu 求
Chiung (= Ming ?) 炅
Choesang sŭng'non (= Tsui-shang sheng lun) 最上勝論
Ch'ou ch'an-shih i 稠禅師意
Ch'ou ch'an-shih yüeh-fang | | | 薬方
chu (subject, master) 主
chu (reside) 住
chu ch'an pan-jo k'ung-kuan ch'eng-chiu 諸禅般若空観成就
Chu-ching yao ch'ao | 経要抄
Chu Fa-hu 竺法護
Chu-fa wu-hsing ching 諸法無行経
chu-fo fang-pien | 仏方便
chu wu-te kuan | 無得観
Ch'u 楚
ch'u (āyatana, locus, foundation) 処
ch'u-chia 出家
ch'u-chiao 初教
ch'u-hsin | 心
ch'u-hsin jen | | 人
Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi 出三蔵記集
ch'u-ti wei ch'an 初地味禅

Chü-fang	巨方
ch'ü-ch'ü chiao	屈曲教
ch'ü-ch'ü chih	| | 直
Ch'ü-ch'ü Ching-sheng	沮渠京声
Ch'ü-lu	鉅鹿
chuan	伝
Ch'üan-chih	全植
Ch'üan fa-pao chi	伝法宝紀
ch'üan-shih	転識
Ch'üan T'ang-wen	全唐文
Ch'üan Te-yü	權德輿
ch'üan-teng lu	伝灯録
Chuang-tzu	莊子
chüeh	覺
Chüeh	|
chüeh-hsin	| 心
chüeh-hsing (enlightenment nature)	| 性
chüeh-hsing (practices of enlightenment)	| 行
chüeh-hsing yüan-man	| | 円満
chüeh-kuan	| 観
Chüeh-kuan lun	絶 | 論
Ch'ui-kung	垂拱
chün-hsi	熏習
chün-shih	| 質
Chung	沖
Chung-ching ssu	衆浄寺
chung-chung wang-yüan	种々妄縁
Chung-hua ch'üan hsin-ti ch'an-men shih-tz'u ch'eng-hsi t'u	中華伝心地禅門師資承襲図
Chung-nan shan kuei ssu Ta-t'ung Tao-[hsiu] ho-shang t'a-wen	中南山歸寺大通道[秀]和上塔文
chung-sheng chieh	衆生界
chung-sheng chieh t'i	| | | 体
Chung-shu-ling	中書令
Chung-tsao ssu	衆造寺
Ch'ung	寵

Ch'ung-kuei	崇珪
Ch'ung-shen	| 慎
Ch'ung-yen	| 演
Crown Prince Li Hung	李弘
ekō henshō (= hui-kuang fan-chao)	迴光返照
Emperor Chung-tsung	中宗
Emperor Chung-tsung Hsiao-ho	| | 孝和
Emperor Hsüan-tsung	玄宗
Emperor Jui-tsung	睿 |
Emperor Kao-tsu	高祖
Emperor Kao-tsung	| 宗
Emperor Su-tsung	肅 |
Emperor Wu	武帝
Emperor Yang	煬 |
Empress Wu Tse-t'ien	武則天
Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun	二入四行論
erh men	| 門
erh-shih wu fang-pien	| 十五方便
fa-chieh hsing	法界性
fa-chieh i	| | 義
fa-chieh t'i	| | 体
Fa-ch'ih	法持
Fa-ch'in	| 欽
Fa-chung	| 沖
Fa-hsien (student of Tao-hsin)	| 顯
Fa-hsien (student of Hung-jen)	| | (or 現)
fa-hsing	| 性
Fa-hsing lun (provisional title)	| | 論
Fa-hua ching	| 華經
Fa-hua ching an-lo hsing-i	| | | 安樂行義
Fa-hua hsüan-i	| | 玄義
fa-hua san-mei	| | 三昧
Fa-jih	| 日
Fa-ju	| 如
Fa-jung	| 融
Fa-k'an	| 偘 (= 侃)

Fa-lang	法朗
Fa-lin	| 琳
Fa-min	| 敏
Fa-shang	| 上
fa-shui	| 水
fa-t'ang	| 堂
fa ssu-i	| 四依
fa-t'i	| 体
Fa-yüan	| 琓
Fa-yün	| 雲
fan	翻
fan-nao	煩惱
Fang Kuan	房琯
Fang-ming	方明
fang-pien	方便
Fei (= Tu Fei)	朏
Feng	豊
fo	仏
fo-hsin chih jih	| 心忌日
fo-hsing	| 性
fo-jih	| 日
Fo-shuo fa-chü ching	| 説法句経
Fo-shuo wen-shih hsi-yü chung-seng ching	| | 温室洗浴衆僧経
fo-t'i	仏体
fo-t'ien	仏殿
Fo-tsu t'ung-chi	仏祖統記
Fo-tsu t'ung-tsai	| | 通載
fu	付
fu-chu	| 嘱
fu-fa ch'üan-teng	| 法伝灯
Fu fa-ts'ang yin-yüan chuan	| | 蔵因縁伝
Fu Hsi	傅翕
Fu-hsien ssu	福先寺
Fu-jo-lo	富若羅
fu pao-ts'ang chuan	付宝蔵伝
fur yū monji (= pu li wen-tzu)	不立文字

gembon 原本

genshi Bukkyō 原始仏教

Han-ling 寒嶺

Han-shan | 山

hattō (= fa-t'ang) 法堂

Hekigan-roku (= Pi-yen lu) 碧巖錄

Heng-ching 恒景

ho 合

Ho 和

Ho-jung | 融

ho-kuang pu t'ung ch'en | 光不通塵

Ho-lin Hsüan-su 鶴林玄素

Ho-nei (Ch'in-yang hsien, Honan) 河内 (沁陽県)

ho yen wen 和言問

Hou Han shu 後漢書

hou-te chih | 得智

Hsi-hsia 西夏

Hsi-ming ssu | 明寺

Hsiang (= Layman Hsiang) 向

Hsiang (commentary) 象

hsiang (thoughts) 想

hsiang (characteristics) 相

hsiang-fen | 分

Hsiang-hsüan fu 詳玄賦

hsiang-lei 相類

hsiang-wei 香味

Hsiang-yü | 育

Hsiao-fu 小福

Hsiao-fu Chang ho-shang | | 張和尚

Hsiao-liao 曉了

Hsieh hsi yü-shu Ta-t'ung ch'an-shih pei-e chuang 謝賜御書大通禪師碑額狀

Hsien (= Ching-hsien ?) 賢

Hsien (= Fa-hsien ?) 顯

hsien (hexagram) 咸 (䷞)

hsien-liang 現量

Hsien-te chi yü shuang-feng shan-t'a ko t'an 先德集於双峯山塔各談玄理十

hsin (mind)	心
hsin (faith, rely)	信
hsin-chieh	| 解
hsin chieh-t'o	心 | 脱
hsin ch'u-chia	心出家
hsin fang-pien	| 方便
hsin-hsin	信心
Hsin-hsin ming	| | 銘
hsin hsin-so	心々所
hsin-hsing	| 性
hsin li-nien	| 離念
hsin-shen	| 神
hsin-ti	| 体
Hsin-wang ching	| 王経
hsin-yao	| 要
Hsin-yao chi	| | 集
hsing (practice)	行
hsing (nature)	性
hsing-ching chih li	| 性之理
hsing-chu-tso-wo	行住坐臥
hsing-ju	| 入
hsing-men	| 門
Hsing-t'ang ssu	興唐寺
hsiu	修
Hsiu-ch'an yao-chüeh	| 禅要決
Hsiu ho-shang chuan	秀和尚伝
Hsiu-hsi chih-kuan tso-ch'an fa-yao	修習止観坐禅法要
Hsiu-hsin yao lun	修心要論
Hsiu-hsing fang-pien ch'an ching	| 行方便禅経
Hsiu-hsing tao-ti ching	| | 道地経
Hsin-wang p'u-sa shuo t'ou-to ching	心王菩薩説頭陀経
nsin-yüan	| 源
Hsü-jung kuan	虚融観
Hsü kao-seng chuan	続高僧伝
Hsüan-ching	玄景

Hui-hsiu (= Shen-hsiu ?) 惠秀
hui-jih 慧日
Hui-k'o 丨可
Hui-kuan 丨觀
Hui-kuang 丨光
hui-kuang fan-chao (= ekō henshō in Japanese) 丨丨返照
Hui-lin 丨琳
Hui-man 丨滿
hui-men 丨門
Hui-ming 惠明
Hui-neng 慧能
Hui-pu 丨布
Hui-shan ssu 会善寺
Hui-sung 慧嵩
Hui-ssu 丨思
Hui-ta (= Chih-ta ?) 丨達
Hui-tsang 惠藏
Hui-tuan 丨端
Hui-yin san-mei ching 慧印三昧經
Hui-yü (= Tao-yü) 惠育
Hui-wen 慧文
Hui-yüan 丨遠
Hung 洪
Hung-cheng 宏正
Hung-chih 弘智
Hung-chou School 洪州宗
Hung-jen 弘仁
huo-jan 豁然
i (one) 一
i (differentiation) 異
i (also) 亦
I-chiao ching 遺教經
I-ch'ieh ching yin-i 一切經音義
I-ch'ieh ch'u 丨丨處
I-ching 易經
I-chou (Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan) 益州

i-ch'u	一処
I-fang	義方
I-feng	儀鳳
I-fu	義福
i hsin ch'üan hsin (ishin denshin in Japanese)	以心伝心
i-hsin san-kuan	一心三観
I-hsing	一行
I River	伊水
i-shang erh-p'in t'ung-shuo	以上二品通説
I-sheng hsien tzu-hsin lun	一乘顯自心論
i-shih	意識
i sung pao-shen	以之報身
i ts'ung wai ju li-men, erh ts'ung li ch'i yung-men	一従外入理門,二従裏起用門
i-yin chiao	一音教
Ichijō kenjishin ron (= I-sheng hsien tzu-hsin lun)	一乘顯自心論
inka (= yin-k'o)	印可
ishin denshin (= i hsin ch'üan hsin)	以心伝心
jan-hsin	染心
jen-yun	任運
Jih-chao	日照
jo yu shih se	若有實色
ju (enter, āyatana)	入
ju (Suchness)	如
ju-ju shih-chi	如々実際
ju-lai	如来
ju-lai tsang	｜｜藏
Ju-leng-ch'ieh ching	入楞伽經
ju-shih an-hsin wei pi-kuan	如是安心爲壁観
ju-tao	入道
Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien fa-men	｜｜安心要方便法門
ju-tao fang-pien	｜｜方便
ju yen	｜言
jung-hsin	融心
K'ai-feng	開封

K'ai-huang | 皇
K'ai-shan ssu | 善寺
K'ai-yüan | 元
K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu | | 釈教録
Kammon daijō hōron (= Kuan-men ta-sheng fa lun) 観門大乗法論
kan 感
k'an 看
k'an i-wu | 一物
kang 剛
kanjin-shaku (= kuan-hsin shih) 観心釈
Kao-ch'ang 高昌
kao ch'en sha chieh shu 隔塵沙劫数
Kao-seng chuan 高僧伝
Kao Yu | 攸 (滺)
ken-pen chih 根本智
Kim (= Chin) 金
ko 各
k'o-ch'en wei-wang pu ju yueh pi 客塵偽妄不入日壁
Ko Hung 葛洪
ko-i 格義
K'o (= Hui-k'o) 可
K'o-kung (= Hui-k'o) | 公
kōan (= kung-an) 公案
Koguryo 高麗
ku chih 故知
k'u 苦
K'uai-chi (Chao-hsing hsien, Chekiang) 会稽 (紹興県)
kuan 観
Kuan-fo san-mei hai ching | 仏三昧海経
kuan-hsin 観心
Kuan-hsin lun | | 論
kuan-hsin shih (= kanjin-shaku in Japanese) | | 釈
kuan-hsing chueh-chao 観性覚照
Kuan pu-k'o-ssu-i ching | 不可思議経
Kuan-ting 灌頂
K'uang 曠

Kuei-feng Tsung-mi	圭峰宗密
kung	功
kung-an (= kōan in Japanese)	公案
kung-te	功德
k'ung	空
k'ung-ch'an san-mei	| 禪三昧
K'ung-chi ssu	| 寂寺
k'ung-hsing	| 行
K'ung-mu chang	孔目章
k'ung-ting	空定
kyōge betsuden (= chiao-wai pieh chuan)	教外別伝
lan	爛
Lan-t'ien	藍田
Lan Ts'an (= Ming-ts'an)	懶 (or 嬾) 瓚
lang	朗
Lao-an	老安
Lao and Chuang	| 莊
Lao-tzu	| 子
Layman Hsiang	向居士
Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih	楞伽人法誌
Leng-ch'ieh shih-tz'u chi	楞伽師資記
li (posit)	立
li (measure of distance)	里
li (absolute, principle)	理
Li (surname)	李
Li Chiang	| 獎
Li Chih-fei	| 知非
li-hsin	離心
li-hsing	理行
li-hsing erh men	| | 二門
Li Hua	李華
li-ju	理入
Li Lin-fu	李林甫
Li Mi	李泌
li-nien	離念
li-nien ching-chieh	| | 境界

li-nien wei-shih 離念唯識
Li Shih-chih 李適之
Li shih-yüan wen (abbreviation) 立誓願文
li-t'a 利他
Li-tai fa-pao chi 歷代法寶記
Li-yang (Li hsien, Hunan) 澧陽 (澧縣)
Li Yung 李邕
liang 量
Liao 廖
liao 了
liao-hsin 了心
Liao-hsing chu 丨行句
liao-i 丨義
lien-hsin 斂心
Lin-chi lu 臨濟錄
Ling-cho 靈著
Ling-yun 丨運
Liu 劉
Liu-ken chieh-t'o men 六根解脫門
liu-lei 流類
Liu miao-fa men 六妙法門
Liu-miao men 丨丨門
Liu-tsu t'an ching 丨祖壇經
Lo-yang 洛陽
Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi 丨丨伽藍記
Lou Jui 婁叡
Lu-chou (Ch'ang-chih hsien, Shansi) 潞州 (長治縣)
Lü-she-na fo 盧舍那佛
Lüeh pien ta-sheng ju-tao ssu-hsing, ti-tzu T'an-lin hsü 略辯大乘入道四行、弟子曇林序
lun 論
Lung-hsing ssu 龍興寺
Lung-hua ssu 丨華寺
Ma-ming p'u-sa tsao 馬鳴菩薩造
Ma-su (= Ho-lin Hsüan-su) 丨素
Ma-tsu 丨祖

Ma-tsu Tao-i 馬祖道一
mei 昧
mei-chien 眉間
men 門
Miao-fa lien-hua ching 妙法蓮華経
Miao-hsi ssu | 喜寺
Miao-li yüan-ch'eng kuan | 理円成観
miao-miao-miao | 妙妙
Miao-sheng ting ching | 勝定経
miao-yu | 有
mien-pi 面壁
Min (region) 閩
Min 敏
ming (name) 名
ming (sentience) 命
ming (understand, illuminate, realize) 明
Ming 明
ming-ching | 淨
ming-hsing | 性
Ming-ts'an | 瓚
ming tzu-jan hsien | 自然顯
miru 見る
mo 末
mo-chao 默照
mo-fa 末法
Mo-ho chih-kuan 摩訶止観
Mo-ho-yen | | 衍
Mo-ho-yen i | | | 義
mo-jan ching-tso 默然靜坐
mo-lien 磨錬
Mount Chang-kung (Chao hsien, Hopeh) 障俟山 (趙県)
Mount Chia-yü 嘉魚山
Moung Ch'ing-lo 青羅山
Mount Chung 鐘山
Mount Chung-nan 中南山
Mount Heng (= Nan-yueh) 衡山

Nan-yüeh Hui-ssu 南岳慧思

Nan-yüeh ssu ta ch'an-shih li shih-yüan wen (= Li shih-yüan wen) 南岳寺大禪师立誓願文

Nan-yüeh Huai-jang | | 懷讓

Neng (= Hui-neng ?) 能

neng-kuan i-ju |观一如

ni 逆

ni-kuan |观

nieh 涅

nieh-p'an |槃

nieh-p'an chih ch'i | | 之氣

Nieh-p'an ching | | 経

Nieh-p'an wu ming lun | | 無名論

nien 念

nien-fo |仏

Northern School (= pei-tsung) 北宗

O-mi-t'o tsan-wen 阿弥陀讚文

Ox-head School (Niu-t'ou tsung) 牛頭宗

pa chieh-t'o 八解脱

Pa-hsia |峡

pa pei-sha |背捨

pa nien |念

pa sheng-ch'u |勝処

pan 般

Pan-chou san-mei ching |舟三昧経

Pan-jo ching 般若経

Pan-jo hsin [ching] shu | | 心[経]疏

Pan-jo wu chih lun | | 無知論

p'an 槃

p'an-chiao 判教

p'an-yüan 攀縁

Pao-chih 保[or 宝]誌

Pao-en ssu 報恩寺

Pao-lin chuan 宝林伝

Pao-p'u tzu	抱朴子
Pao-t'ang School	宝唐宗
Pao-t'ang Wu-chu	| |無住
Pao-ying	宝迎
Pao-yü	|瑜
Pao-yüeh	|月
Pei Ch'i shu	北齊書
pei-tsung	|宗
P'ei Kuan	裴寛
P'ei Ts'ui	|漼
pen	本
pen-chi shih	|迹釈
pen-chueh	|覚
pen-hsin	|心
pen-hsing	|性
P'eng-lai Palace	蓬萊宮
Pi-chien ssu	碧澗寺
pi-kuan	壁观
Pi-yen lu	碧巖録
p'i-pa	琵琶
pieh	别
Pieh-chuan (abbreviation)	|伝
Pien-cheng lun	辯正論
p'ien-ch'u	遍処
ping (illness)	病
ping (both)	并
ping hsing erh men	| 行 二門 [病行二門]
P'ing-i (Hsi-an fu, Shensi)	憑翊(西安府)
p'ing-teng	平等
Po-chang Hui-hai	百丈懐海
Po-lo-to-lo	婆羅多羅
po-ssu	波斯
P'o-hsiang lun	破相論
Prince Hsiang (= Emperor Jui-tsung)	相王
Prince I of Hsiang-tung	湘東王繹
Prince Li Hung (= Crown Prince Li Hung)	李弘

Prince of Nan-p'ing 南平王
Prince of P'eng-ch'eng 彭城王
Princess Yung-t'ai 永泰公主
pu ch'i 不起
pu ch'i t'a nien | | 他念
pu-hui | 会
pu k'o ssu-i | 可思議
pu li wen-tzu (furyū monji in Japanese) | 立文字
pu sheng pu mieh | 生不滅
pu-ssu | 思
pu ssu-i | | 議
pu-ssu pu-i | | 不議
pu-ting chih-kuan | 定止観
pu tso li-hsing | 作理行
P'u-chi 普寂
P'u-sa ho-se yü-fa ching 菩薩訶色欲法経
p'u-t'i lu 菩提路
p'u-t'i men | | 門
p'u-t'i shu | | 樹
P'u-t'i-ta-mo (= Bodhidharma) | | 達摩 [or 磨]
P'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men | | | | 禅師観門
P'u-t'i-ta-mo [chih] lun | | | | [之]論
P'u-t'i-ta-mo nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun | | | | 南宗定是非論
Rinzairoku (= Lin-chi lu) 臨済録
Saichō 最澄
Saijōjōron | 上乘論
san 三
San-chieh chiao | 階教
San-chieh ssu Tao-chen | 界寺道真
San-ho | 河
san-liu | 六
San-lun School | 論宗
San-lun hsüan-i | | 玄義
san-mei yung | 昧用
San-pao wen-ta | 宝文答
san san-mei san chih-kuan | 三昧三止観

san-shih-ch'i chu-tao fa-men	三十七助道法門
san-t'ien	| 天
san-tsang	| 藏
san t'ung-ming	| 通明
se	色
se-ju	| 入
Seng-chao	僧肇
Seng-chou	| 周
Seng-ch'ou	| 稠
Seng-fu	| 副
Seng-jui	| 叡
Seng-k'o (= Hui-k'o)	| 可
Seng-na (= Na)	| 那
Seng-shih	| 実
Seng-shih (Seng-ch'ou's teacher)	| 寔
Seng-ta (= Hui-ta ?)	| 達
Seng-ts'an (= Ts'an ?)	| 璨
Seng-yu	| 祐
Sha-chou (= Tun-huang)	沙州
Shan	善
Shan-chien lü pi-po-sha	| 見律毘婆沙
shan chih-shih	| 知識
Shan-fu	| 伏
Shan-fu ssu	薦福寺
shan-hai	山海
shan ho ta-ti	| 河大地
Shan-hui	善慧
Shang-shu-ku	尚書谷
Shang-tang (Ch'ang-chih hsien, Shansi)	上党（長治県）
Shang-te	尚德
shang-tso	上座
Shao-lin ssu (Shōrinji in Japanese)	少林寺
Shao-lin ssu pei	| | | 碑
she-hsin	攝心
She lun (abbreviation)	| 論
She-lun School	| | 宗

She ta-sheng lun 攝大乘論

shen 身

shen-chung chen-ju | 中真如

shen-hsiang hsin-t'i | 相心体

shen-hsin 深信

shen-hsin pu ch'i, ch'ang shou chen-hsin 身心不起常守真心

Shen-hsing 神行

Shen-hsiu 神秀

Shen-hui | 会

Shen-lung | 竜

shen-seng | 僧

shen-tao | 道

Shen-ting (= Ting ?) | 定

shen-t'ung | 通

sheng (volumetric measure) 升

sheng (generate) 生

sheng (sage) 聖

sheng (vehicle) 乘

Sheng 盛

Sheng-chou lu 聖冑錄

sheng-hsin | 心

Sheng-hsing p'in | 行品

Sheng-man ching 勝鬘經

sheng-mieh hsin 生滅心

shih (consciousness, perception) 識

shih (phenomena) 事

shih (verify, make real) 実

shih (command, servant) 使

Shih 実

shih-sheng kuan-fa 十乘观法

shih-chieh 世界

shih-chieh t'i | | 体

shih ching 十境

shih-chu kuan-men | 住观門

shih-chüeh 始覚

shih-erh pu ching 十二部経

shih hsiang	十想
shih i-ch'ieh-ch'u	｜一切処
shih ju-shih	｜如是
Shih leng-ch'ieh ching yüan	石楞伽経院
shih-li	事理
shih-liu t'e-sheng fa	十六特勝法
Shih-men cheng-t'ung	釈門正統
Shih ti ching	十地経
Shih-ti [ching] lun	｜｜[｜]論
shih-tzu fen-hsün san-mei	獅子奮迅三昧
shingi (= ch'ing-kuei)	清規
shinshō (= hsin-hsing)	心性
shōshitsu	小室
Shōshitsu rokumon shū	小室六門集
shou (accept, experience)	受
shou (maintain)	守
shou-ch'i shou-i	受気守一
Shou-chou	寿州
shou-hsin	守心
shou-i (guard the consciousness)	｜意
shou-i (maintain the one)	｜一
shou-i pu i	｜｜不移
shou-i pu shih	｜｜｜失
shou-i pu t'ai	｜｜｜怠
shou-i ts'un-san	｜｜存三
Shou-leng-yen i shu-chu ching	首楞厳義疏注経
shou pen-ching hsin	守本浄心
Shu ching	書経
Shu-chou (Huai-ning hsien, Anhwei)	舒州（懐寧県）
shu-hsiu	束修
Shuang-feng shan	双峰山
Shūkyō Daigaku	宗教大学
shun	順
shun-kuan	｜観
shun-wu	｜物
shuo-t'ung	説通

Shushin yōron (= Hsiu-hsin yao lun) 修心要論

Sŏnmun ch'waryo (= Zemmon satsuyō in Japanese) 禪門撮要

Southern School (nan-tsung) 南宗

ssu an-lo hsing 四安樂行

ssu ch'an 丨禪

ssu-ch'iu hsin 思求心

ssu-chung ch'an 四種禪

ssu hsiang 丨想

ssu-hsiang 思想

Ssu hung shih-yüan 四弘誓願

ssu-i 思議

ssu i 四依

Ssu-i ching 思益經

Ssu-jui 丨叡

Ssu-heng 丨恒

ssu-lu 丨慮

Ssu-lun School 四論宗

Ssu-ma 司馬

Ssu-wei lüeh yao-fa 思惟略要法

ssu wu-liang hsin 四無量心

ssu wu-se ting 丨丨色定

ssu-yü te chien 思欲得見

Sui-chou 隨州

Sui T'ien-t'ai Chih-che ta-shih pieh chuan (= Pieh chuan) 隋天台智者大師別伝

sui-yüan 隨緣

Sun 孫

Sung 嵩

Sung Chih-wen 宋之問

Sung kao-seng chuan 丨高僧伝

Sung-shan Hui-shan ssu ku ta-te Tao-an ch'an-shih pei-ming 嵩山会山寺故大德道安禪師碑銘

Sung Tan 宋儋

Sung-yüeh ssu 嵩岳寺

Sung-yün 宋雲

Ta-chao 大照

Ta-an-kuo ssu 大安國寺
Ta chih-tu lun 大智度論
Ta-chuang-yen ssu | 莊嚴寺
Ta fang-teng to-lo-ni ching | 方等陀羅尼経
Ta fang-kuang fo hua-yen ching | | 広仏華嚴経
Ta-fu | 福
Ta-fu Liu ho-shang | | 六
Ta-jih ching | 日経
Ta-lin ssu | 林寺
Ta-liang (Shang-ch'iu hsien, Honan) | 梁 (商邱県)
Ta-ming | 明
Ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men (= Daruma zenji kammon in Japanese) 達摩禪師观門
Ta-mo ch'an-shih lun | | | | 論
Ta-mo ho-shang chieh | | 和尚解
Ta-mo lun | | 論
Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching | | 多羅禪経
Ta-sheng fa-chieh wu ch'a-pieh lun 大乘法界無差別論
Ta-sheng hsin-hsing lun | | 心行論
Ta-sheng hsüan lun | | 玄論
Ta-sheng i-chang | | 義章
Ta-sheng k'ai-hsin hsien-hsing tun-wu chen-tsung lun | | 開心顯性頓悟真宗論
Ta-sheng pei-tsung lun 大乘北宗論
Ta-sheng wu fang-pien -- pei-tsung | | 五方便 — 北宗
Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men | | 無生方便門
Ta-Sung seng-shih lüeh | 宋僧史略
Ta-T'ang Ch'i-chou Lung-hsing ssu ku Fa-hsien ta ch'an-shih pei-ming | 唐蘄州竜興寺故法現大禪師碑銘
Ta-T'ang hsi-yu ch'iu-fa kao-seng chuan 大唐西遊求法高僧伝
ta-tao 大道
Ta-tsu | 足
Ta-ts'ung | 聰
Ta-t'ung ch'an-shih | 通禪師
Ta-t'ung fang-kuang ching | | 方広経
Ta-yeh | 業

ta yüan-ching chih 大円鏡智
ta yüeh 答曰
Ta-yün ching 大雲経
t'a (other, objectified) 他
t'a (tread) 踏
t'a-hsin | 心
t'a-se 他色
t'ai-hsüeh po-shih 太学博士
T'ai-p'ing ching | 平経
T'ai-p'ing kuang chi | | 広記
T'ai-yüan | 原
Taishō Daigaku 大正大学
tan 但
T'an-ch'ien (= Ch'ien ?) 曇遷
T'an-chen | 眞
T'an-lin | 林
T'an-lun | 倫
tang-t'i 当体
Tang-yang (Tang-yang hsien, Hupeh) | 陽（当陽県）
T'ang-wen shih-i 唐文拾遺
tao (arrive) 到
tao (way, enlightenment) 道
Tao |
tao-fa 蹈法
Tao-fan ch'ü-sheng hsin-chüeh 導凡趣聖心決
Tao-fang 道房
Tao-fu | 副
Tao-heng | 恒
Tao-hsin | 信
Tao-hsiu (= Shen-hsiu) | 秀
Tao-hsüan (author of HKSC) | 宣
Tao-hsüan (student of P'u-chi) | 璿
tao-i 蹈義
Tao-ming 道明
tao-shih | 士
Tao-shu | 樹

Tao-shun 道俊

Tao-te ching |德經

Tao-yin |蔭

tao-yin wang-lai 導引往來

Tao-ying 道瑩

Tao-yü (= Hui-yü) |育

te 德

te ching 得淨

te-li |利

teng-shih (tōshi in Japanese) 灯史

Ti lun (= Shih-ti lun) 地論

Ti-lun School | | 宗

ti-tzu 弟子

t'i 体

t'i-hsin |心

T'ien-chü ssu 天居寺

T'ien-kung ssu |空寺

t'ien-lung |竜

T'ien-p'ing |平

T'ien-t'ai Chih-i |台智顗

T'ien-t'ai chih-kuan | |止観

T'ien-t'ai School | |宗

ting 定

Ting (= Shen-ting) |

Ting-chou (Ting hsien, Hopeh) |州 (定県)

ting-fa |法

ting-hsing erh men |行二門

ting-hui |慧

ting-li |力

Ting-lin hsia [or: shang] ssu |林下[or 上]寺

Ting shih-fei lun (abbreviation) |是非論

tōshi (teng-shih in Chinese) 灯史

tōtai (= tang-t'i) 当体

t'ou 斗

Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫

Ts'ai I-hsüan 崔義玄

Tsan ch'an-men shih 讚禪門詩
Tsan-ning 贊寧
Ts'an (= Seng-ts'an ?) 粲
Tsang 藏
tsao-ta 造大
tsao-tso |作
tsao-tz'u |次
Ts'ao-ch'i ta-shih [pieh] chuan 曹溪大师[别]伝
tso 作
tso-ch'an 坐禪
Tso-ch'an san-mei ching | | 三昧経
Tsu-t'ang chi 祖堂集
Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan | 庭事苑
Tsui 最
Tsui-shang sheng lun (= Choesang sŭng'non in Korean) | 上乘論
tsung 宗
Tsung-ching lu |鏡錄
tsung-ch'i |系
Tsung-mi |密
tsung-t'ung |通
Tu Cheng-lun 杜正倫
Tu Fei (= Fei ?) |朏
tu i ch'ing-ching chiu-ching ch'u 独一清淨究竟処
Tu-ku Chi |孤及
Tu-men ssu 度門寺
Tu Yü 杜昱
T'u-shan ssu 塗山寺
Tuan (= Hui-tuan ?) 端
tun 頓
Tun-huang 敦煌
Tun-wu chen-tsung chin-kang pan-jo hsin-hsing ta pi-an fa-men yao-chüeh 頓悟真宗金剛般若心性達彼岸法門要決
Tun-wu chen-tsung yao-chüeh (abbreviation) 頓悟真宗要決
Tun-wu ta-sheng cheng-li chüeh | | 大乘正理決
Tun-wu yao men | | 要門
Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒

Tung-shan 東山
tung-shan ching-men | | 淨門
tung-shan fa-men | | 法門
tung-shan miao-fa | | 妙法
tung-shan wu-sheng fa-men | | 無生法門
t'ung 通
tzu-chüeh chueh-t'a chueh-man 自覺覺他覺滿
tzu-chüeh sheng-chih | | 聖智
tzu-hsing | 性
tzu-hsing ch'ing-ching hsin | | 清淨心
Tzu-hsüan 子璿
tzu-jan ming hsien 自然明現
tzu-li | 利
tzu-tsai | 在
tzu-tsai chih | | 智
Tz'u-chou (Tz'u-chung hsien, Szechwan) 資州 (資中県)
Tz'u-en ssu 慈恩寺
Tz'u-lang 辞朗
Tz'u-lang
Tz'u-sheng ssu 資聖寺
Tz'u-ti ch'an-men 次第禅門
Wa-kuan ssu 瓦官寺
Wan-hui 万迴
Wang 王
wang-hsiang hsin 妄想心
wang-nien pu sheng | 念不生
wang-nien pu sheng wo-so-hsin mieh | | | | 我所心滅
Wang Shih-ch'ung 王世充
Wang Wei | 維
wei (counter to, reverse) 違
Wei (dynasty) 魏
Wei (region) 衛
wei-ch'en 微塵
wei-ch'en shu | | 数
wei-hsin (= yuishin in Japanese) 唯心
Wei-hsiu (= Shen-hsiu ?) 威秀

Wei Lo-hsia chu-seng ch'ing fa-shih ying Hsiu ch'an-shih piao 為洛下諸僧請法事迎秀禪師表
Wei-mo ching 維摩經
Wei-shih 韋士
wei-shih (= yuishiki in Japanese) 唯識
Wei Shou 魏收
Wei shu | 書
Wei Wen-ch'ing 衛文卿
Wei Wen-sheng | | 昇
wen (ask) 問
wen (hear) 聞
Wen-mo (variants for Yu-mo) 文墨, 文默
Wen-shih ching 溫室經
wen-ta 問答
Wen-ta tsa ch'eng-i | | 雜徵義
wen yüeh 問曰
wo 我
Wo-lun ch'an-shih k'an-fa 臥輪禪師看法
wo-so 我所
wu (pronoun) 吾
Wu (region) 吳
wu (not, non-being) 無
wu-cheng tz'u | 諍慈
wu-chi | 記
Wu Ch'ing 吳慶
Wu-chu 無住
wu-ch'u | 処
Wu fang-pien 五方便
wu hai | 海
wu-hai shih-chih | | 十智
Wu-hsiang 無相
wu-hsiang ta-sheng | | 大乘
wu-hsin (= mushin in Japanese) | 心
Wu-hsin lun | 心論
wu hsing 五行
wu i wu 無一物

wu-jan	無染
wu-ju	悟入
Wu-lao (Ssu-shui hsien, Honan)	武牢(汜水縣)
wu-liang i ch'u san-mei	無量義處三昧
Wu-liang-shou ching lun	丨丨壽經論
Wu-liang-shou kuan ching	丨丨丨觀經
Wu-liang ssu	丨丨寺
wu-lou chen-ju	丨漏真如
wu men	五門
Wu-men ch'an ching yao yung-fa	丨丨禪經要用法
wu-nien (munen in Japanese)	無念
wu-nien pu-tung pu-yao	丨丨不動不搖
wu-ming	丨明
Wu P'ing-i	武平一
wu-sheng	無生
Wu Shih-hu	武士彠
wu-so	無所
wu so ch'i	丨丨起
wu-te	丨得
wu-te cheng-kuan	丨丨正觀
wu t'ing-hsin kuan	五停心觀
wu-wei	無為
wu-wei hua	丨丨化
Wu-wei san-tsang shou-chieh ch'an-hui wen chi ch'an-men yao-fa	無畏三藏受戒懺悔文及禪門要法
wu-wo	無我
Yang-chou (Chiang-tu hsien, Kiangsu)	揚州(江都縣)
Yang Po-ch'eng	陽伯成
Yao	堯
Yao-chüeh lun	要決論
yao-ming	窈冥
yao-yao ming-ming	丨窈冥々
Yeh	鄴
yeh-yeh	々
Yen-kung	彥公
Yen Shan-chih	嚴挺之

yüan-ming 円明
Yüan-ming lun | | 論
yüan-tsung | 宗
yüan-tun chih-kuan | 頓止観
Yüan-wu liao-i ching | 悟了義経
Yüeh-chiao shih 約教釈
Yüeh-chou (Chao-hsing hsien, Chekiang) 越州(紹興県)
yuishiki (= wei-shih) 唯識
yuishin (= wei-hsin) | 心
Yün-chou 鄆州
Yün-men ssu 雲門寺
Yün-pien | 辯
yung 用
yung-hsin 用心
Yung-ning ssu 永寧寺
Zemmon satsuyō (= Sŏnmun ch'waryo in Korean) 禪門撮要